

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

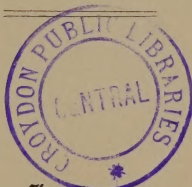
British Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXXII.



London:

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCCLXXVI.

8349

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OF THE

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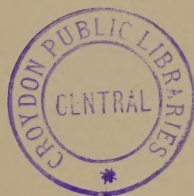
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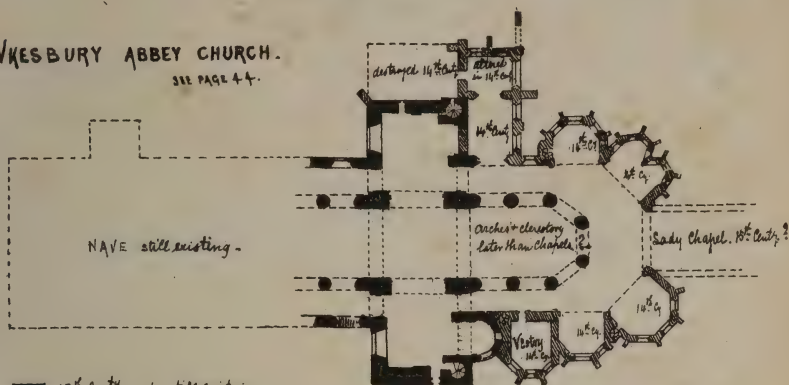


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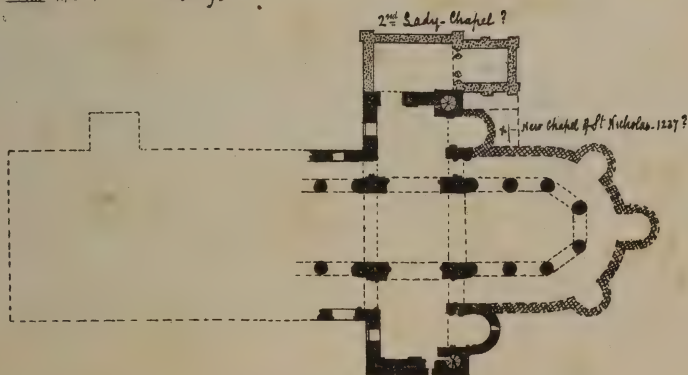
12th cent. work still existing.

13th cent. work conjectural.

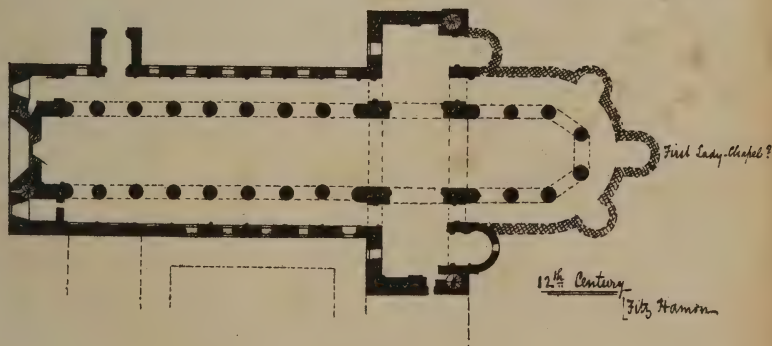
13th cent. work partly destroyed.

14th cent. work existing.

14th & 15th Centuries.
(Drapers')



13th Century.
(St. Clare)



12th Century
(St. Hamon)

Thompson. 1876.



British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	LORD ALB. D. CONYNNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, Bt., D.C.L. THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY . . . }	
1852 NEWARK . . . }	
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A. THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY THE EARL OF CARNARVON BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH . . . }	
1857 NORWICH . . . }	
1858 SALISBURY . . . }	
1859 NEWBURY . . . }	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt., M.P., M.A., C.B. JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L. GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND THE EARL OF CHICHESTER SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt. EARL BATHURST LORD LYTTON CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P. SIR W. COLES MEDLYCOTT, Bt., D.C.L. THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P. THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . . }	
1861 EXETER . . . }	
1862 LEICESTER . . . }	
1863 LEEDS . . . }	
1864 IPSWICH . . . }	
1865 DURHAM . . . }	
1866 HASTINGS . . . }	
1867 LUDLOW . . . }	
1868 CIRENCESTER . . . }	
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . . }	
1870 HEREFORD . . . }	
1871 WEYMOUTH . . . }	
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . . }	
1873 SHEFFIELD . . . }	
1874 BRISTOL . . . }	
1875 EVESHAM . . . }	

Essays relating to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are sold at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association :

Vol. I, £2 to the Members.

The subsequent volumes, £1 : 1 to Members ; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6 ; to the Members, £1 : 1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 15s. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s.

An Index for the thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d. ; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

Session 1875-6.—1875 : November 17 ; December 1. 1876 : January 5, 19 ; February 2, 16 ; March 1, 15 ; April, 5, 19 ; May (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 3, 17 ; June 7.

Visitors will be admitted by order from members ; or by signing their names, and those of the associates by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council ; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities ; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence ; who, with eighteen² other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the second Wednesday³ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer ; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council ; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

³ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1876.

President.

THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

Vice-Presidents.

(Those marked with an Asterisk are *Ex-Officio* Vice-Presidents.)

*THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.	GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
*THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.	*JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
*THE EARL BATHURST	*KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, M.P.
*THE EARL OF CARNARVON, D.C.L., LL.D.	REV. S. M. MATHEW, M.A., F.R.G.S.
*THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.	R. N. PHILIPPS, LL.D., F.S.A.
THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.	J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Somerset Herald</i> .
*THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.	REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
*SIR CHARLES H. R. BOUGHTON, Bt.	REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
*SIR W.C. MEDLYCOTT, Bart., D.C.L.	C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
SIR H. W. PEEK, Bart., M.P.	*GEORGE TOMLINE, M.P., F.S.A.
JOHN BARROW, F.R.S., F.S.A.	JOHN WALTER, M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. <i>Scot.</i>	THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.

Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., British Museum, W.C.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, 37, Bedford Place, W.C.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., *Correspondant de l'Inst. de France*.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A., Junior Athenæum, Piccadilly, W.

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A., Caton Lodge, Putney.

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GEORGE ADE.	R. HORMAN FISHER.
W. A. T. AMHURST, F.R.S.L.	J. W. GROVER.
THOMAS BLASHILL.	H. W. HENFREY.
WILLIAM BRAGGE, F.S.A.	JOHN M. HOWARD, Q.C.
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.	J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
GEORGE E. COKAYNE, F.S.A., <i>Lancaster Herald</i> .	J. W. PREVITÉ.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE.	S. I. TUCKER, <i>Rouge Croix</i> .

Auditors.

F. A. WAITE, M.A., F.S.A. | J. TURK LACEY.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1876.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L. denotes Life-Members.

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- L. Ade, George, 161 Westbourne Terrace
- Adlam, Wm., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol
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- L. Alger, John
- Allan, R. H., Blackwell, Darlington
- L. Allen, W. E.
- Allott, Alfred, Norfolk Street, Sheffield
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- L. Amhurst, W. A. T., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- Andrews, Charles, Farnham, Surrey
- L. Arden, Joseph, F.S.A., 1 Clifford's Inn
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- Athenæum Club, Pall Mall
- Atkinson, C., Crabtree Lodge, Sheffield
- Aubertin, Edmund

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- L. BATEMAN, LORD, Carlton Club
- BRADFORD, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 43 Belgrave Square, and
Castle Bromwich, Birmingham
- L. BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, BART., *Vice-President*,* Downton
Hall, Ludlow
- L. BRIDGMAN, HON. AND REV. GEO. T. ORLANDO, M.A., The Hall, Wigan
- BROKE-MIDDLETON, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE, BART., C.B., Shrub
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- L. BROWN, SIR JOHN, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield



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 Baily, Walker, 9 Champion Park, Denmark Hill
 Baker, W., Sneyd Park Villa, Sneyd Park, Bristol
 L. Barclay, J. H., Frogmore, St. Alban's
 Barrow, Miss, 23 Frederick Street, Gray's Inn Road
 L. Barrow, John, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 17 Hanover Terrace
 Barrow, William Hodgson, 35 Westbourne Terrace
 Bateman, W. H., 90 Cannon Street
 Belk, Thomas, Hartlepool
 Bentley, Rev. W. de, Bengeworth, Evesham
 L. Benyon, Richard, M.P., 17 Grosvenor Square
 L. Berry, George, The Park, Nottingham
 Bevan, W.
 Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, British Museum,
 and 9 South Hill Park Gardens, Hampstead
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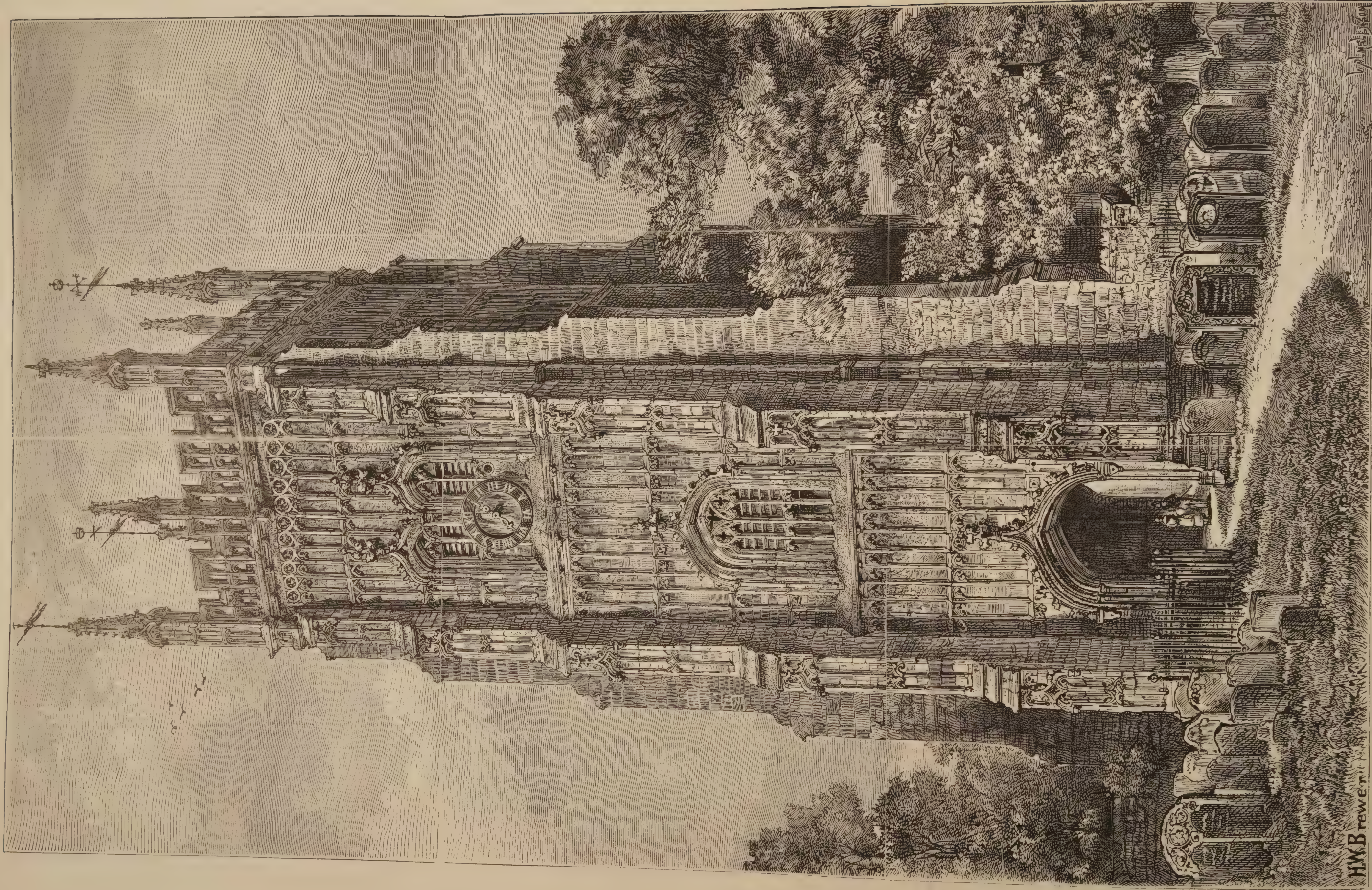
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THE BELL TOWER, EVESHAM. (Sixteenth Century.)

THE JOURNAL

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MARCH, 1876.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT THE EVESHAM CONGRESS, MONDAY, AUG. 16, 1875.

BY THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD, K.G.,
PRESIDENT.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been the custom of my predecessors in the office of President of this important Association to begin the proceedings with an inaugural address of welcome, and I must not decline to follow the example of such men as Lord Carnarvon, Lord Lytton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Houghton, and others; but the mere mention of such names brings something like a blush into my face that I should have had the temerity to accept a post ever filled by such able and talented archæologists. It would be out of my power, even if I attempted it, to emulate the least learned of the addresses made by them, never having turned my attention to antiquities since I left school, and I shall therefore confine myself to the more humble duty of introducing you to our neighbourhood, through the instrumentality of the great topographical writers, Dugdale and, *longo intervallo*, Nash, the historian of this county of Worcester, and other minor local authorities who have published on the subject. But as it is possible that even in quoting these I may betray my ignorance, I must ask you to overlook my shortcomings, and to be assured that as I am not here to teach, but to be taught; I shall receive with gratitude any criticism you may kindly bestow upon what I have hastily, and perhaps erroneously, gathered from their works.

You will, perhaps, think that I bear too close a resem-

blance to one of my ancestors and predecessors at Ragley, the first Viscount Conway, who was principal secretary to James I, and of whom, in consequence of his not having the gift of a ready pen, the king complained "that Steeny had given him three notable servants, a gentleman of the bedchamber (Clark) who could not untruss a point, for he had but one hand; a chaplain (Dr. Preston) who could not say prayers, for he scrupled the use of the Liturgy; and a secretary of state (Conway) who could neither read nor write, *having been bred a soldier*". I have also been bred a soldier, and you are now suffering from my education—or rather the want of it. As a Warwickshire man, I feel proud that this honourable Association should have thought our counties worthy of a visit, and I may express a hope that their history and monuments may derive fresh illustration and additional interest through its means; but knowing we have so many first-rate archæologists, like Mr. Evelyn Shirley of Ettington, Rev. Peter Brodie, Rev. A. H. W. Ingram, Mr. Tom Burgess, Rev. F. Kittermaster, Rev. Leigh Colvile, etc., and have likewise whole societies devoted to antiquarian research, like the Malvern Field Club, and the Warwickshire Natural History and Archæological Society (whose excellent museum and library may be visited at Warwick), I fear that the ground has been too often gone over, to afford much novelty during the present visit.

The society which I have the honour of addressing was established in 1843, and bears the name of the original society from which the Royal Archæological Institute sprung. Perhaps England is rich enough and broad enough to maintain two bodies similarly engaged in the useful pursuit of antiquarian knowledge, but I hope you will forgive my expressing a hope that those who know more about it than I do, will, before long, see their way to re-uniting the two societies, and so make each more practically and beneficially useful. Surely they would naturally feel the advantage of working together in harmony, and I trust that before another annual gathering we shall see the truth of the old Latin Grammar exemplum, "*Amantium iræ amoris integratio est*".

Gentlemen,—We are standing on the confines of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire, in the picturesque town of Evesham, which has been so well chosen

for our meeting, not only for its own intrinsic merits in the eyes of antiquarians, but from its neighbourhood affording so many objects of real interest. To-day we shall visit the Abbey, the old churches, and other antiquities, and shall hope to see the grounds and museum of Mr. Rudge, so rich in reminiscences of the famous battle of Evesham, in 1265, a subject on which I will not dilate, seeing that we are promised a paper on that historical subject by Mr. Herbert New. During this week we hope to visit Broadway and Buckland, Stanway, Hayles Abbey, Winchcombe, and Sudeley Castle, the residence of my ancestor Lord Thomas Seymour, the brother of the Protector Somerset; Postlip Manor House, Fladbury, Wyre, Pershore Abbey, Deerhurst Saxon Church, thence to Tewkesbury Abbey, some of which interesting places are, as you know, in Gloucestershire.

Nash tells us that what we call Worcestershire, was by the Romans called "Wiccias", probably in the district belonging to the "Cornavii", or perhaps the "Dobuni". It was then a low, woody country, and therefore little known to that warlike and cautious people. We do not find it mentioned by Ptolemy or in Antonine's *Itinerary*, or in *Notitia Imperii* in the year 430, or in the *Anonymous Ravennas*, and it is surmised that the Britons remained in possession and were prevented from marching further than Tewkesbury. Of the four great Roman roads of which we shall hear more from the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the Icknield Street only comes near to Worcestershire and touches the county but lightly, for the marks of Roman ways on the Lickey, on Hagley and Stourbridge commons, were probably only roads of communication between Alcester and the stations in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and not part of the four great Roman roads. The Saxons, by their buildings and religious foundations, have left evident traces behind them in Worcestershire; and, indeed, all the camps we find near here, such as Malvern, Bredon, Wobury, etc., have no appearance of being the works of the Romans, but were thrown up after their time. About the year 990, the Danes overran the island, and Worcestershire was frequently the scene of sharp and bloody actions between them and the Britons. Since the Norman conquest in 1066, nearly all the great families in this and other counties, were ruined by revolutions in Government, and by adhering to the losing side. The Beau-

champs, for instance, both in the time of Stephen, King John, and Richard II, suffered in each reign, while Edward Earl of Warwick and other noble heads of families were executed for siding with Perkin Warbeck against Henry VII. In Henry VIII's reign, the religious houses were dissolved, and the King granted away above one-third of the county, an act by which the greatest blow possible was given to antiquities through the destruction and spoil of no small number of famous monuments, chantries, guilds, and almshouses, as well as of many rare MSS. In the Gunpowder Plot many leading families were concerned, and in the long contest between Charles I and his Parliament, few were able to observe neutrality, although most of the higher rank sided with the king, and suffered when Worcester was surrendered to the Parliamentary forces in 1646. There were four large forests, or, perhaps, I should say, chases, in old days, for royal preserves of game, viz., Feckenham, Ombersley, Horewell, and Malvern, but they were disforested chiefly in the time of Charles I, about 1629. The chief rivers are the Severn, Avon, Teme, and Stour. In the first, salmon were so plentiful that in indentures of apprentices a clause was inserted that they were not to be fed on salmon above twice a week, a reservation which was also made on many other rivers in old times, but not likely to be necessary to repeat in our day.

I have left untouched many of the objects of interest and events connected with Worcestershire, but I fear to weary you, and will conclude my remarks by congratulating its inhabitants on the abundance of fruit this year which forms so large an ingredient in its commerce. In spite of the wet and cheerless season, plums, cherries, pears, and apples seem to have done well, and we may hope that even the hops will put money into the growers' pockets. It may be interesting to note that in A.D. 1428 they were described as "The wicked weed"; whether from its being a gambling species of farming, thought by many to be injurious both to landlord and tenant, or, whether from their effects on the sobriety of society in general, does not appear. Turning now to Warwickshire, which is more immediately my own county, we shall, I hope, meet to-morrow at Stratford-on-Avon, to visit the home of Shakespeare, and endeavour to make ourselves better acquainted with a county which has

not only produced that immortal man who forms its greatest glory, but has produced many others of no inconsiderable note, whose deeds you will find well described by the Rev. F. Leigh Colville in his "Worthies of Warwickshire". I will not forestall what will be so well told by the Rev. Dr. Collis in Shakespeare's own house and by his tomb, but will, with your permission, run quickly through the principal features of the county which, although so near Worcestershire, varies considerably from it in its general aspect and peculiarities. We shall only have to deal with the southern part of the county, viz., the Barlichway Hundred, which comprises Alcester, Henley, Snitterfield, and Stratford-upon-Avon; but it would be unpardonable not to make allusion to places so full of historic interest as Warwick, Kenilworth, Guy's Cliff, Coventry, Stoneleigh Abbey, Rugby, Ettington, Charlecote, etc., but they have been already visited by this Association eleven years since. The great importance likewise of modern Birmingham, the focus of manufacturing industry, demands a visit of itself, including, of course, its adjacent coal-fields, where there are indications of ironworks having existed in the time of the Romans, or perhaps of the Britons. The whole county is studded with tumuli, no doubt many of them places of sepulture, and Dugdale thinks they were often raised artificially by pious relatives as altars of sacrifice to the ghosts of the illustrious dead. In digging into these "lowes", or "tumuli", burnt bones and charcoal are frequently found in urns, which prove that although it was not the custom of the Romans, according to Pliny, to burn their dead, they did so when engaged in remote expeditions amongst enemies who might have desecrated the bodies of those slain in battle. There are also many natural rises in the ground which are sufficiently high and capable of defence to be used by the Roman legions, as for instance in the neighbourhood of Alcester and at Weethley at the southern end of the Ridgeway. In White's Warwickshire we read that at the period of the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, this county was included partly in the territory of the Cornavii, and partly in that of the Wiccii, or Wigantes, the former occupying the northern, the latter the southern part. It contained the Roman Station, Manduessedum, on the Watling Street at Mancetter, and another at Alauna, now Alcester, and pro-

bably another at Chesterton. The Rykniel Street, or Ick-niel, is traceable near Bidford to the north of Alcester, and on the ridgway which divides Warwickshire from Worcestershire, and is so near Ragley that I hope time may be found for visiting it, when you do me the honour of coming there on Saturday. There are several Roman camps still visible along the course of the Fosse-way and on the banks of the Avon. The Watling Street enters Warwickshire at Tripontium, now Dowbridge, on the Avon. On the north side is a five-square stone with "Leicestershire" cut in great letters, and on the south side "Here ends Warwickshire", and on the east "Northamptonshire". There are several remains of the woody tract that has been incorrectly called the Forest of Arden, and you may see a stone in Coughton, near Sir William Throckmorton's, where travellers stopped to offer up their prayers before entering upon its dangers. The northern portion of the county was covered with forests, of which scarce a vestige remains, the timber having been probably used for charcoal in iron smelting, and no doubt contributed largely to the growth and importance of Birmingham. There are many interesting Saxon antiquities, and the ruined castles of Astley, Brandon, Calcedon, Maxstoke, Tamworth, etc., are worthy of a visit. The site of the Battle of Edgehill, which was fought in 1642, between the Royal and Parliamentary forces, when both claimed the victory, ought not to be forgotten. For the minerals I must refer you to the Rev. P. B. Brodie, the secretary and curator of the Warwick Museum.

Having thus hastily run over the chief points worthy of note in the county (though I am conscious of having omitted many of them), I will only again entreat your forgiveness for having ventured on topics with which I am so little acquainted, and express a hope that those who are listening to me and are, like myself, not real antiquarians, will not vote the science of archæology a dry, dusty, uninteresting study, without practical use, but will concede that the less we understand it the more we ought to try and interest the community in the study of our own locality, and that we shall, by looking carefully into the history of the past, lay the foundation of much useful intellectual enquiry and profitable occupation. As was well said by Sir Stafford Northcote, when President at the

Exeter Congress, "Archæology is one of the tributaries of history, and it is one of its principal objects to throw light by its investigations on the history of human progress".

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you for having listened to me so patiently, and I hope that we shall not only meet this evening at the Town Hall, but that you will do me the honour of coming to Ragley on Saturday, where we can go more fully into the history of the ancient Alauna, etc., near which you will be spending the day, and hear some interesting particulars about Jeremy Taylor, Horace Walpole, and others who have graced the spot by their presence at different times.

THE MITRED ABBEY OF ST. MARY, EVESHAM.

BY MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., PRECENTOR AND
PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

EVESHAM, probably the birthplace of Silvester de Evesham, Bishop of Worcester, and of Hugh de Evesham, the Cardinal, who died in 1287,¹ was famous for its mitred abbey, on the site of which as in Habyngdon's time is "a huge deal of rubbish overgrown with grass".

In 1864 I contributed the "Fortunes of Evesham" to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and shall now, therefore, confine my remarks to a consideration of its ground plan.

Six hundred years ago an English king took up his quarters at Offenham, turning away from that noble abbey which crowned the green peninsula seen across the Avon at Evesham, as if its monks had been dirt.² We might well wish that the more appreciative William de Wyrcestre had made part of his itinerary hither, and bequeathed to us a summary of the buildings of the place. It is fortunate that Mr. E. J. Rudge³ by a careful and patient survey of the site has enabled me partly to recover that loss, although it will be possible only to piece together fragments of chronicles and manuscripts and compare them with existing remains or outlines which have been traced, like so many portions of a child's toy-puzzle, in order to reconstruct the whole plan, illustrated by those of other Benedictine houses which here and there give a clue to the arrangements which cognately prevailed here, and are described under their proper heads in my *Dictionary of Sacred Archaeology*.

The arms of the abbey, *azure*, a chain in chevron with a bolt in the dexter and a fetter lock in the sinister shackle, between three mitres labelled, *or*, allude to the pilgrimage of Bishop Ecgwin, the founder, who went fettered from Worcester to Rome, and having thrown the key of his fetter-lock into the Avon had it restored to him by a fish from the Tiber. Thus they may be seen over the porch of the

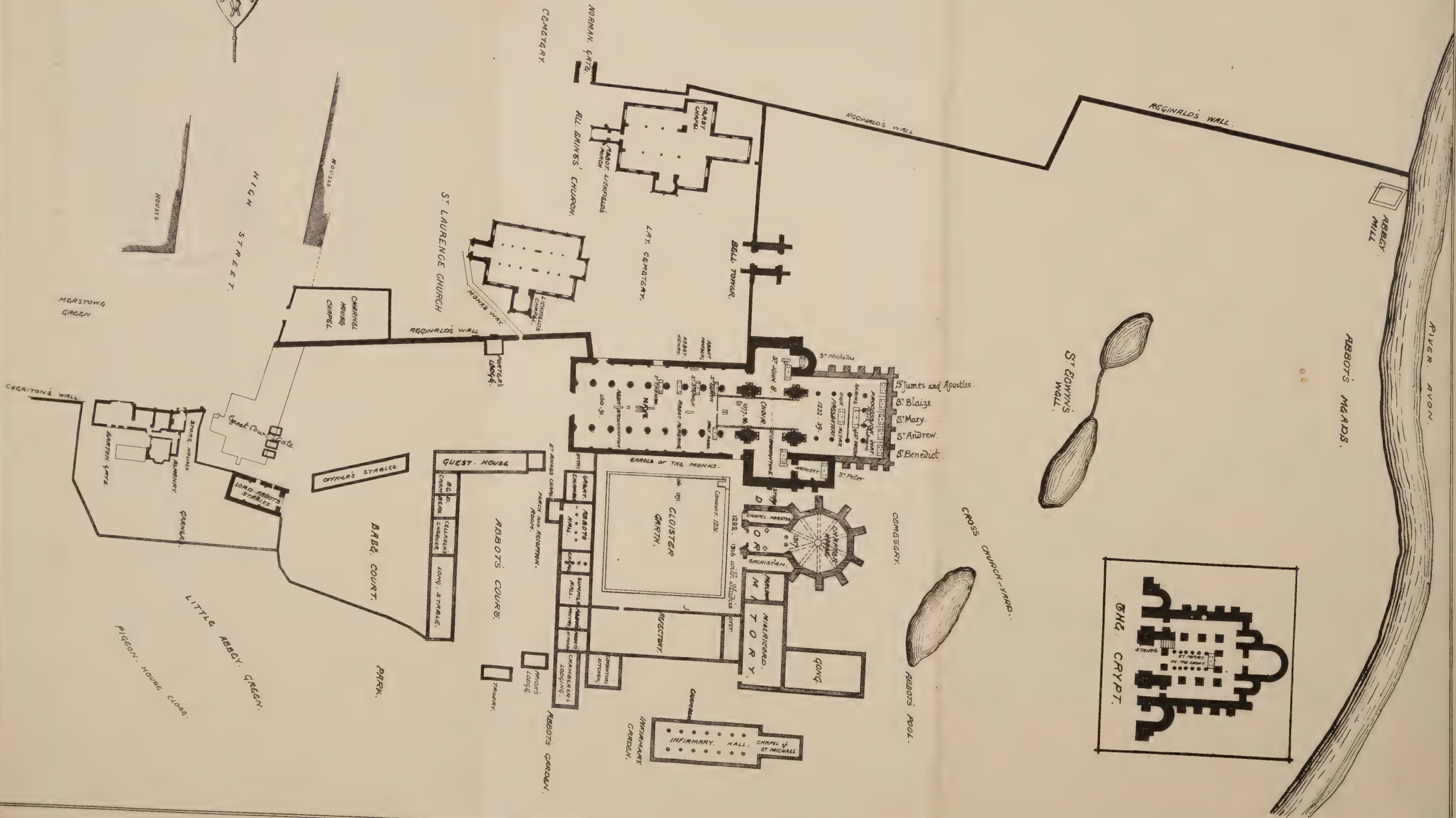
¹ Leland, *Coll.*, ii, 356; Tanner, *Biblio.*, 418; Ciaconii, *Vit. Pontiff.*, ii, col. 239.

² "Immundicias", *Ann. de Wigorn.*, March 25, 1282.

³ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v, and short account, 1820. There are also histories by Tindall and May.



PLAN OF Evesham Abbey Worcester



free school which famous Clement Lichfield built.¹ In 1708 he returned from Rome, and when his royal companions, Offa and Kenred, laid aside their crowns for the monk's cowl, Egwin put off the mitre of Worcester, and became the first abbot of Evesham,² which he had built seven years before on a site given by Ethelred, King of Mercia.

Its name is derived from Eoves, a swain keeping his sheep in the woods of Haum or Holm, who had a wonderful vision of St. Mary and two saints attending her on this spot, a legend afterwards revived in the fields of Premontre.

In considering the ground plan of the church and conventual buildings I have strictly adhered to the golden rule of confining my comparisons and illustrations to others of the respective order by which they were built. Every building, regular or secular, monastic or of the friars, should thus be treated, for Benedictine may somewhat resemble the Austin canons' houses, with material differences; but the Præmonstratensian differed from both and approximated to the Clugniac, whilst the Cistercian, the Carthusian, and the mendicant orders had peculiarities of ground plan which can never deceive the practised eye. Each must furnish its own clues and plot to be at once intelligible and accurate.

The earliest Minster on this site was consecrated by the two bishops Egwyn and Wilfrid. The description of Hexham may, probably, be accepted as applicable to this church; we certainly know that it was one of the finest in England, when Walter, 1077-1086, delighted with the new Norman style and cruciform ground plan, introduced by Edward the Confessor at Westminster,³ determined upon destroying piecemeal the church, which had been only begun by Mannius, 1044-1054, that is, we may understand, the choir only was complete when consecrated on Oct. 10, 1054.⁴

Egelwyn, his predecessor (1059-77),⁵ had bequeathed five coffers full of silver to the new work; and Walter, leaving, ap-

¹ Dingley's *History*, p. 107.

² "693. S. Egwinus 3.us episcopus Wigorn. consecratur qui Abbatiam de Evesham construxit." (*Ann. Wigorn.*, p. 366.) "Ecclesia Eveshamensis dedicata ab Egwino et Wilfrido episcopis." (Leland, ii, 300.)

³ W. Malmesb., lib. ii, § 73.

⁴ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii, 155. "Mannius 1044-54 ecclesiam istam majori opere quam antea fuerat cepit construere, et usque ad bonum finem consummando fecit honestissimè consecrari." (Harl. MS. 3763, fol. 168.)

⁵ "Varchas plenas argento ad novam ecclesiam construendam, quam ipse disposuerat, reliquit." (*Ibid.*, fo. 168b.)

parently, only a portion of the older crypt, built a complete *crypt*, and the *church* (as was usual) from the east end down as far as the site of the future nave, having completed the *tower* arches and lower, or first, storey above them. It had three eastern parallel apses, and an apsidal chapel in each wing of the transept; besides an upper *lady chapel*, where the monk Spereulf beheld S. Egwyn celebrating mass at the altar of St. Mary, in the church, "which was of remarkable beauty"; the crypt is also mentioned.¹ He sent round England some of his monks with the shrine of S. Egwyn, in order to collect funds, just as the canons of Salisbury went on a similar mission when they were building their beautiful church in Merryfield.²

Reginald of Gloucester, 1130-49, built a great portion of the walls of the *nave*.³ In the time of Adam de Carité, 1160-91, the nave was completed.⁴ It had, as at Rochester, a *cemetery-door* on the north side. The shrine of S. Egwin was then erected on the north side, near the tower. The translation took place in 1183.⁵ At the close of the twelfth century the proceeds of the office of the Pitanciar were devoted to the erection of a tower by Thomas de Northwick one of the brotherhood.⁶ In 1207 a violent tempest threw down the new central tower, and in the same storm others at Bury St. Edmund's and Chichester fell.⁷ The tower must have fallen to the north-east side of the Presbytery, as the abbot restored four of the stalls on the prior's side in the choir, and the forms or lower benches in front of them.⁸

¹ *Chron.*, 51, 53.

² "Gualterus ecclesiam Eveshamensem, recenti delectatus opere" [the new style introduced at Westminster], "incepit et antiquum opus quod tunc temporis ex pulcherrimis in Angliâ extitit, paulatim destruxit. Cerneret mirum dictu tam magnum antiquitatis opus in solam cryptam insimul congestum. Deficiente pecuniâ in novum opus monachos suos per totam Angliam misit cum Scrinio Egwini. Unde magna pecuniâ vis corrâsa." (Leland, *Coll.*, ii, 301, al. 368.) "Fecit etiam cryptas et ecclesiam superiùs usque ad navem exceptâ turri quam non perfecit nisi archus et primas fenestras maximè de pecuniâ quam Agelwinus abbas ad hoc opus reliquerat." He died 1086. (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 168b.)

³ *Chron.*, 99; Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 169.

⁴ MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 169b.

⁵ *Ann. Wigorn.*, p. 385.

⁶ *Chron.*, 108.

⁷ *Ann. de Dunstapliâ*, p. 32.

⁸ "Per Thomam de Northwic monachum Turrim ecclesiæ ereximus, convertentes redditus Pitanciarie, et omnia alia quæcunque nobis subtrahere potuimus in opus illud." (*Chron.*, 108) "1207. Thomas de Northwic mortuus est, et Turris ecclesiæ cecidit et comminuit Presbyterium, et (exceptis Feretris S. Egwini, S. Odulfi, et S. Credani, miraculosè conservatis) omnia quæcunque erant preciosa in eo cum Feretro S. Wistani et aliis Feretris et Majori Altari, et tabulis et aliis ornamentis circa illud existentibus. Quarum omnium maximam partem expensis usque ad summam c. marcarum reparavi." (*Ibid.*, 225.)

This great calamity necessitated the reconstruction of a large portion of the *presbytery*. Thomas de Marlberg, (1229) was equal to the emergency; at a cost of 100 marks he repaired all the glass windows and the shrines which had been broken; when all was in hopeless despair he built the eastern turret-towers, and the portion over St. John's altar after a second fall of the tower. In 1295 four altars were arranged against the east wall; at Durham there were nine, and I have mentioned other instances in my *Sacred Archæology*. The crypt was of five alleys, and he proceeded to lay new stone vaultings upon them. He also provided stone vaults and a battlemented alure round the presbytery, and within two years completed the woodwork of the tower.¹

The restorations were completed in 1239 and John, suffragan to the Bishop of Worcester, consecrated the minster church.²

The next historic incident was the burial on August 4, 1265, of Hugh le Despencer, justiciar of England, the popular hero Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, long regarded as an uncanonised saint, and his son Henry, after the great battle of Evesham, before the high altar, and in the presence of King Henry. In 1295 the church was reconciled by the Bishop of Bangor.³

It is now beyond our power to give more than an imperfect view of the interior of the church; the grand Norman

¹ "*Turres etiam Presbyterii fecit et v. tabulata lapidea super v. tecta cryptarum et illam partem ecclesiæ quæ est super Altare S. Joh. B. reparavit post secundum casum Turris et fecit eam in modum pinnaculorum ad ambulandum circa illam partem ecclesiæ et ij Turres fecit super eandem partem ecclesiæ cum tabulatu petri. Fecit etiam iijor primas sedes de choro Prioris et formas in eodem choro. Exceptis tignis Presbyterii, quæ conventus emit pro majori parte, muros presbyterii in modum pinnaculorum ad deambulandum circa Presbyterium quod prius in monasterio factum non fuit, et ipsum Presbyterium cum tectis Cryptarum Presbyterio adjacentibus, et amplius quam medietatem tignorum Turris, infra biennium reparavit.*" (Vesp. B. xxiv, ff. 1, 2.) "*Omnes etiam fenestras vitreas quæ confractæ erant per casum Turris et omnia feretra confracta reparavit. Et Feretrum S. Wulstani novum fecit et iij tabulas altaris majoris reparavit et illam ante majus altare cum ipso altare ampliavit. Nam omnia per casum Turris usque ad desperationem reparationis erant demolita. Turres autem Presbyterii fecit et illam partem ecclesiæ quæ est super Altare S. Johannis Bapt. post secundum casum Turris et fenestram vitream in Presbyterio de Historiâ S. Egwini et ij vitreas in fronte occidentali ecclesiæ.*" (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 171b.) "*Fecit thronum Feretri S. Egwini et feretrum ipsum floribus et lapidibus preciosis per casum Turris mutilatum reparavit.*" (Chron., 269.)

² "*Ricardus le Gras, cujus tempore ven. pater Johannes episcopus dedicavit ecclesiam de Evesham, viz. A.D. MCCXXXIX.*" (MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 172a; Monasticon, 152.)

³ Vitell. E. xvii, fo. 228.

nave of eight bays, the crossing of the same date, the aisleless transept with a chapel to the north wing and a sacristy opening eastward from the southern arm ; the delicate Early English presbytery of five bays, square-ended and without a projecting Lady Chapel, like Worcester and Rochester, but enriched or marred with Perpendicular additions. We are at a loss to pourtray the tall rood-screen with images of holy cross, St. Mary, and St. John, the high altar and its screen, the splendid shrines of St. Egwyn, St. Credan, St. Odulf, and St. Wistan ; the unquenched lamps burning before the many pendant tabernacles, and lighting the fretted vaults, the solemn dark-browed crypt, and the upper avenue, to the mingled sounds of the bells, the organs, the instruments of music and sweet choral song,

“Where erst the long procession swept through Evesham’s
minster pile,
And brightly banner, cross, and cope, gleamed through the
incensed aisle.”

The tomb of St. Wistan adjoined the procession path, and a lectern was erected in the retro-choir for reading out the legend of the saint. One of a similar kind remains in the north choir-aisle of Gloucester. A white marble lectern with the figure of St. Egwyn was dug up, with the pillar or stand wanting.¹

The large east window of the presbytery contained glazing illustrative of the acts of St. Egwyn. The choir stood under the crossing and extended one bay, as at Gloucester and formerly at Peterborough and Chester, into the nave. It was the common arrangement of Norman naves, as in the Austin canons’ houses of Christchurch, Hants, and St. Bartholomew’s, Smithfield ; and Benedictine Norwich ; and St. Alban’s.

At the entrance of the choir stood the usual *altar of the holy cross* with a splendid rood and the images of Saints Mary and John, erected by Abbot Marlberg. It stood on the south side of the pulpit or rood-loft, when it was reconsecrated in 1522.²

¹ *Archæol.*, xvii, pp. 278, 279. Pl. xxiii, xxiv. “1229. Thomas de Marlberg fecit Lectricium retro chorum in ecclesia Evesham. Set legebantur lectiones juxta tumbam S. Wulstani.” (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 171b, 172.) “j lampadem ante Tumbam B. Wlsini (Wistani) continuè ardentem.” (*Monast.*, ii, 40.)

² “Fecit etiam in Navi ecclesiæ Altare S. Crucis, supposito ei lapide marmoreo, et erexit super illud egregiam crucem cum imaginibus B. Mariæ et S. Johannis.” (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 171b.) “j lampadem in Pulpito coram cruce.” (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 172b.)

St. Egwyn's shrine, with an altar against its western face, stood on the north side of the nave, being probably arranged between two pillars. It was first completed by Abbot Adam.¹

Abbot Cheriton's chantry was at the *altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury, M.* in the nave.²

Abbot Norton was buried at "the greeces by the *altar of Jesus* in the nave".³ The greeces, as in the "Grecian" stairs at Lincoln, mean steps, which no doubt led up to the platform of the altar.

The *altar of St. John Baptist* adjoined the crossing upon the north side. It was dedicated on St. Theodore's day, 1203, by Philip, Archbishop of Tuam,⁴ and again by the Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1295.⁵

The *altar of St. Peter* was in the sacristy, and had a rood beam over it.⁶

The *altar of St. Stephen* (with Boys' chantry for those who died in the plague of 1350) is mentioned in 1345.⁷

The *altar of St. Constantine* is spoken of by Rudge. The apsidal eastern chapel of the north wing possibly was the site of *St. Nicholas' altar*, built in the time of Abbot Eglyn.

Altars of St. James and the Apostles, of St. Blaize, of St. Andrew, and of *St. Benedict* were consecrated by the Bishop of St. Asaph in 1295,⁸ these occupied the procession path behind the high altar. The central eastern *Chapel of St. Mary* is mentioned as the burial place of Abbot Wickewane in 1460, before St. Catherine's image.⁹ The arrangement resembled that of the new work of Peterborough, the nine altars of Durham, that of Cistercian Fountains and Abbey Dore, and the Abbey of Hexham, an Austin canons' house.¹⁰

¹ MS. Harl. 3703, fo. 169. "iiij Nonas Septembris die lunæ A.D. 1522 consecrata erat ara ex parte septemtrionali Navis ecclesiæ in honorem *S. Egwini*. Eodem anno et die dedicata erat ex adversâ parte aræ in honorem salutiferæ *Crucis* à Radulpho suffraganeo episcopi Wigorn. et episcopo Ascolens." (*Monasticon*, ii, 12.) "j cereum ante Feretrum S. Egwini continuè ardentem." (Ib., 40.) "William Boys in navi ecclesiæ coram *imagine gloriosæ Virginis* ecclesiasticæ traditur sepulturæ." (*Chron.*, 299.) Under a marble stone before S. Egwin's altar. (Habyngdon, fo. 10.)

² *Chron.*, 307. ³ Add. MS. 5828, fo. 174. ⁴ Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 170 b.

⁵ Vitell. E. xviii, fo. 228. "1380-1418. Sustentabat luminare *S. Johannis Baptistæ*: viz. omni die Nativ. ejus xxiiij cereos coram altare ejusdem." (*Chron.*, 305.)

⁶ "Et trabem ante altare S. Petri cum cruce et imaginibus (Marlberg) reparavit et exaltavit ad majus luminare Vestiarii." (Vesp. xxiv, fo. 10.)

⁷ *Chron.*, 299.

⁸ *Monasticon*, ii, 34.

⁹ Habyngdon, fo. 11 b.

¹⁰ "1070-77. Agelwinus quondam Capellam valdè honestam in honore S.

There was also an *altar of St. Mary in the crypts*.¹ A taper always burned before the high altar, and on one side the abbot's chair, as at Peterborough, was set, under a canopy. Immediately behind it was the *shrine* with an *altar of St. Wistan*,² consecrated in 1233 by the suffragan of the Bishop of Worcester, occupying a similar position to those of St. Edward at Westminster, St. Edmund at Bury, St. Cuthbert at Durham, St. Guthlac at Crowland, St. Alban in his glorious church, St. Frideswide at Oxford, St. Thomas at Canterbury.³

Bretforten's chantry was founded to repair any omissions in the celebration of Divine service.⁴

The square-ended *sacristy* stood above a crypt; it replaced an apsidal chapel, and as at Worcester, Norwich, Dunster, and Selby (and in the Austin canons' minsters of Christchurch, Hants, Worksop, Bristol, Oxford) stood on the south side of the chair.⁵ The *treasury* [thesauria], a place for precious relics, is mentioned in Marlberg's time.⁶ There is a beautiful example at Gloucester in the north wing.

Habyngdon says, that "the abbey and cloisters were of curious workmanship, and had withinside one hundred and sixty-four gilt marble pillars. There were also in the church sixteen altars, all in so many chapels dedicated to their respective saints."⁷

Nicholai construi et consecrari laudabiliter fecit." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 168b.) "Brokehampton, 1282, 1316. Capellam B. Mariæ cum v fenestris et voltâ honestâ et nodis deauratis decenter fecit, in quâ splendide sunt depicta historia Salvatoris, et aliæ historiæ diversarum virginum, ubi etiam ij erexit tabulas sumptuose depictas et deauratas ante et super altare ibidem stantem", made by Richard Painter of London. (*Chron.*, 286.) Marlberg changed the lights, "ut lampas tunc ante majus altare modo verò ad Tumbam B. Wulsini et lampas in Cryptis ante altare S. Mariæ jugiter essent ardentes." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 171b.) "j crassetum ardens usque mane singulis noctibus ante Altare S. Mariæ. j lampadem ante Altare S. Mariæ continuè ardentem." (*Monasticon*, ii, 40.)

¹ Vitell. xvii, fo. 228.

² S. Wistan (Wulsin incorrectly in the *Monasticon*) was the grandson of K. Wihtlaf of Mercia. The legend of the pillar of light discovering his body after Berferth murdered him, is told by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontiff.*, lib. iv, § 161.

³ "Sacrista invenire debet j cereum ante Magnum Altare continuè ardentem." (*Monasticon*, ii, 1.) "Unum cereum continuè ardentem in honore S. Wulstani (Wistani) et aliorum sanctorum." (*Monast.*, ii, 40.) 1233, Feb. 27. "Fecit dedicari Capellam [Feretrum, 266] S. Wistani quem ipse construxerat ab episcopo Johanne qui supplevit vices episcopi Wigorn." (*Chron.*, 277.)

⁴ *Chron.*, 281.

⁵ At Westminster, as the Chapel of S. Faith, it lies parallel with the south wing. At Chester it is eastward of the north arm of the transept.

⁶ MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 171.

⁷ MS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The pillars in the nave were plastered to receive wall paintings such as remain in the nave of St. Alban's. They showed signs of the effect of an unrecorded fire. There were sixteen pillars in the nave, four under the lantern, eight in the eastern arm, and twelve in the crypt, so that he must have included every respond and shaft.

I will now touch upon the *architectural history*. The *transept* and *crossing* were among the oldest portions, being completed 1077-1086, and therefore resembled the corresponding building at Ely, Winchester, and St. Alban's, and the crypt of Worcester.

The *nave* was completed 1130-1191, and resembled St. Cross, Hants, Kirkstall, Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford, the transept of Peterborough, the nave of Ely, and the choir of Canterbury.

The Norman *eastern arm* was partly rebuilt with Early English details, 1222-1239, thus being in part contemporaneous with the south wing of the transept of York Minster, the choir of Southwell, and the presbytery of Ely. Robert More and Abbot Zatton recast the structure, 1380-1418.¹

Leland says, "that Lichfield built much about the quire in adorning it,"² again confounding Zatton with Lichfield in this work here as in the *bell tower*.

Dingley, moreover, mentions that the tower bore these arms, an anchor in a scutcheon, with the motto, "Qui gloriatur gloriatur in Domino", which are utterly different from those which occur in connection with Lichfield.

A fragmentary jotting by Leland (who barely mentions "the late abbey", as though it had been swept away by Sir Philip Hoby) that Lichfield "made a right sumptuose and high square towre of stone in the cemetary of Evesham; this tower had a great bell in it, and a goodly clocke and was as a gatehouse to one piece of the abbey",³ has been adopted without suspicion by every succeeding writer. The inscription on his tomb simply said, "Orate pro animâ Domini Clement Lichfield sacerdotis in cujus tempore nova turris Eveshamia (*sic* Eveshamia) ædificata est",⁴ implying that in his time a new tower was built, but not asserting that he built a campanile, which the best historian of the town owns

¹ "Presbyterium istius loci factum fuit in tempore suo, ad quod gratiosas manus adjutrices apposuit tam in cariagio lapidum et meremii quàm ad fenestras cum adjutorio mag. Roberti More." (*Chron.*, 305.)

² *Itin.* iv, fo. 168.

³ *Itin.* ii, 72, fo. 1686.

⁴ Habyngdon MS.

bears the architectural character of the preceding century, and more recently the editor of the *Domestic Architecture* (iii, 340) also affirms. At Worcester, "turre nova" meant the great central tower.¹ The detached "campanile" or "clocherium" was built there in 1374.² The abbot was embarrassed (onustus) with exactions of the crown, to an extent which would not enable him to undertake such a costly building as the superb bell tower, and the continuation of the chronicle mentions no work achieved by him whilst commenting upon this fact (p. 340). So Habyngdon (1640) quotes "a treatise of the abbey of Evesham written as it seemeth by some out of that house, transcribed by that antiquary Mr. Thomas Talbot." The MS. says that Lichfield "builded a free school for educacon of children", but the transcriber, of his own invention, added that "in his curious chappell it is menconed that in his time ye new tower of Evesham was builded, which is yet untuched". The negative evidence furnished by the chroniclers contemporaneous with Lichfield, and the character of the style of the building itself, to the ordinary eye differing from that of his chantry, together with the positive assertion with regard to Zatton's claim to its erection, must be weighed by the thoughtful reader against the loose assertions of later writers and their uncritical followers.

The *central tower* under Zatton's reconstruction was of the Perpendicular style. It contained the bells; two named *Jesus* and *Gloriosa* were of large size, the gift of Abbot Adam. Abbot Reginald added two others, *Benedict* and *his mate*; and two more, called *Gloucester* and *his fellow*, completed the peal.³

After the fall of the tower, motives of prudence dictated the erection of a detached *belfry tower*, as at Tewkesbury, Bury, Westminster, Worcester, and Canterbury, like those of Salisbury, destroyed by Wyatt, and Chichester still remaining. Adam Sortes, afterwards prior of Penwortham, commenced it before 1207, and in 1222 Marlberg contributed to its erection. In 1261 it was struck by lightning. The upper portion was injured, and after a lamentable fall

¹ *Ann. Wigorn. Ang. Sacr.*, i, 476; and Prof. Willis in *Journal of Roy. Arch. Inst.*, xx, 108.

² *Ecclesiologist*, 1857, p. 58.

³ "Fecit ij maximas campanas Jhesum et Gloriosam." (Harl. MS. 3763.) "Campanas Benedictum et socium ejus fecit, et tintinnabula, scil. Gloucestre et socium ejus adquisivit." (*Chron.*, 99.)

rebuilding became a necessity in 1319. It formed a spacious *lich gate* as at Bury and West Walton, and also a grand entrance portal to the minster church. Its "construction" is assigned to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Leland attributes "this right sumptuous and high square tower" to abbot Lichfield contrary to the chronicler, but Mr. Parker with his usual sagacity assigns its true date as "a very fine panelled gateway tower of the fifteenth century".¹ Abbot Boys in 1354 added to the peal Egwin, Maria, and Grace, which were blessed by the archbishop of Nazareth,² and also a bell over the lavatory rung before dinner and bevers.³ There was also a bell John, with an escutcheon and legend, "Qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur".

The *central tower*, which Browne Willis describes as "high", was rebuilt it would seem by abbot Clement Lichfield 1514-1539, as on his tomb were the words, "Cujus tempore nova turris Eveshamiæ ædificata est".⁴

The *crypt* extended under the entire east arm and transept chapels. It was of three main alleys, with the central subdivided into three alleys of seven bays by two arcades. The staircase was on the north side, eastward of the crossing. It had an eastern chapel flanked by stair turrets.

The arrangement of the slype or entry and the shape of the chapter-house bore direct likeness to Worcester.

Internal Dimensions in Feet.

	Length.		Breadth.		Height.	
Nave - - -	-	157	...	76.8	...	
Crossing - -	-	38	...	38	...	
Eastern arm -	-	84	...	68	...	
Transept - -	-	116	...	32	...	
Crypt - - -	-	64	...	69	...	
Sacristy - -	-	25	...	18.6	...	
Bell-tower -	-	28	...	28	...	110
Chapter House, diameter	-		...	51	...	

Total internal length, about that of Ripon, 268 feet.

¹ *Dom. Archit.*, ii, 252.

² Thomas Bedingfield, in 1335 suffragan to the Bishop of Norwich. He was one of the titular suffragans employed by English bishops, such as Peter of Bologna, Bishop of Zengg, coadjutor to the Bishop of London; John Pigge, in 1534, etc. I have given a list in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser., ii, 1-3.

³ Nero, D. iii, fo. 246.

⁴ "Ad magnum campanale quod mag. Adam Sortes incepit dedit plusquam ad valentiam unius marce." (Vesp. B. xxiv, fo. 16; *Chron.*, 224.) "1261. Summitas *Clocherii* ecclesiæ Eveshamiæ conflagravit fulgure." (*Ann. de Wigorn.*, p. 446.) "1291. Campanile cum tantâ vi et impetu violento concussum est, quo maxima pars ejusdem campanilis tam de materiâ quam de plumbo cecidit." (Leland, *Coll.*, i, 248.) "1319. Wilhelmus de Stowe Sacrista fecit novum campanarium." (Leland, *Coll.*, i, 249, al. 293.) "1380-1418. Tempore Rogeri Zaton *Campanile* de Evesham fuit constructum." (*Chron.*, 305.)

I now proceed to the conventual buildings. Before the close of the eleventh century we find mention of a complete monastery. Abbot Adam in 1160 completed the water system "aquæductus et lavatorium"¹ and its pipes and conduits have been traced in the present century across the close.²

Abbot Maurice built the old *chapter-house*, the *dormitory*, the *private parlour*, and the *chapel of St. Mary Magdalene*. These formed the east side of the cloister court. The private parlour was used for conversation on conventual business when silence was observed in cloister time.³

His successor, Reginald, 1130-1149, proceeded with the old *refectory*, the *regular parlour* over the guest *chapel of St. Anne* [the *guest house* itself with a *chamber* was afterwards pulled down], and the *great kitchen*. The refectory was on the south side of the cloister garth, and the kitchen intervened between it and the guest house as was usual. The regular parlour was the reception room of persons arriving on business, or ordinary visitors and callers on the monks and merchants uttering their wares.⁴

Abbot Adam, 1160-1191, completed the cloister on the west side and along the newly built nave on the north. Near the west alley he erected the old *infirmarium* with its double chapel [afterwards as at St. Alban's, the site of the *abbot's lodge*], the *bakehouse*, *brewhouse*, the barns or *garners*, and other chambers, and fenced the windows of the *miseri-cord*, a hall where flesh meat was eaten, with iron grates. He also added the *privy dortor* or *gong* to the dormitory. In 1222 it was threatening to become a ruin, and Malberg underarched it. A similar arrangement existed at Battle and Canterbury.⁵

¹ *Chron.*, 100; Harl. MS. 3763, fol. 169a.

² The Domus Infirmorum, Cellarium, Coquina, Pistrinum, Balnearium, Sartrina, Pomerium, Ostium Claustri, Magna Porta, and Vineæ, are mentioned at this time. (Harl. MS. 3763, 168b, 169.)

³ Mauricius fecit *Vetus Capitulum* et *Dormitorium* et *Privatum Locutorium* cum *Capellâ S. Mariæ Magdaleneæ*." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 169.)

⁴ "Fecit et *Vetus Refectorium* et *Regulare Locutorium* cum *Capellâ* et *Aulam Hospitum* cum *Camerâ* et magnam *Coquinam*." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 169.) "Marlberg fecit etiam tabulatum Locutorii super capellam S. Annæ ad occidentem." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 169b.)

⁵ "Adam. Pistrinum et Bracinum et Granarium et Vetus Infirmaria quæ nunc est thalamus Abbatis et Privatum Dormitorium ejus tempore facta sunt, et thalamum qui nunc est ad Firmariam et letricium Capituli ipse fecit. Claustrum etiam quod Mauricius et Reginaldus abbates pro parte fecerunt et Navis ecclesiæ ejus tempore perfecta sunt. Ipse multas fenestras vitreas apposuit."

I now proceed to consider the changes made in these buildings.

West alley of the cloister. Abbot Brokehampton¹ built it, together with the *monks' studies* over it; similar chambers occur at Norwich and may be traced in the south alley of Sherborne and Chester. They are also mentioned at the Grey Friars, London.

East alley. This abbot also erected the *chapter house* in 1317, in place of one which Marlberg had enriched with painting. It was, like those of Worcester and Westminster, polygonal, and therefore as exceptional in a Benedictine house, as the Cistercian one at Margam, and those of Thornton and Bolton among Austin canons. It was vaulted, without a central pillar, with gilded bosses and windows on every side, being one of the most beautiful in England.

The only remains are a Decorated entrance arch or portal, with images in the mouldings, like those of a doorway at Rochester, and the Erpingham gatehouse at Norwich.²

Henry the mason continued the works of a new *dormitory, refectory, abbot's hall, and conventual kitchen.*

The *dormitory*, which had lines of single beds under its windows,³ was erected over cellarage vaulted throughout, which contained the *chamber of the chapel master* (the president of the chantry priests and keeper of the Lady Chapel), the *sacristan's chamber* and the *misericord*.⁴

(*Chron.* 269.) "Omnes fenestras Magnæ Infirmariæ ferreis obstaculis munivit." (*Chron.*, 269.) "Omnia vestimenta Capellæ Superioris Infirmariæ fecit cum ostio Speculæ" [a look-out turret or gloriette] "ejusdem. Magnas fenestras Misericordiæ ferreis obstaculis ab ingressu hominum munivit." (*Chron.* 270.) "Et Privatum Dormitorium minans ruinam iij arcubus suffulsit in quibus arcubus expendit plusquam quatuor marcas." (*Vesp. B.* xxiv, fo. 2.)

¹ John de Brokehampton, 1282-1316. "Illa pagina Claustrî, ex opposito Capituli, super quem *Studii* monachorum ædificati sunt, ejus tempore et auxilio constructa est." (*Chron.*, 286.)

² "Fecit *Domum Capituli*, intus et exterius artificiosè constructam cum voltâ optimâ, absque base mediâ" [without a central pillar] "nodis deauratis pulchrè ornatam, vitreis etiam fenestris circumdatam." (*Chron.* 286.) "1317. Hoc anno Capitulum Evesham fuit ædificatum, quæ domus propter sui amplitudinem similiter et pulchritudinem inter omnes domus hujus regni una de principalibus habetur. Fecit illam paginam claustrî, quæ est ex opposito Capituli cum voltâ et studiis monachorum superius. (Leland, *Coll.*, 249, al. 293.) 1319 obiit Henricus Lathamus qui Capitulum, Dormitorium, Refectorium, Aulam Abbatis et Coquinam artificiosè composuit." (*Ibid.*)

³ Lyndw., lib. iii, t. 19, p. 205.

⁴ "Brokehampton, 1282-1316, fecit *Dormitorium* longum bonum benè et fortiter cum voltis fulcitum ab uno usque in alium finem, sub quibus diversæ sunt officinæ constitutæ, viz. *Camera Magistri Capellæ, Camera Sacristæ, Misericordia, et aliæ.*" (*Chron.* 286.)

The misericord for meat commons, eaten by monks who by turns were excused from choir and cloister, and thus indulged, occurred at Tewkesbury and Westminster, where it stood parallel with the refectory, a common room for wine being arranged in "St. Dunstan's Chapel" under the dormitory.

The *long chamber* for those who were blooded, with the *gallery* and *privy dorter* in an upper storey, were added by the same liberal benefactor. They ran probably eastward over drains towards the river. The term gallery occurs at Peterborough and Ely.

To the south of the *misericord*, from which a door opened into it, stood the new *infirmary*, composed of a hall with chambers in the aisles, and an eastern *chapel of St. Michael*. It had its own garden, which reached as far as the front of the *conventual kitchen*. Long chamber is still the name for the gong at New College, Oxford.¹

South alley of the cloister. The *refectory* was another of Brokehampton's additions. Abbot Zatton paved both the hall and the cloister alley in front of it. Adjoining the door was the lavatory used before dinner, above it hung the bell which rang for dinner and bevers.²

The north alley of the cloister was occupied with the *carols*³ of the monks; it was erected between 1367 and 1379 by abbot Ombersley. An entry, slype, or *tresaunt* ran southward from it to the *guest house*. The carols remain at Gloucester and Worcester, being screened recesses for readers and writers.

¹ "Fecit Longam Cameram pro minutis cum voltâ, super quam ædificatur Ambulatorium et Privatum Dormitorium." (*Chron.* 287.) 1218-1229. Marlberg prevailed "ut Hortus Infirmarie ampliaretur ad latitudinem Coquinæ, et magnos sumptus in fossato et muris clausuræ ejus fecit: etiam Ostium Misericordie versus eundem hortum posuit." (*Chron.* 271.) "Arcum etiam nobiliorem Novæ Infirmarie fecit." (*Vesp. B.* xxiv, fo. 1.) "Brokehampton. Domus nobilis Infirmarie edificata est ubi nunc sunt pro infirmis camere diversæ." (*Chron.* 286.) "Feb. 29. Dedicavit eidem episcopus Capellam S. Michaelis in Infirmaria cujus altari abbas lapidem marmoreum superposuit." (*Chron.* 277.)

² "John de Brokehampton, 1282-1316, dedit Conventui ad istud Refectorium ædificandum c libras argenti cum totali meremio." (*Chron.* 286.) "Roger Zatton, 1380-1418, solvit pro omnibus custibus pavimenti rectorarii, et illius paginæ" [alley] "juxta idem refectorium." (*Chron.* 305.)

³ "John de Ombersley, 1367-79, ædificavit paginam illam claustrum contiguam ecclesie, ubi carolæ fratrum consistunt, tam in muris et fenestris vitreis quam in pavimentis pro dictâ paginâ, et pro aliâ versus Hostiam sibi annexa." (*Chron.*, p. 301; Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 176.) "Fecit etiam Piscinam in Claustro extra hostium ecclesie et Caminum in ecclesie" [the furnace for baking the hosts] "cum pede orologii." (*Vesp. B.* xxiv, fo. 1, 2.)

At the east end fronting the procession door¹ to the nave was the lavatory built by Marlberg.²

The west side of the cloister lay between the slype to the guest house on the north, and the convent kitchen to the south, which the abbot's kitchen adjoined with the pantry; then in the central range were the *abbot's hall*,³ *chamber*, and *chapel*, with the new chambers facing the *abbey court*.

The *abbey* or *base court* was thus enclosed by the *abbot's house* on the east, on the north and west by the *guest house*, to the south were gardens, the brewhouse, and bakehouse.

The *abbot's lodge* in its complete condition had a *summer hall*, with a small chapel between the refectory and his great chamber southward. The latter was erected upon cellarage and adorned with the history of Joseph; a gong adjoined. There was another chamber, called at the dissolution the *prince's lodging*. The *abbot's hall* was raised upon cellarage, as at St. Augustine's, Canterbury; and was provided as at Battle, with a vaulted porch and reception room over it. The abbot's house thus abutted on the Church at Westminster, Tewkesbury, Chester, and St. Alban's; and the prior's lodge at Gloucester; at Peterborough and Ely the abbot's palace was slightly detached to the west. The *abbot's kitchen* adjoined that of the convent.⁴

The *guest hall* stood over the vaulted storehouse used by

¹ "Marlberg, 1231, fecit unam de voltis ecclesiæ retro Ostium Processionis de claustro."

² "Marlberg Capitulum pro majori parte depinxit. Fecit etiam Lavatorium ante ostium ecclesiæ in claustro." (Harl. MS. 3763, 171 b.)

³ "Brokehampton, 1282, fecit Aulam Abbatis cum Camerâ et Capellâ; et Coquinam cum Panetriâ, et Novas Cameras in abbatiâ ex parte occidentali, cum Longo Stabulo." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 173.)

⁴ "Marlberg. Et quum abbas Randulphus fecisset simplicem Thalamum juxta Aulam Abbatis, iste abbas, ut esset thalamus congrue habitabilis, apposuit ex unâ parte ejusdem thalami *Capellam*, et subtus eam voltam optimam, et ex alterâ parte thalami optimam domi Necessariam. Suffulsit etiam ipsam Aulam arcu lapideo." (*Chron.* 276.) "Fecit Randulfus Speculam abbatis juxta Aulam in curiâ sed tamen destruxit Aulam, Hospitium et Stabulum, nobile ædificium, volens reædificare." (*Ibid.*, 262.) The *specula* was an upper closet, like the *gloriette* at Canterbury, commanding a view over the court. "1282-1316. Brokehampton fecit egregiam Aulam Abbatis et porticum ad ostium aulæ, cum voltâ, et super illum Domum receptionis. Huic aulæ *Coquinam* *Conventus* adjunxit. *Coquinam* *Conventus* juxta Coquinam Abbatis edificavit et perfecit. Fecit *Pantriam* juxta Coquinam, et *Cameram* *Abbatis* depictam cum historiâ Joseph cum Parvâ Capellâ sibi annexâ, et sub hac camerâ volta fortis erigitur ubi nunc est cellarium vini. Domus *Pistrinæ* et *Brascinæ* fortiter et sumptuosè ædificare fecit." (*Chron.* 287.) "1345-67. William Boys fecit Aulam *Æstivalem* cum parvâ Capellâ et Camerâ sibi annexâ, stantem inter *Refectorium* et *Magnam* *Cameram* *Abbatis*, quæ aula prius stabat in Clauso Seneschalli." (*Chron.* 296.)

the kitchener for pittances, the extra commons, or exceedings, which were allowed upon special days. It adjoined the abbot's lodge, because the guests ate fleshmeat along with him and his commensal monks.¹ It formed a large hall with lateral tables, and opened into two bed chambers on the west, erected over cellarage.

The *long stable* of the guests' and cellarer's chambers were on the west,² the long stable of the officers or obedienciaries stood upon the north side.³ A hall for monks on their travels adjoined the great hall.

To the west of this court stood the *almonry* as usual adjoining the abbey or court gate, as at Tewkesbury and Worcester. Its site may still be traced at Canterbury, St. Alban's, Durham, Norwich, and Westminster. It was the place where the doles were daily distributed, and often a school and almshouse were annexed to it. Here it faced north with a large window fronting the green, and two rooms with large fireplaces; between them was a stone lantern of four sides, like those in the cloister of Tewkesbury and the prior's lodge at Gloucester. It was reserved to abbot Hayford for his life and is then described thus:—"The lodging or building called the *Almery*, adjoyninge to the *gate* at the comynge unto the said late monastere are the north, upon the *Lord's stable* on the southe, apon the *Basse courte* towards the este and apon *Barton gate* towards the west, with one garden called the *Almery garden*, one great courte or yard called the *Almery courte*, one kechyn, ij stables."⁴

The *great gate house*, having the almonry on the west, was once "as large and stately as any at this time in England",⁵ it has disappeared like many of its rivals. It had

¹ Lyndw., p. 209.

² *West side*, "ijas insuper *Cameras* in *Curiâ* ex parte occidentali, ex opposito *aulæ* predictæ cum earum *voltis* pro *Hospitibus* fecit." "Et *Cameram Cellerarii* (cum aliâ sibi adjunctâ) super arcum bene ædificatum." (*Chron.*, 287.) "Fecit *Longum Stabulum* in eâdem parte pro *Hospitibus* bene constructum."

³ *North side*. "*Longum Stabulum* ex parte aquilonari in dictâ *curiâ* pro *Officinariis* deputatum ædificatum est. *Pitanciaria Coquinarii* cum *voltâ*, et super illam *Aula* pro *Hospitibus* constructa." (*Chron.* 287.) "Wm. de Cheryton, 1316, concessit officio hostiliarii *Veterem Cameram* juxta *Aulam Hospitum Abbatis* ad dilatandum et faciendum *Aulam* et *Cameram* pro viris religiosis honestius et decentius quam antea fuerant. Fecit etiam nobilem *Portam Abbatie* [in *Curiâ* versus *villam*] cum *Capellis* et *Cameras* circumjacentibus honestè desuper crenellatam [vultis]" (MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 174) ["*imaginibus* etiam *petrinis* B. *Virginis*; S. *Egwini* et regum, decenter circumdatam." (*Chron.* 292.)

⁴ *Monasticon*, and Rudge, 49.

⁵ Habyngdon MS., fo. 14.

been embattled in 1333 by licences granted 6 and 10 Edward III,¹ and was adorned with statues of St. Mary, St. Egwin, and royal benefactors. It faced the Mastow Green on the west and the Minster on the east. To the south is a groined building of five bays with arches, formerly the *lord's* [abbot's] *stables*, and to the north is the niche for an image of St. Mary in the *charnel-house chapel*, built about the year 1540, as a chantry for benefactors, over a crypt or ossuary for poor remains of mortality dug up in opening new graves, as at Worcester, Peterborough, and Winchester. Another adjacent building contains part of a staircase and some small wall arches.²

On the west side of the *almonry court* was the farmyard or *Barton gate*, a name occurring at Tewkesbury and Winchester.

"Barton gate with a dove-house in the towre of the same gate and all the range of buildings called the Storehouse, abutting upon the towre of the abbey gate north, and the Garner south, and upon the Almerly west, with all the other buildings, rome, and chambers, ways, course, and recourse belonging to the said almerly".³

"Pigeon-house Close" and "Little Abbey Gardens" preserve recollections of the original occupation of the site; the "storehouse" between the gatehouse and garner, lying north and south, and abutting on the west side of the Almonry Court, with the Hynde (hinder) gardens, entered by two gateways on the south. Upon the north of the embattled Barton Gate, facing the town green, a wall built by abbot Cheriton ran down towards the Avon.

"The lodgings also called the receipt in which the records of the monastery remain, and hitherto have been accustomed to remain, and also the steward's lodgyng with the dove-cote and a garden".⁴

Proceeding now in a north-easterly direction from the

¹ MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 128b.

² Boys, 1345-67. "*Capella noviter constructa in Cæmeterio ad Portam Abbathe.*" It was a chantry for kings, abbots, benefactors and brethren. (*Chron.* 299.) "Ombresley, 1367-69. Capellam extra *Portam Abbathe* super imaginem B. V., annexam *capellæ* dictæ vulgariter *Charnelhouse*." (*Chron.* 300.)

³ *Monasticon*, ii, 43. "Cheryton Portam in Bertona versus villam et bene desuper crenellatam, et ab illâ portâ ad fluvium Avene abbaciam ex illâ parte muro lapideo bene munivit. Fecit et ij Portas contiguas versus gardina cum j camerâ desuper honestissime situatâ." (MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 174.)

⁴ Rudge, and *Monasticon*, ii, 40.

gatehouse with its adjacent chapels of the almonry and charnel-house we reach abbot *Reginald's wall*, which can be traced with little interruption along the south side of the two churches of St. Lawrence and All Saints (there were two similar churches at Bury, Coventry, and Malmesbury¹) then parallel with the west side of the bell tower, until it turns sharply to the east down to the river, where the abbey mill once stood.²

Habyngdon mentions "a great and curious walk to go at certain times to St. Lawrence's Church to say mass". The door opened to it by stairs from the nave, and the *porter's lodge* fronted Lichfield's chapel.

Parallel with this wall ran the *cemetery wall*, which Wm. de Beauchamp once destroyed, on the west and north, pierced with the *cemetery*³ or *Norman gate* facing the market place ; its lower storey being still preserved. Abbot Zetton built four cottages for bedesmen adjoining it.

We now take the east side of the *precinct*. Eastward of the chapter-house was *Cross Churchyard*, so called from a cross at which offerings were made as at St. Alban's,⁴ and probably sermons preached. It was the *Monks' Cemetery* which Marlberg enclosed with walls at a great cost.⁵

Between it and the *Abbey Meadows* which border the river bank are a line of three pools, that to the south being the *Abbot's Pool*. Two of these fish stems, near St. Egwin's Well, were made by abbot Randolph.

We are able to fill the space which still intervenes southward of the infirmary, refectory, and conventual kitchen by the following survey :

"Reserved for the King's officers of the Court of Augmentation, the Lodgyng called the Dortor, Prinse lodgyng within the seid late monastery."⁶ The Prince's Lodging was

¹ In some Benedictine churches the parish church formed an integral part of the structure, as in the naves of Brecon and Dunster ; the south wing of Chester ; attached on the north-west of the aisle at St. Alban's, and to the west front of Sherborne. Usually there was a detached parish church, as at Westminster.

² "Reginaldus de Gloucestre amovit domos militum de Kynewerton et de Cocton et aliorum à loco ubi modo est Ortus Monachorum et crufta S. Kenelmi quibus quasi obsessa fuit abbatia. Totam etiam abbatiam et Cœmiterium optimo muro vallavit." (Harl. MS. 3763, fo. 169.)

³ "Robert Zetton, 1380-1418, ædificavit de novo iiijor cotagia juxta *Portam Cœmiterii* pro pauperibus inhabitandis et orantibus pro se." (*Chron.* 305.)

⁴ *Chron.* 281.

⁵ "Muros Cœmiterii monachorum magnis sumptibus reparavit." (*Vesp. B.* xxiv, fo. 1.)

⁶ *Monast.*, ii, 44.

probably a guesthouse for travellers of high birth. "Reserved to Clement Lichfield, late Abbot, the lodging called the Chaumberer's Chamber" [Chamberlain's in St. Lawrence parish, Comp. Ministr.], "adjoyneng upon the Abbot's Poles este, and upon the Basse Courte weste, and upon the Abbott's garden southe, and upon the Prince's Chappell Chamber northe, with a kecheyn, a garden, a little courte. Also a house called the *Tailours' House*, or Applehouse, and one orchard within the parke, called the Caliver or Culver (*i. e.*, the Doves) Crofte, and one pole (or standing water) to the same."¹

The king sold to Philip Hobby for £891 10s. the whole site, "le Hither Mershe, le Further Mershe, le Stewards Close, le horse close and Laines Close 67 acres, exceptis domibus voc' Le Almery, le Almery Garden, le Almery court, unâ Coquinâ et ij.^{bus} stabulis, i porta voc' Barton Gate, Columbare super eandem, le Hynde Garden, et domibus voc' le Storehouse, camera vocata le Chamberers Chamber, Coquinâ, gardino, domo voc' Aplehouse, pomereo infra Calvescroft, stagno, omnibus domibus voc' Le Receipt, domibus voc' le Stewards Lodgeinge, columbare, gardino, domibus voc' Docter Prince Lodgeinge, campanis et plumbo super ecclesia et Campanili cum pertinentiis."² On April 3 in the following year Hobby received "the receite, le Steward's Lodgeinge, a dovecot, two gardens, the Barton Gate and dovehouse, the hynde Garden, a Kitchen, le Taylor's house and the orchard called calvescrofte."³

At the time of the dissolution of the abbey, which was frequently in debt, owing to its generous hospitality to travellers of all ranks, when the monastic guest-house was the only safe and reputable hostel, there were 89 monks and 65 servants, the revenue amounted to £2,076 : 11 : 4. On July 30, 34 Hen. VIII, with certain reservations, the site was granted to one Hobby. In March 1539 Philip Ballard at the sight of worthless Cromwell's letters surrendered the abbey, meanly desiring "Petre not to open the resignation during the time of his being there, as it would be noted that he was compelled to resign for fear of deprivation", and

¹ Rudge, 50; *Monast.* ii, 44. The position of the Tailors' House is fixed by an entry in the *Chronicle*, which mentions *Ambulatorium* [the entry or passage], a "*Camera Prioris usque ad Sartariam.*" (*Chron.* 309.)

² 34 Hen. VIII, July 30, p. vi, m. 87.

³ 35 Hen. VIII, p. ix, m. 146.

adding "certain requests touching his pension". For his complaisance he received £240 a year, and was assigned rooms in the monastery under the *alias* of Haward, Hawford, and Ballard, until the clerks of augmentation with bitter but probably unintentional humour added to his name the word "dead", as he was morally, when he was moved to the deanery of Worcester. Many abbots and monks in all good faith and unblemished honour became deans and canons of their reformed churches, but this man was a poor timeserver. John Feckenham, afterwards dean of Westminster, and fifty others of the community, received pensions varying from £1 : 6 : 8 to £10. Then bells and lead were sold, the buildings became a quarry in the hands of lessees who did not prosper by their sacrilege, the very site a waste, and only the antiquary, with mattock and lynx-eyed experience, can read the little which is left of what was once a glorious house of God, and a triumph of architectural art.

ABBOTS OF EVESHAM.

They ranked in general chapter of the order as 8th in 1163 and 1190 ; 5th in 1222 ; 8th in 1343 ; but descended to the 16th place in 1536 in Parliament.

The founder was succeeded by eighteen abbots, who we learn kept the abbey estates entire.¹ After the death of the last the feud between Benedictines and canons secular began here, and continued until in 960 St. Ethelwold by the command of King Edgar drove out the occupants and appointed Oswald a monk, who began to rebuild the church which had fallen down. Once more the canons returned, and the diocesan claimed authority over the vale, although one bishop of Wells, Agelwyn, held the abbot's place. The roll of successive abbots begins anew with

1014. Aylfward, monk of Ramsey, Bishop of London in 1034, he drove off Godwin who had purchased the patronage and demesnes, a piece of sacrilege which had been a source of just retribution, and then withdrew very shabbily, with all his gifts, back to his old monastery, where he died July 25, 1044.

¹ For the list of abbots previous to the advent of the Normans, see Mr. W. de G. Birch's *Fasti Monastici Ævi Saxonici*, London, 1872.

1043. Mannius, or Wlmar, a monk of Evesham, was appointed August 10, at the request of King Edward the Confessor; he resigned with a great reputation as singer, painter, writer, and goldsmith, not only here, but at Canterbury and Coventry in 1058, and died of paralysis on the same night and at the same hour as his patron on the feast of Epiphany, 1065.
1059. Egelwyn, monk of Evesham, was consecrated on April 23, by Aldred, archbishop of York, by the desire of the Confessor; he increased the number of the monks from twelve to thirty-six, and bequeathed five chests of silver for the restoration of the church. In his lifetime, 1074, three of his monks (according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 57) Aldwyn, Elfwyn, and Reinfrid set forth with a few books and vestments carried by a single ass, to restore the three great minsters of the north, St. Cuthbert's, Durham, St. Hilda's, Whitby, and St. Mary's, York. He was governor of the Midland Counties, and died on March 17, 1077.
1077. Walter, monk of Cerisy in the diocese of Bayeux, and chaplain to Lanfranc, was appointed in May. He was sorely mulcted of lands by Odo, his former bishop; he died Jan. 20, 1086.
1086. Robert, monk of Jumiéges, in his lifetime there were sixty-seven monks and sixty-five servants; he was a nepotist like his predecessor, but his tenure of office was rendered remarkable by a mission of twelve monks to establish the priory or cell of Odensee, at the request of Eric the Good and bishop Hubald, an English Benedictine.
1096. Maurice, monk of Evesham, he died Jan. 19, 1130.
1130. Reginald, monk of Gloucester, nephew of Milo, Earl of Hereford, was consecrated by Bishop Simon of Worcester, on Jan. 27. He died Aug. 25, 1149.
1149. William de Andeville or Longueville, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Prior of Dover, succeeded. He was a man of determination and courage, he excommunicated Wm. de Beauchamp and his followers, who had broken down the churchyard wall, and destroyed the castle of Bengworth, at the foot of Evesham bridge, turning the site into a cemetery. He died Jan.

¹ Tract. ii, sect. 6, p. 143.



- 4, 1159, and was buried at the head of St. Thomas at Canterbury.
1159. Roger the Little, monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. He died Jan. 4, 1160.
1160. Adam, a Clugniac of La Charité and Prior of Bermondsey, must have changed his order, if we may judge by the bitter jealousy which prevailed between Clugniac and Benedictine, as related at full length by Reyner.¹ He died Nov. 12, 1191.
1191. Roger Norreys, monk and prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, he secured on July 10, 1192, from Pope Clement III the use of pontifical ornaments, except the ring. He was the friend of Archbishop Baldwin, whom he abetted in his scheme of a rival community at Hacklington; and in consequence was put into prison by the monks. He made his escape through the sewers of the gong, and was forced upon Evesham by the king. His dissolute life and waste of the conventual property caused him to be deposed by Nicholas, Bishop of Frascati, papal legate, on Nov. 22, 1213. He retired to Penwortham, a cell of this abbey, and died in 1223. The chronicler records his abominable laxity of morals and his powers of abusive speech, when he had no better words than puppy, vassal, ribald, for his unfortunate monks; fed them on bad bread and water, left them without proper clothes or fuel, and appropriated the fabric funds, so that the Divine services could be said only in the vaulted parts of the church, and they were ruinous.
1214. Randulph, monk of Evesham, prior and bishop elect of Worcester, consecrated by the Bishop of Chichester in St. Mary's Abbey, York. He attended the council of Lateran on March 9, 1215. He died on December 17, 1229.
1230. Thomas de Marlborough, dean of the Vale and Sacristan, consecrated at Chester by the Bishop of Coventry, on July 12. He erected his own tomb and effigy "for the honour of the church", and those of his two predecessors. He died Sept. 12, 1236, and was buried before St. Egwin's altar, in the body of the church in the south wall.¹

¹ Habyngdon, fo. 8.

1236. Henry¹ le Gras, prior of Hurley, consecrated by the Bishop of Coventry, at Heywood, Nov. 30, keeper of the seal, 1241, bishop elect of Lichfield, 1242. He died at La Reole in Gascony, Dec. 9, 1242.²
1243. Thomas of Gloucester, monk, consecrated on Whitsunday by the Bishop of Ely, died Dec. 15, 1255, buried in the midst of the body.³
1256. Henry, prior, installed Dec. 30, 1256, died Nov. 13, 1263, buried in the nave in the north wall. His coffin was opened and his remains were seen.⁴
1266. William de Whitchurch,⁵ monk of Pershore, prior of Alcester, abbot of Eynsham; appointed in September by Ottobon, the legate. Died Aug. 3, 1282.
1282. John de Brokhampton, cellarer, confirmed at Rome by P. Martin IV, died Aug. 18, 1316; buried in the nave near the font.
1317. William de Cheryton, monk, confirmed at Avignon by P. John, xxii, Feb. 6. Died Dec. 13, 1344; buried near the font in the nave.
1345. William de Boys, or Attwood, monk, installed May 16, died June 6, 1367, buried by the Bishop of Hereford in the nave before St. Mary's image, under a marble stone.⁶
1367. John Ombersley, cellarer, installed Aug. 1, consecrated at Banbury by the Bishop of Lincoln. Died Oct. 30, 1379, buried in the nave before the rood-loft, "in the midst of the body".⁷
1379. Roger Zatton, consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln at London, installed on Dec. 24, died Nov. 24, 1418, "buried in the midst of the body".⁸ There were thirty-eight monks at his death.
1418. Richard Bromsgrove, infirmarer, consecrated at Bengeworth in Dec. by the Bishop of Bangor. Died May 10 1435, buried in St. Mary's Chapel at the steps to the altar.⁹
1435. John Wykewan, prior, consecrated on St. Thomas's day by the Bishop of Bath at Dogmersfield, he died

¹ Ricardus in MS. Harl. 6957, f. 36b.

² Matt. Par., ii, 393, 469. ³ Habyngdon, fo. 8b. ⁴ Prattinton MS., vol. xii.

⁵ MS. Harl. 6958, f. 44b. "Rex commisit Adæ le Butiller Abbatiam de Evesham vacantem per cessionem fratris Willelmi de Whitechurch nuper Abbat. 1 Aug. 10 Edw. I."

⁶ Habyngdon, fo. 10.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Habyngdon, fo. 12b.

⁹ Habyngdon, fo. 11.

- early in 1460, buried in St. Mary's Chapel, before St. Catharine's image.¹
1460. Richard Pembroke, D.D., almoner, consecrated March 3 by the Bishop of Hereford, died May 7, 1467, buried in the body of the church.² Alcester, a cell with a prior and two monks, was made dependent on Evesham in 1466.
1467. Richard Haukysbery, prior, consecrated August 6, by the Bishop of Lincoln, died April 6, 1477.
1477. William Upton, monk, prior of Alcester, installed April 18, consecrated by the Bishop of [Bericons] in the chapel of the rectory of St. Christopher le Stock, London, died Aug. 11, 1483, buried "intra baptisterium et altare".³ The font was in the third bay from the west.
1483. John Norton, claustral prior, installed Oct. 1, consecrated by the Bishop of [.....]; died July 2, 1491, buried at the greeces (steps) before Jesus altar in the nave.⁴
1491. Thomas Neubold, D.D., Oxon. [Ath. Oxon. ii, 78], cellarer, consecrated July 18 by the Bishop of Hereford, died suddenly on Dec. 6, 1514, buried in the nave at the head of Norton.⁵
1514. Clement Lichfield, prior, B.D., consecrated at Offenham by the Bishop of Ascalon, resigned in 1539;⁶ he paid £160, the customary sum for a free election to the king, and £100 to Wolsey; died at Offenham; buried 9 Oct., 1546, in a beautiful mortuary chapel, with fan-tracery in the vaulting, attached to All Saints, Evesham. A different date, Oct. 18 (clearly a mistake for 8), is given in the register of South Littleton.
1539. Philip Hawford, or Ballard,⁷ dean of Worcester, March 1, 1553.

A monk of Evesham was the continuator of Higden's history. John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, 1181-1212, is

¹ Habyngdon, fo. 11 b.

² Habyngdon, fo. 11.

³ Habyngdon, fo. 12.

⁴ Add. MS. 5828, fo. 174.

⁵ Habyngdon, fo. 131.

⁶ "A certain man told me that the bloody abbot should have said alate among his brethren, that his last coming up to London by my occasion cost him, besides the charge of his journey up and down, sevenscore pounds; wherefore he was not able to make provision for household, and therefore requested the best mitre, the best cross, and another thing or two, to make chevance [a loan] withal for provision." (1538. Latimer, *Rem.*, lett. xxxv, 400.)

⁷ See *Journ. Arch. Inst.*, xx, 344. Thomas' Survey, 67.

believed to have been an inmate of this house. He was elected in it on Sept. 6.¹

The community consisted of professed monks, novices, converts or lay brethren, hired servants, and oblates to God, like Samuels dedicated to the cloister.² The monk received his habit in choir and the novice in the chapter-house. The officers or obedientiaries had charge of special duties, some internal, and some external or forensic. Thus there were the chamberlain or steward who provided the habits, pitancier, the almoner, and keeper of the garden, the master of the fabric, the vestiary, the sacristan, the infirmarer, the cellarer, the hostillar for guests, the kitchener or manciple, the præcentor, the gardener, vineyard keeper, the prior of cloisters, the refectorar, the prior, the sub-prior, the third prior, wardens of the order, the master of the Lady Chapel. The abbey was not only mitred, but exempt from the authority of the diocesan or visitation by even the primate, being subject directly to Rome. Visitations were held by order of the General Chapter of Benedictines in England.³ For the custody of their temporalities during a vacancy they paid a large fine to the Crown, as well as a heavy price for exercising their right of free election of an abbot. In the Ecclesiastic for 1864 I gave "the secret of the order", with regard to the whole internal working of a monastery both at Bury and Westminster. The servants attended in the laundry, tailor's house, infirmary, refectory, sacristy, parlour, bakehouse, cellarage, brewery, bathhouse, garden, orchard, vineyard, kitchen, fishermen, church-watchers, porters, and as cloister doorkeepers, and attendants on the monks upon progress.

¹ Ware, 314.

² Lyndw., lib. iii, tit. 18, gl., p. 203.

³ Reiner, App., P. III, sc. lxi, p. 111.

ON AN ALTAR TOMB AT ALBRIGHTON, COUNTY SALOP.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

SUCH of our members as attended our interesting and agreeable Congress at Shrewsbury will remember that on the day of our visit to the President for that year, the late Mr. Beriah Botfield, at Shifnal, the first halt on our way was at Albrighton, where the attention of the party that visited the church was especially called by me to a most singular monument, an altar tomb apparently of the latter portion of the thirteenth century, with arcaded sides and coffin-shaped lid, entirely covered with heraldic shields deeply incised in the stone and in a remarkable state of preservation, considering its evident antiquity. In Mr. Eyton's most valuable *History of Shropshire*, vol. ii, p. 162, occurs the following account of this venerable relic :

"During some recent and very extensive alterations of this church it became necessary to reduce the floor of the south aisle to what would appear to have been its original level. In removing the soil an altar tomb was discovered lying buried about eighteen inches below the surface. It has been carefully preserved and placed outside the church, in a situation approximating to its former one. It is of stone, and embellished with numerous coats of arms, which can be satisfactorily made out. This tomb will, therefore, have been buried more than two centuries, for neither Sandford, in his *Church Notes* of 1660, nor Johnson in 1669, make any mention of it, whereas the latter gives very full particulars of another and very similar one at Albrighton. This last was of marble, and is nowhere to be found, while the dishonour shown to the buried tomb has resulted in its preservation, for it is constructed of not very durable stone, and is at the same time very ancient. The arcade running round its four sides proves its original position to have been isolated from any wall or niche. The pillars and arches which form this arcade belong to the Early English period of architecture and to the thirteenth century. Altar tombs of that date, in memory of private persons, are by no means



Altar Tomb in Albrighton Churchyard Shropshire.

Baker.

1 inch 1 foot

(DRAWING 1.)

Ellis & Davies Del. et Mens. September 1870



uncommon. I offer full particulars of this one rather for its curiosity and possible import in our future investigations, than that I am at present able to declare in whose memory it was first erected."

Mr. Eyton then describes the tomb, and gives a list of the armorial bearings upon it, accompanied by some foot-notes naming or suggesting their owners; but without an engraving of the monument or of any of its details. I have now the pleasure of exhibiting two very careful drawings of this interesting relic made expressly for me by Mr. Hilary Davies, the second containing a reference plan; and though I am no more prepared than Mr. Eyton to declare positively in whose memory it was first erected, I trust to be able to narrow the circle of the inquiry, and point with some certainty to the family to which the individual belonged.

Altar tombs, as they are called, are generally of the oblong square, or parallelogram form, the two ends being of the same width. In this instance, however, as I have already said, it is coffin-shaped, the lid measuring, according to the accompanying scale, and allowing for dilapidation, about three feet at the upper and one foot nine inches at the lower end, its direct length being seven feet six inches. Each side of the tomb is ornamented by seven arches and eight shields of arms, those at the four corners lapping round the angles. At the upper end are three arches, with one plain shield, and at the lower end two arches with one shield, also plain.

So far there is nothing uncommon. The peculiarity is in what follows. On the upper portion of the lid, within a circle ornamented with fleurs-de-lys, is a sort of cross flory, voided, between four armorial shields and having a fifth in its centre. Beneath are eight larger shields of arms, two and two, occupying all the remaining space to the foot. We have, therefore, presented to us no less than twenty-nine coats of arms, only four of which are repeated. A roll of arms in sculpture, as it may truly be called, of the thirteenth century, and distinguishing this curious monument from any other of its form and age that I have ever met with.

When Mr. Eyton says these coats can be all satisfactorily made out, he must of course simply mean that they are sufficiently well preserved to be accurately described, not to

be positively identified. The absence of colour and metal in their present state renders their absolute appropriation by blazon impossible. For instance, there are three which would without hesitation be pronounced upon, and that chiefly in consequence of the tomb being discovered in that particular locality. They are all three supposed to be the coat of Pichford or Picford differenced as we find it borne by three branches of that family. Pichford of Albrighton sealing, we are told, with *semée* of crosslets, a cinquefoil voided. Pichford of Lea, co. Salop, and his descendants, the Pichfords of Herts, according to the visitation of that county in 1634, bearing *azure*, a cinquefoil voided within an orle of martlets *or*, certified to them under the hand of Robert Cooke, Clarenceux. In addition to the above, we have a shield *semée* of mullets, all pierced, a cinquefoil voided, another coat of Pichford, according to Dugdale, but of which particular branch is uncertain. We have also a cinquefoil voided alone, which may have been the original coat of the family; but the Pichfords of the reign of Henry III, with whom we have to deal, do not appear to have borne any such arms, for in the older authorities I find both Sir John Pichford and Sir Geoffrey Pichford set down as bearing chequy on a fess *gules* three lions rampant *or*. This curious fact appears to upset all calculations that naturally present themselves at first sight of the Albrighton tomb, and surrounds the three shields with the same uncertainty that envelopes the others.

Let us examine them all *seriatim*, and endeavour to pluck out of them "the heart of their mystery." Their peculiar arrangement suggests something approaching genealogical order. Within the circle at the head of the lid and accompanying the cross fleury are, as I have said, five shields, four in the quarters formed by the cross and one in its voided centre. Commencing with the centre one, as the point of honour, we find three chevronels within, as it appears to me, a border. If without a border it might be the coat of Clare, of Mountfitchet, of Banks, or several others according to the colours. If within a border still Clare, so differenced, or Watteville.

In the first quarter we find a shield bendy, which naturally suggests Montfort, of which family the coat in Dugdale's and Sandford's time was visible in the east window



of Albrighton Church, and bendy of ten is also to be found on two shields on the side of the tomb. In the second quarter are three fleurs-de-lys, suggested as De Burgh, but possibly the ancient coat of Cantelupe, *temp.* Henry III. This coat is also repeated on the side. In the third quarter is a shield charged with two chevrons, and this coat is also repeated on the side, but without the aid of colour it may be attributed to a dozen ancient families. In the fourth quarter we find two bars and a canton charged with a cinquefoil. The shield is broken, but as the coat is distinctly repeated on a larger shield beneath there can be little doubt on the subject. Besides *argent*, two bars and a canton *azure*, the latter charged with a cinquefoil *or*, was in the windows of Albrighton Church and are the arms of Pipard.

We come next to the eight larger shields, arranged two and two beneath the circle and cross. No. 1 is unfortunately much injured, and it is impossible to say decidedly whether it is simply fretty or with a canton as the seventh is. The probability is in favour of fretty only, as that coat is twice displayed on the sides of the tomb, and *gules*, fretty *or*, was in the windows of Albrighton Church in 1660. The coat one would naturally imagine of Audeley. No. 2, a cinquefoil pierced within an orle of martlets. The coat of Pichford of Lea, co. Salop, as afore stated. It is repeated thrice on the sides of the tomb. No. 3, semée of mullets a cinquefoil pierced, another coat attributed to Pichford, as I have already mentioned. No. 4, a fess with three roundels in chief. The coat assigned by Sandford to Davenant, but by Johnson to a name of which only the letters "Meu.....e" are legible. I take this name to be Meausse, as I find it in connection with Pipard. No. 5, three fleurs-de-lys as above. This is also repeated on the sides of the tomb. No. 6, semée of cross-crosslets, a cinquefoil pierced, assigned to Pichford of Albrighton. No. 7, fretty, on a canton a cinquefoil pierced. Of these last two important coats I shall have much to say hereafter. No. 8, barry of ten, or it may be blazoned six bars. *Azure* six bars *or* was in the church windows at Albrighton, and apparently the arms of Pembridge. The shields of arms on the sides of the tomb displaying coats not appearing on the lid, amount to three. The first (No. 19 in the plan) at the south-west corner of

the tomb displays a single fleur-de-lys, only half of which is visible, the shield lapping round the angle. The second (No. 5 in the plan) between the second and third arch from the east end of the tomb on the north side, is, one would say, an indisputable coat. Quarterly, third and fourth fretty over all a bend, must surely be Despencer. The third undescribed coat, numbered 9 in the plan, is between the two last arches on the north side, proceeding in the above order, and displays three cinquefoils, two and one. The fourth at the north-east corner of the tomb, marked 10 in the plan, has been apparently overlooked by everyone. It is sadly defaced, but traces remain of a chevron and a chief, the latter of which seems to have been charged, but with what it would be impossible to say. The presumed bearings are irreconcilable with any coat, either on the tomb, or recorded as having been in the church windows, and speculation would therefore be idle. Two shields, numbered 3 and 11 in the plan, the former at the south-east corner, and the other the centre one at the foot or east end of the tomb are blank and have been left so originally. All the others are, as I have said, repetitions.

I am sure the society will forgive me if I say that the research necessary to identify positively so many coats of arms, unassisted by the least remains of tincture or metal, and the examination of such a mass of genealogical evidence as even then would be indispensable before a conscientious antiquary would undertake to come to a conclusion as to the individual commemorated by this magnificent monument, would occupy infinitely more time than in my position I could possibly spare for amateur archæology. I must therefore crave your indulgence for the imperfection of a paper which is simply intended to throw out a few suggestions on a point which Mr. Eyton, with all his local knowledge and diligent labour, has declared that he is unprepared to decide. It is to him, however, that I am obliged for the information which struck me as being very likely to afford me a clue to this monumental mystery, although it does not appear from his own account to have made the same impression on him.

With reference to the seventh coat on the lower portion of the lid of the tomb, fretty with a canton charged with a cinquefoil, and which appears to have been represented in

the windows of the church in 1660, as *argent fretty gules* on a canton *azure*, a cinquefoil *or*, Mr. Eyton remarks that Johnson in his church notes assigns these arms to the name of "Vyllyle", which, he adds, "I take to be Willey spelt Wilit in Domesday", and suggests that the true Saxon name was more likely Wilily or Wilely. On turning to Mr. Eyton's account of Willy, co. Salop, and the authorities quoted by him, I found that Thorold, the Norman lord of this manor, held thirteen manors under the Earl of Shrewsbury, and amongst them Donitune, now Doniton, close to Albrighton, "Pichford" and Little Eton, near Pichford, now destroyed; and, moreover, that Warren de Willigleigh or Willeley, who died in 1231, had a son named Nicholas, who married Burga, daughter of Ralph de Pichford, by whom he had a son named Andrew, who was slain at the battle of Evesham in 1265.

It certainly was very far from my thoughts when I first looked upon this extraordinary relic in the county of Shropshire that I should ever attempt to interest a Worcester-shire audience in a critical examination of it. But such are the pleasant surprises, and I may seriously say, the useful results of the peripatetic societies of which the one now honoured by your reception is the indisputable progenitor.

"To return to our sheep", as the French say, I think I have shown you a good reason for finding the arms of Pichford and Wilely or Willighly on the same monument, but I am inclined to believe that there was a still closer connection between the two families, for as Turolde, who held Willey under Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury in the time of the Conqueror, was also Lord of Pichford and Doniton, it is highly possible that the Pichfords were either another branch of the Willeys, or had acquired Pichford about the beginning of the reign of Henry I by marriage with one of that family.

I will not weary and bewilder a miscellaneous meeting with dry genealogical details, which however important to the investigation of such a subject, could not be followed with accuracy or listened to with interest. I will simply call your attention to facts which those who run may read, and which have particular reference to the locality wherein we have the pleasure to be at this moment assembled; I therefore direct your attention to a coat of arms

on the south side of the tomb, marked No. 4 in the drawing, and which I have already stated to be the arms of Pipard. Now John de Pichford, half brother to that Burga de Pichford who married Nicholas de Willey or Willeley, succeeded his father Ralph in 1252, and was then a minor, aged sixteen, in the wardship of Ralph Fitz Nicholas. If this be the Ralph Fitz Nicholas who was steward of the household to King Henry III, of which there seems to be little doubt, his son Robert assumed the name and arms of Pipard, which were *argent*, two bars *azure*, a canton of the *second* charged with a cinquefoil *or*, while to complicate matters the coat of Pichford of Albrighton is set down in Vincent's "Ordinary" as that of Ralph Fitz Nicholas. Whether that be an error or not, the fact remains that Ralph Fitz Nicholas obtained the guardianship of John de Pitchford, and Mr. Eyton says, "I have an impression that he and the Pichfords were related. I must, however, dismiss that question in a note, and state who Ralph Fitz Nicholas was". As that is a piece of information no one has hitherto been able to give us, I read with great interest and proportionate disappointment the lines which follow. "His real name was Pipard; he was seneschal in 1218 to the Earl Ferrars and afterwards to King Henry III. He enjoyed a goodly proportion of Crown patronage. He died in 1257, and was succeeded by his son Robert in various estates in Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Devonshire, Wiltshire, Suffolk, and Sussex". Now, with the exception of the assertion that "his real name was Pipard", for which no authority whatever is given, there is nothing in this statement that was not previously known, or that sheds the least light upon the important question Mr. Eyton gave us hope of deciding, viz., "who Ralph Fitz Nicholas was." Here is a man whose power and influence are continually alluded to by the historians and annalists of his time, and yet Mr. Eyton himself, who has laboured so assiduously and scrutinised so critically the mass of original documents he has inspected, leaves us as much in the dark as ever as regards the parentage, alliance, and private history of this great royal favourite, simply dismissing, as he says, that question in a note in these words:—"Both Ralph Fitz Nicholas and the Pichfords were descended through females from Baskerville". This is little more than a repetition of his impression that they

“were related”. But how? I venture to hope I can supply one or two useful grains of information, which may at least afford a clue to further discoveries. In an invaluable MS. the Corporation of Herald's was fortunate enough to add to their library some few years ago, containing the rough notes of Segur for his baronage, I found an interlineation in the pedigree of Pipard, to the effect that Ralf Fitz Nicholas was the owner of Stretton Baskerville, co. Warwick, by descent from his grandmother Alice de Baskerville, for which we have also the authority of Dugdale, and that he married the daughter and coheir of William Pipard, by whom he had a son named Robert Pipard, who died without issue 1st of Edward I. Also, that Ralph had a brother named Henry Fitz Nicholas, who speaks of “Fratre suo Rad”. Now, while this supports Mr. Eyton's presumption that Ralph Fitz Nicholas was related to the Baskervilles and consequently to the Pichfords through females, it corrects his assertion that the real name of Ralph was Pipard and explains why his son Robert assumed it. We are still in the dark as to who was the father of Ralph and Henry, but Nicholas is a family name of the Pichfords, and the wife of William de Baskerville (12th Henry II) was named Alice. Their son, Ralph de Baskerville, married Isabella de Say; and their daughter and heir, Burga, was the wife of Hugh de Pichford and grandmother of that second Burga who married Nicholas de Willey aforesaid. There was also an Alice de Pichford, daughter by his first wife of the Ralph de Pichford who heads the pedigree of that family, and half-sister of his son Englehard of Stretton. An unfortunate slip of Mr. Eyton's printer in the Pichford pedigree has substituted for this Alice, Ereburga, the wife of her brother; but putting aside this obvious typographical error, I have only to call your attention to the fact that Ralph Fitz Nicholas was the owner of Stretton Baskerville, co. Warwick, by descent from Alice his grandmother, which though perfectly distinct from Church Stretton in Shropshire, with which Englehard was connected, suggests a confusion demanding investigation. That Englehard married there can be no doubt, for in his charter confirming the gift of his half-brother Richard to Haughmond Abbey he expressly alludes to his wife (“uxoris meæ”), but unfortunately without naming her family. It is also undoubted that he left a

daughter Felicia, who probably died unmarried or without issue, as his property passed to his nephew Richard de Pichford and his niece by marriage Helisant de Burgo. Mr. Eyton comments on this circumstance, but is unable to account for it.

I have brought you I think a step nearer than Mr. Eyton has done to the knowledge of who Ralph Fitz Nicholas was, but there is still a link missing in the chain. We have the names of his grandfather and grandmother on the female side, and of a brother named Henry Fitz Nicholas ; but the sadly defective pedigrees of the Pichfords and Baskervilles leave us at sea without a compass as respects the actual parentage of the great Seneschal of Henry III.

I fear you will think I have wandered a long way from Evesham and the decisive battle fought in its neighbourhood, but I will now return to them and the family of Willey or Willeley before mentioned, and without attempting to give a decided opinion from the consideration of such evidence as I have hitherto been enabled to collect and examine, I throw out as a suggestion that this tomb was erected for Andrew Fitz Nicholas de Willeley, grandson of Ralph de Pichford, and who, as I have already mentioned, was slain in the great battle of Evesham, fighting on the side of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 6th of August, 1265. The arms of Montfort of Bel-desert appear on the monument, and Peter de Montfort, who bore that bendy coat, was also slain at Evesham. His mother was of the family of Astley, whose arms were a cinquefoil *ermine*, and Thomas de Astley also fell on that fatal field, an important consideration, as the traces of the ermine spots may have been obliterated in the long course of time from the cinquefoil on the tomb. The coat of Despenser is still to be accounted for, but Ewelme in Oxfordshire, called Spencer's fee, was held by that family, and in it was a manor that had been Robert Pipard's, and was sold by Adam le Despenser to John Bacon. Nicholas le Despenser and Christina his wife paid five marks for half a virgate of land in Willelegh to Alice, coheir of Walter le Stallere and her husband William le Mareschal in 1245. (Pedes Finium, 39 Henry III, Salop. Eyton's *Shropshire*, vol. ii, p. 58.) Here we find again the family names of Nicholas and Alice in connection with Willeley. On the marble tomb which has

perished the arms of le Despencer do not seem to have appeared, but in their place was a shield charged with a chevron only. The natural suggestion is that the latter was the coat of Stafford, but without colours we cannot be certain. That the destroyed monument was a memorial of a member of the same family with the individual who once reposed in the tomb still preserved, the general accordance between the coats of arms on each renders it impossible to doubt, and the remarkable exception I have just alluded to must form a very important guide in further researches.

The provoking practice of the compilers of ancient pedigrees of omitting the *family* names of the wives, unless they happened to be great heiresses, and occasionally even in that case, is deplorably illustrated in the present instance. Ralph de Pichford, who heads the pedigree of that family, was twice married. By his first wife he had a son Richard and a daughter Alice, and by his second wife a son, Englehard of Stretton. Of neither of these wives have we even the baptismal names.

Richard and Englehard both married and had issue. Who was Richard's wife? Of what family was Erenburga, the wife of his half-brother, Englehard of Stretton? Richard had two sons, Richard and Nicholas, the latter living in 1170, did he marry? His elder brother, of age in 1167, and who died in 1176, did marry, but who was the mother of his heir Hugh de Pichford? Here are five, it may be six ladies, presumably gentlewomen entitled to coat armour, of whose lineage and connections we have not the remotest idea, the knowledge of only one of whom might account for the three or four unidentified coats and satisfactorily dispose of the whole question. A still more extraordinary omission occurs a generation later. Ralph, son and heir of Hugh de Pichford by Burga de Baskerville (the first wife named in the pedigree) was, like his great great grandfather and namesake, twice married. By Margaret, sister of John le Strange, he had a daughter Burga, wife of Nicholas, and mother of that Andrew to whom I am inclined to assign the tomb at Albrighton; after her death he married a nameless lady, who was the mother of his only son and heir, John de Pichford, and surviving her husband became *en secondes noces* the wife of a certain Sir Adam Talbot of Leyburne.

Apropos of this obscure individual, Mr. Eyton, in a letter

dated 10th February, 1862, kindly replying to some inquiries and suggestions I had addressed to him concerning the tomb at Albrighton, says, "I am still without a theory myself and I think I have only heard of one other beside yours, that was the late Mr. Joseph Morris's. He took a great deal of trouble about the case, and thought that the tomb was that of Adam Talbot." Now, as I am ignorant of the grounds on which Mr. Morris founded his opinion, I am of course unable to judge of their value, and can therefore only state my reasons for coming to an opposite conclusion. They are extremely simple: 1. The arms attributed to this Adam Talbot, *argent* semée of cross-crosslets, three fleurs-de-lys *gules*, do not appear upon the tomb, an objection of itself fatal. 2. Unless the nameless widow of Ralph de Pichford was a Willeley he (Talbot) could have no right to the display of that coat on his monument, as the match of that family with Pichford was subsequent to his own marriage, and there was no connection in blood between his wife and her step-daughter Burga. 3. Unless it could be proved that he was buried or even ever resided at Albrighton, what possible reason can there be for attributing to him a monument which is utterly devoid of any reference to him? His place of burial, as well as that of his wife, would naturally be in the neighbourhood of own residence; at all events not at Albrighton, in which he had no interest. On the other hand, the repetitions of the arms of Pichford and Willeley offer the strongest evidence that the tenant of that tomb must have been descended from or closely connected with those families, and no one in fact can be pointed to with such certainty as Andrew, son of Nicholas de Willeley and Burga de Pichford, unless indeed it were Burga herself or her second son Ralph, to whom she was made guardian 39th of Henry III, 1256 (Hundred Rolls). It is not improbable that the marble tomb which has unhappily been destroyed was the last resting place of her granddaughter Burga, eventually heiress of both lines, having survived her cousin Ralph de Pichford, as well as both her husbands, Philip de Stapleton and Richard de Henley, many years, and living it is said in 1337. That neither of these tombs could have been that of the last Ralph de Pichford, who sold Albrighton to John Lord Tregoz and died *circa* 1300, is evident not only from the presence of the arms of Willeley, but by the ab-

sence of those of Baskerville, which appear as of right on the tomb of his father John de Pichford at Pichford.

In conclusion, I venture to think that however inconclusive my arguments may be as to the claim of Andrew Fitz Nicholas de Willeley to this remarkable monument, I have at least redeemed my promise to narrow the inquiry by showing you to whom it cannot possibly be appropriated, specially disposing of the pretensions of Adam Talbot of Leyburne, for the selection of whom by Mr. Morris I cannot imagine the slightest reason.

My hope that this paper may have some little interest for our kind friends at Evesham is simply founded on the fact that nearly every family whose armorial ensigns are sculptured on this superb sepulchre shed some of its best blood in that great battle with which the name of their town is for ever associated.

TEWKESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY T. BLASHILL.

THE history of this church, now nearly all that remains of a noble monastery, begins with the end of the eleventh century or perhaps the commencement of the twelfth. For some four hundred years before that time a small establishment of monks had existed here, at first as an independent foundation, but subsequently as a dependency of the Benedictine Monastery of Cranbourn. About the year 1084, Giraldus, the abbot of Cranbourn, came here and began the construction of a more important establishment, and three years later, in 1087, the Honour of Gloucester (of which the Lordship of Tewkesbury formed a part) having been given by William Rufus to Robert Fitz-Hamon, his relation in blood and by marriage, he appears to have at once promoted the idea of the abbot. Thus the monastery progressed until the church was completed, the chief bulk of which remains in its original condition to this day. A monk named Alfred was the "Master of the Works". If we may read this as "Architect", it is an early and rare mention of such a person by name.

In 1102 the monastic buildings were fit for occupation, and Tewkesbury became, instead of Cranbourn, the residence of the abbot and his monks—they being fifty-seven in all, as given in the charter.

In 1107 Robert Fitz-Hamon, the "second founder" of Tewkesbury died, and was buried in the Chapter House, the church not being completed. Leaving daughters only, Mabel, the eldest, was married to Robert, a natural son of Henry I, who was created Earl of Gloucester, and is known in history as the champion of his half-sister, the Empress Maud, in her struggles against King Stephen of Blois. Earl Robert carried on the buildings, and the church was consecrated in 1123, being then probably completed except as to the tower, which would occupy a few years more. We may infer this much from the general severity of design throughout the church, the archaic character of such ornament as does exist, and the greater richness of the upper stages of

the tower. A wooden spire, covered with lead, is said to have been built by Earl Robert before his death in 1147, but whether this was the one which fell on Easter Day, 1559, may be doubted.

The church then comprised the nave and aisles, divided by tall and massive circular columns ; over them was a very simple and insignificant range of coupled arches in place of the triforium usually adopted, and a clerestory, of which we can fairly estimate that it carried a wooden roof at a height of perhaps as much as ten feet above the soffit of the present vaulted ceiling. A similar arrangement to this was adopted at Pershore and at Gloucester, but here it is carried to an extreme, the height of these columns being 30 feet, which is 3 feet more than those in the nave at Gloucester, the diameter of these being about 6 inches less. The original intention of the designer of the western façade is a puzzle which cannot easily be solved. The western façades of large churches of early date are perhaps their least satisfactory point. This is the first and almost the only case where an immense arch was formed so as to gain an importance which could not be otherwise obtained. It seems to have been actually filled in with a wall pierced with windows, but I cannot think this was the original idea. Such a wall set back for a few feet behind the arch, and a pair of western towers, of which the rudiments seem to exist here, would have produced a magnificent effect, as may be judged from the west fronts of Lincoln and Peterborough, where experiments of this kind were tried, but there is no evidence of the recessed wall in this case. The towers were not actually built, a mere turret being carried up over each of the side staircases—the present terminations to them, including the highest window openings, being evidently a modern imitation of twelfth century work. Dingley's sketch of the church shows the tops of these turrets crocketed like those on the angles of the central tower.

There is a fine north porch corresponding in date with the church ; by it the townsfolk had access to the nave, which was their parish church. It has a dark room over it, accessible only from a narrow wall gallery. The stone seats in the porch are said to be, and probably are, portions of the ancient slab of the high altar, but no dedication crosses can be traced upon them.

The aisles like the nave had wooden roofs, and not the half-barrel vault which has been inferred from the existence of the half arches thrown across them to act as buttresses to the central tower.

The transept was exceedingly severe in design. It had the usual apsidal chapels in its eastern face, and the church was completed to the east with a very short choir, or rather presbytery, consisting of only two arches beyond the tower, and an apse which is not semi-octagonal as is usually said, but semi-hexagonal, an unusual but a more convenient form. Over the arches of the presbytery were the usual triforium and clerestory. An ambulatory was formed round the presbytery ; it also may have been semi-hexagonal, and no doubt had three small apsidal chapels. From the floor of the church a fine view of the interior of the tower could be had, showing two tiers of arched openings and a tier of windows above them, throwing light down into the church.

Traces of the twelfth century monastic buildings, of important size, are found on the southern face of the church. In the south-eastern angle of the transept is the turret stair, by which for over four hundred years the monks descended direct from their dormitory to the early morning services, their choir being between the two arms of the transept and under the central tower.

Such was the church as left by Earl Robert of Gloucester at his death in 1147. Earl William, his son, did nothing to it, for nothing needed to be done, so complete and solid was the work.

In 1178 the monastic buildings were burnt, and traces of this fire are plainly visible on the adjoining walls of the church, but no remains that I have seen show the characteristic work of Henry II's reign, which would be the style of the new buildings if any were then erected. In 1183 Earl William died, and, leaving no son, the husbands of two out of his three daughters were successively Earls of Gloucester. Our associate Mr. Planché, Somerset Herald, has recently shown that the first of these was Prince John, who had married Isabella and became King of England ; then followed Almeric de Montford, the husband of Mabel, and Geoffrey Mandeville, the second husband of Isabella, after her divorce from King John. On the death of this last in 1216, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford, the son of Earl

William's other daughter, Amice, became Earl of Gloucester.

According to Mr. Planché (see *British Archæological Association Journal*, 1870), the Clares would be Lords of Tewkesbury from 1216 for a period of ninety-eight years. They adopted this as their place of burial, and lie side by side between the two westernmost arches of the choir—the first Gilbert and his son Richard, then Gilbert the second (the Red Earl) and his son, Gilbert, the last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who at the age of twenty-three was killed while leading the fatal charge of the English horse at Bannockburn, in 1314.

The work that required to be done here during the time of the Clares was not very considerable, but it was important, and we can see from its mutilated remains that it was carried out in the richest and most elegant manner of the thirteenth century, towards the middle of the reign of Henry III. I venture to think that the nature of the work then done has been misunderstood by all the historians of the abbey.

The ancient Register, known as the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, gives but a meagre account of the buildings executed. It records that in 1219 Abbot Peter built the dormitory and back offices, which work has been destroyed. Also that in 1237 Prior Sipton rebuilt the chapel of St. Nicholas, and this is assumed to have been the work done on the site of the old apsidal chapel on the east side of the north transept. But the most important work of this period was a building which extended along the north face of the transept and beyond it as far as the eastern face of the chapel last named. This building has been thought to be the two chapels of St. James (or of St. Nicholas) and of St. Eustace. It consisted, in fact, of a chapel to the east approached through a large ante-chapel, the two forming a beautiful model of a small church, having a nave and chancel. I can find no reason for the dedication of such an important building to any of the saints to whom it has been ascribed, but I think that a close examination will clearly indicate the motive for building it, and the cause of its peculiar form.

During the twelfth century the interest of the laity in the public worship of the church had greatly increased, and the enthusiasm of both clergy and laity in honour of the Virgin Mary was vastly augmented. The small eastern Lady

Chapels became inadequate to the increased demand for this means of worship. In those churches where the eastern termination was apsidal there was some difficulty in constructing a large lady chapel, and if the church was monastic the laity could not gain access to a lady chapel so placed, without some interference with the portion of it kept apart for the use of the monks. Although these two objections were in several instances overcome, they are set forth very neatly in the case of Durham, where a chapel to Our Lady having been begun at the apsidal east end, the walls began to crack, from which it was gathered that St. Cuthbert objected to anything which would bring women so close to his shrine. The chapel, which is called the Galilee, was therefore built at the western end of the cathedral. The most convenient position for a chapel of Our Lady which might be used by the people was on the eastern side of the transept, farthest from the monastic buildings. So it was at Worksop Priory and at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund. It could not be so placed at Tewkesbury without destroying a chapel already existing. If that had been possible, the transept would have formed the ante-chapel, or place for the people; but as it was necessary to place it beyond the transept, an ante-chapel had to be provided, and the result is the beautiful arrangement of which we now see the mutilated remains.

The *Annals* record that in 1239, "the Church of Tewkesbury was dedicated, with the major altar, in honour of the glorious Virgin Mary." Perhaps we should understand by this, not that the church with the high altar thereof was re-dedicated, for which no reason seems to have existed, but that the church, *with the major altar to the Virgin*, was dedicated. If so, that would clearly refer to this Lady Chapel, for (as was the case at Bury St. Edmund's) the old eastern Lady Chapel would also be retained for the use of the monks. We are greatly indebted to Messrs. Collins and Cullis, the contractors, who have very kindly made such excavations as were necessary to clear up doubtful points in this investigation, and to Mr. Collins for great personal trouble in the matter. I am much inclined to think that the Chapel of St. Eustatius, built by Prior Henry de Banbury, in 1246, was placed between the eastern part of the new Lady Chapel and the north aisle of the choir, including

the site of the old apsidal chapel. If so, it would be entered by the ancient archway of that chapel, now blocked up. In that case the chapel of St. Nicholas must have been one of the small chapels in the ambulatory of the choir. But so many changes have evidently taken place at that spot that further investigation is desirable.

This then was the condition of the church when the last male of the line of De Clare was buried here in 1314. Seven years afterwards his eldest sister, Eleanor, was married to Hugh le Despenser the younger, the favourite of Edward II, who was created earl of Gloucester, and had the Tewkesbury lordship, and the patronage of the Abbey. The Despensers were here till 1414, a period of ninety-three years. In five years this Hugh was hanged at Hereford, with a wreath of nettles round his head, for his attachment to his sovereign. His body was dealt with in the extreme of the barbarous fashion of that age, such parts of it as could be collected being buried to the south of the high altar. I am hardly prepared to admit that the monument which exists there at the back of the sedilia is his memorial. His son, Hugh, Baron Despenser, died in 1449, and his widow (who was a Montacute) married Sir Guy de Brien. She and her first husband, Hugh Despenser, lie buried under the handsome monument to the north of the high altar, which is the first that can be identified of the series of grand historical memorials for which this church is famous. The monument facing this on the other side of the ambulatory is attributed to Sir Guy de Brien, who survived his wife for nearly thirty years, dying in 1490.

The extensive works done to the church in the time of the Despensers are attributed to the three persons just named, especially the last. Sir Guy de Brien was a person of considerable position, having his own residence at Castle Welwyn, in Pembrokeshire, being a Knight of the Garter, and constantly engaged in the service of his sovereign. He was, as might be expected, one of the benefactors of the church, leaving to it some property at Bristol, for the support of certain of its services, but why he, whose connexion with Tewkesbury was so short, and, as it seems, so slight, should do so much for it, and should even be buried here, requires to be better explained. I can now only endeavour to elucidate the history of the works undertaken about

this time, and as they present considerable difficulties to the archæologist, careful attention to their details will be necessary.

For some reason it was now determined to greatly increase the magnificence of the buildings and the number of altars in the ambulatory of the choir. The increased wealth of the community, derived chiefly from the benefactions of the Lords of Tewkesbury, would sufficiently account for this, but I suspect that the building which I have called the new Lady Chapel had become dilapidated through failure of the foundation of the north wall of the transept. There is sufficient evidence of such failure, and the light and elegant structure of the chapel would be quite unable to stand against it. That part of it which was attached to the wall of the transept was entirely destroyed, while the portion which projected to the east of it, together with the chapel (perhaps of St. Nicholas or St. Eustatius) which joined it, was taken down to the springing of the vaulted roof. A wide and depressed archway was opened between them, another depressed archway being formed to connect the altered building with the ambulatory. This building might still be used as a pair of chapels, though they would not be very convenient for that purpose. It has been called the chapter-house (which is quite out of the question), the sacristy, and by other names. Having been, after the dissolution, devoted to secular purposes, it was for many years used as the free school. This seems to be the building alluded to in the Defence of Archbishop Laud when he complains that he had been accused of prosecuting a person for allowing a sort of aisle separated from the church by a wall breast high to be used for the holding of sessions. The party had pleaded that it had been so used before, to which the Archbishop rejoined that, if so, it was so much the worse.

About the same period the remainder of the work to the choir was undertaken. It took the form of a chevette with radiating chapels, which was a very common arrangement on the Continent, but, except at Westminster Abbey and at this place, was hardly ever attempted in this country. Here the work is kept extremely low in proportion, the faces of the vaulting of the ambulatory being even visible at the back of the arches of the choir. I feel sure that when this work was done the old twelfth-century choir must still have

been standing and intended to remain. When the chapels and ambulatory were finished the old choir was taken down, the circular columns raised by two courses of stone, and the pointed arches of the fourteenth century built upon them. The upper portion of the choir has the appearance of being somewhat later in date, but can hardly be much later, if the glass in the windows be really, as is said, of the middle of the fourteenth century. Each of the two semi-circular arches, which originally opened from the transept into the old triforium, was filled in with a window composed of fourteenth century tracery, these being perhaps the most beautiful designs left in the building.

Part of the work done consisted of a large new Lady Chapel projecting from the eastern end of the choir. This was destroyed after the dissolution of the establishment; but enough remains to show that it was of later date than the other chapels. It seems to have been a very beautiful example of the early work of the fifteenth century, about contemporary with the new work to the cloisters, remains of which may be seen on the south side of the nave.

The vaulted ceilings of the nave, tower, and transepts, are also of the fourteenth century; that over the nave contains on the central bosses beautifully sculptured scenes from the life of our Lord. The ceiling under the tower hides the arcades and windows, which were originally visible from the floor of the church. The ceilings of the transept seem to have been executed last. Traces of fire are visible on the outer walls of the tower, and as they could hardly have been produced by the burning of the old monastic buildings in 1178, already mentioned, it seems likely that the twelfth century roof of the church may have been burnt before the execution of these new and more substantial coverings.

From this time the history of the Abbey Church is to be traced mainly through the series of memorials which now followed in succession. After those of Despenser and De Brien comes that of Hugh Despenser's nephew, Edward, who succeeded him, and died in 1375. His widow built the Trinity Chapel, which is one of those small and elegant erections in which mass could be celebrated, which now became common. It stands between the first and second pillars on the south side of the presbytery; upon it is the kneeling figure of Edward, under a rich canopy; and upon its eastern

wall are considerable remains of a beautiful painting representing the Trinity, with other subjects. In 1397 Abbot Parker built a chapel very similar to this last, opposite to it, on the north side of the presbytery. It is said to have been placed over the spot to which the body of the founder, Fitz-Hamon, had been removed in 1241, but it is not in the spot described by the chronicler of that date. Thomas, Baron Despenser, the son of Edward, met with a fate similar to that of his great-grandfather Hugh. After receiving from Richard II the earldom of Gloucester, the ancient honour which had belonged to his family, he was, on the downfall of that monarch, put to death at Bristol in 1400. Neither to him nor to his son Richard, the last Despenser, who died in 1414, does any monument remain.

The last and most elaborate of the memorials here was built by Isabel, the sister of this Richard. It is the chantry chapel on the north side of the presbytery, put up in memory of her first husband, Richard Earl of Abergavenny and of Worcester, who died in 1421. It is somewhat misleading to call this the "Warwick Chantry", owing to her having, after its erection, become Countess of Warwick by marrying Richard Beauchamp, the cousin of her first husband. It is considerably mutilated, but is yet an exceedingly rich and beautiful example of the work of the sculptor rather than that of the architect, for which the fifteenth century became remarkable.

The whole of the work to these tombs and chantry chapels, except the last, and the elaborate screenwork which once completed the enclosure of the presbytery and radiating chapels, has been so much altered, mutilated, and repaired, that great care is needed in judging of its original condition. The tomb at the entrance of the north-eastern chapel, once thought to be that of Wakeman, the last abbot, is clearly much older than his time, and appears to have been a good deal altered. That of Abbot Cheltenham, who died in 1509, is very imperfect. It is, however, cheering to find that every fragment of a mutilated tomb is being carefully preserved, so that some day a tolerably accurate idea may be formed of their original condition.

I need not here mention in detail the tombs of other abbots, which are found in the south ambulatory. Only one of them, that of Abbot Allen, who died in 1202, is in its ori-

ginal position. Of the tombs in the nave, one of which is erroneously attributed to Lord Wenlock, killed at the battle of Tewkesbury, 1471, but clearly of much earlier date, as well as the before-mentioned memorials, I hope to procure more precise information when they have been further examined. I conclude this branch of the subject by mentioning that the vault of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV, and his wife Isabel, who was daughter of Warwick, "the King-Maker", and coheir of the houses of Clare, Despenser, and Beauchamp, is in the ambulatory, near the back of the high altar.

Of the monastic buildings the remains are slight: the great gateway is the most important, and it has been substantially repaired. The buildings adjoining it on both sides are of the later period of Gothic architecture, and were connected with the business portion of the monastery rather than with the discipline of its inmates. We shall, perhaps, best conclude our inspection by lingering over the exquisite specimen of the latest phase of Gothic before its day of decline, which is seen in the north-eastern angle of the cloister, and which was thought worthy of being copied in the new Houses of Parliament,—the most important modern attempt to emulate the glories of this past and once almost forgotten age. And yet we should not omit the opportunity afforded by the sight of the work now going on here, of expressing our sense of the obligation which is owed by archæologists to those who are now so carefully and conscientiously carrying on the work, as well as our wishes that funds may be found for its completion in their own time, so that the grand old nave may be filled with the parishioners as of old, who will then see the ancient choir of the monks and the further presbytery stretching far away in such a magnificent vista as few churches in England can show the like.

ON THE
STRATEGIC MOVEMENTS WHICH IMMEDIATELY
PRECEDED THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM.

BY HERBERT NEW, LOCAL SECRETARY AT THE EVESHAM
CONGRESS.

THE circumstances which led to the battle of Evesham are too well known to need any attempt on my part to explain them. It will be remembered that within twelve months after the barons' victory at Lewes, a schism had taken place among the victors, and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, had openly joined the royalists. A series of military movements, conducted chiefly in the mid-western counties of England and within the borders of Wales, ensued; and of those which immediately preceded the battle of Evesham it is the object of this paper briefly to speak, having reference to the conflicting statements of contemporary records, and endeavouring to elucidate them with regard to the localities of this neighbourhood. My observations will be confined to a period of five days, namely from Friday the 31st of July, 1265, to Tuesday the 4th of August, the day of the battle.

We have to trace the several movements of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester; of his son, Simon the younger; and of Prince Edward and his two principal allies, the Earl of Gloucester and Roger de Mortimer. It was the elder Simon's object to join forces with his son: it was the object of Prince Edward, in which he succeeded, to prevent this junction, and to crush them separately.

When the Earl of Leicester found, on his arrival at Hereford from Monmouth, that Bristol, which he intended to reach by crossing the Severn, was in the hands of the royalists, he summoned his son from Pevensey to join him with his forces. Prince Edward was then at Worcester with the Earl of Gloucester and Roger de Mortimer. On Saturday, the 1st of August, Leicester, carrying with him King Henry III, who had accompanied him through the whole campaign as an involuntary representative of the royal authority, marched from Hereford to Kempsey, a village four

miles south of Worcester, and on the east side of the Severn, where was a manor-house of the Bishop of Worcester, then Walter de Cantilupe, a personal friend and a supporter of the barons' cause. He remained at Kempsey during Sunday, August the 2nd, notwithstanding, as Rishanger says, that the army of Edward was not far off; and, indeed, it was expected that a conflict would take place between the two armies on the following day. But after dark on Sunday evening, Leicester moved away from Kempsey, intending, as may be inferred, to proceed either to Kenilworth to join his son, or towards Kenilworth to meet him.

His route from Kempsey (a circuitous one, if he only aimed at reaching Kenilworth the shortest way) seems to have been chosen in order to avoid a too near approach to Worcester, and to put the river Avon between his enemies and himself. At Pershore he would reach that river and cross it by a bridge to the left bank, along which, in a southeasterly direction, he would probably find a road to Evesham, where he would gain, as we shall afterwards see, the main road towards Kenilworth. He arrived at Evesham on Monday, the 3rd of August, and allowed himself to be entertained at the abbey till the following day, induced to this delay by the wish of the king, who desired to stay here to hear mass and to dine.

Here we leave him, and return to the movements of the younger Simon and of Prince Edward, about which, from some confusion of names of places and from the circuitous route of the Avon, there may be some difficulty in arriving at a certain conclusion.

On Friday, July 31, the younger Simon came to the Castle of Kenilworth after his attack and plunder of Winchester; and he seems to have lain there with blameable carelessness. Riotry and early bathing—rather inconsistent purposes—have been assigned as the motives of the unguarded condition of the younger Simon and his followers in the village of Kenilworth, instead of being watchful in the castle, a place of strength which shortly afterwards the Royalists found it so difficult to reduce.

Edward, informed by a woman-spy, called in the chronicles Margoth, of the arrival of the younger Simon at Kenilworth, made a rapid march from Worcester, on Friday, the 31st of July, and early on Saturday morning, the 1st of

August, he surprised him and his army, and took the Earl of Oxford and many others prisoners, with their horses, baggage, and standards. The younger Simon barely escaped into the castle, and saved a third or fourth of his army. With equal speed Edward hastened back to Worcester, which he reached again by Saturday night.

Of this movement on the part of the Prince, we infer from the accounts that the Earl of Leicester was altogether ignorant, notwithstanding his nearness to Worcester at that very time. Edward's subsequent conduct would also lead us to conclude that he was aware of the Earl's ignorance. He resolved, by the operation which we shall next describe, to interpose between the Earl Simon and Kenilworth, to prevent a junction between the father and son, and to destroy the army of the elder separately, as he had already defeated his son alone at Kenilworth.

As soon as Edward heard of the elder Simon's departure from Kempsey (which, taking place by night, may not have been known till Monday), he started forth on that day to intercept the earl's northward march from Evesham.

The old roads from Evesham to Kenilworth ran from part of Evesham lying on the left bank of the Avon, and called Bengeworth, along the same side of the Avon to Bidford; and thence two routes appear in our older maps (Camden's *Britannia*), one through Warwick and the other through Alcester and Henley-in-Arden. Edward had to cover not only this road out of Evesham towards Bidford, but also to guard the country directly north of Evesham, on the right bank of the Avon, traversed by the present north road from Evesham to Alcester; either of which routes Earl Simon might take; but I infer, from what I have afterwards to say about the younger Simon, that the road to Kenilworth would strike Bidford in either case.

The circuitous course of the Avon here comes in for notice. Evesham is situated on a promontory or peninsula, bounded east, south, and west by the loop of the Avon. Edward's tactics were to cross and cover this loop; and there has been some confusion about this movement. First, it has been confounded with a strategic movement out of Worcester for a mile or two northwards towards Bridgnorth (the purport of which may have been to mislead any spies or partizans of De Montfort in Worcester); and next it has

been rendered obscure by the names given by the chroniclers to the place where Edward is said to have crossed a river.

Matthew of Paris's continuator says: "Edwardus movens se a Wigornia transiti fluvio juxta oppidum quod dicitur 'Clinemam,'" and this word has been rendered "Claines", and the idea has been entertained that Edward moved from Worcester along the right bank of the Severn, and crossed that river to Claines before making his cross march to Evesham.

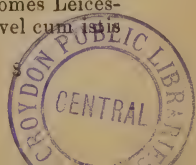
Trivet says,¹ Edward crossed the river at a place called "Olive," which has been reasonably conjectured to be a literal error for "Clive," meaning Cleeve, or Priors Cleeve, on the left bank of the Avon, four miles north-east of Evesham, and being the eastern extremity of a line straight from Worcester across the Avon peninsula already described, and which route would, after the river was crossed, strike the road from Evesham to Bidford, to which I have already referred.

It is possible that Clinemam or Claines is a confusion between Clains, the place of the false movement northwards, and Cleeve, the place where by a ford he would cross the Avon to the Bidford road. No name is given by any chronicler, so far as I know, to the river which Edward is said to have crossed, and the Avon is certainly not mentioned; for, being a common term for a river, it had probably not become a special name for our own now celebrated stream.

The completeness of Edward's plan is made out if we conclude that he crossed the Avon at Cleeve, for otherwise he would have left open an obvious route for De Montfort's escape from Evesham.

Edward's subsequent march is then clear, for after so crossing the river he would proceed southward, and gain the heights of Green Hill and the command of the Evesham peninsula by recrossing the Avon two or three miles

¹ "In crastino namque, qui erat dies Inventionis S. Stephani, Edwardus movens se de Wigornia, transito fluvio juxta oppidum quod dicitur Clive, viam Comiti versus filium, qui erat in castro de Kenilworthe, filiique ad patrem cum suo exercitu interclusit. In crastino vero appropinquavit oppido Eveshamiæ ex parte una, veneruntque ex duabus partibus aliis Comes Gloverniæ cum acie sua, et Rogerus de Mortuo-Mari cum sua turma, ita ut Comes Leicestriæ undique conclusus, necesse habuerit vel se spontanee dedere, vel cum suis prælio decertare." (Nicolai Triveti *Annales*, an. 1265.)



lower down, at Offenham, where a bridge is distinctly marked in the older maps, though it no longer exists. Such a line of march on the part of Edward would not prevent his communication with that portion of his forces which, led by the Earl of Gloucester, had, as we shall see, meanwhile marched towards Evesham from Worcester.

When Edward left Worcester on Monday afternoon, he had doubtless arranged the courses to be respectively pursued by his allies. The Earl of Gloucester was to proceed from Worcester, keeping along the north of the Avon, by the road through Wyre and Fladbury; and from Fladbury he would guard that side of the Avon until he should arrive on the western slopes of Green Hill, and take up his position on the heights where the Abbey Manor House of Mr. Rudge now stands. Edward's old royalist ally, Roger de Mortimer, followed Leicester's route, coming by what we call the lower road from Worcester to Pershore, and thence to Bengeworth, so as to come upon Leicester's rear, or *a tergo* as the chroniclers say.¹ By these means Leicester would be completely surrounded; and I believe that all the accounts may be reconciled by this theory of the campaign.

I have ventured to suggest that King Henry III was in communication with the spies of his son, and was acting in concert with him in insisting upon the delay at Evesham. Had no pressure been put on the Earl of Leicester, and had he proceeded without delay on his route to join his son the younger Simon, he might have passed along the road from Evesham to Bidford before Edward had reached Cleeve, and barred that road so frequently referred to.

I have now to suggest that the Earl of Leicester's refusal to stay at Evesham would have enabled him to join his son before arriving at Kenilworth; for there is reason to believe that the younger Simon, with the residue of his army, was on his march from Kenilworth to join his father, and had

¹ "Cumque audisset Edwardus Comitem Simonem in veniendo esse versus Kenilworth ut exercitui filii sui se conjungeret et fieret fortior, processit obviam ei die tertio apud Evesham, et ordinato exercitu per tres acies, ipse cum suis ex parte una, Comes Gloucestris ex altera, et Rogerus de Mortimer a tergo veniebat.....Perrexit ergo speculator ille in altum in clorario abbatis ubi comes fuerat hospitatus, et de claro cognoscens vexilla filii regis a latere uno, deposuerant enim tunc alia vexilla, et vexilla comitis Gloucestris a latere altero, et vexilla similiter Rogeri de Mortimer ab occidente et a tergo, clamavit ad comitem et dixit, 'Mortui sumus omnes.'" etc. (*Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh*, A.D. 1265.)

proceeded as far as Alcester. If this conjecture, and it is not unsupported, be correct, my suggestions as to the route from Evesham to Kenilworth are confirmed. Robert of Gloucester quaintly rebukes both the earl and his son for their folly in staying to dine, and says that the younger Simon might have reached his father but for his also lingering at Alcester to dine.

I learn from a note to the second edition of Blaauw, that Thomas Wyke says that the younger Simon saw the rout of his party at Evesham from a distant height, and then returned; and, if this were the case, he would be on his way from Alcester while the battle was going on.

Note.—Since this paper was written I have received from Mr. W. de Gray Birch the valuable suggestion that “Clinemam” in Matthew of Paris’s continuator is a copyist’s error for “*Cline, uiam*”. (See p. 57, note 1, line 2.) The texts of the continuator and of Trivet are so closely alike that the suggestion at once approves itself as a solution of the verbal difficulty, and a confirmation of the local identity.

ON THE ANCIENT WORSHIP OF SPRINGS.

BY DR. WAKE SMART.

IN the month of June, 1875, there was a singular discovery made of Roman coins and fictile vessels, in a meadow at the village of Horton, Dorset. Some boys, playing about the streamlet which rises on the north side of the meadow, found in its bed a small vase and thirty or forty coins lying in the gravel. The news quickly spread amongst the peasantry, who, in expectation of finding a mine of wealth, lost no time in exploring the bed of the stream, and thus eventually some hundred and forty coins and seven perfect vases, the produce of these unlicensed explorations, were recovered by the agent of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the lord of the manor; and under this gentleman's directions a further search was made, which resulted in the discovery of a few coins; a large quantity of the *débris* of the same kind of pottery as the vases; an iron lance, or spear-head, three inches in length and one inch and three-quarters broad, with the socket and point eaten away by rust; a disc of bronze three inches and three-eighths in diameter; a few short pieces of thin tubular bronze, of the size of a tobacco-pipe, two or three of them having a rude linear ornamentation;¹ some animal bones; horses' teeth; a few flint flakes; and one red amber bead.

The streamlet is nameless, but is perhaps thus alluded to in a legend recorded by William of Malmesbury. He relates that Ordgar, Earl of Devon, the father of the notorious Queen Elfrida, founded an abbey at Horton, A.D. 961, which had been destroyed before the time he wrote [*obit* A.D. 1140]; and that when Ordgar resorted thither for recreation, he was accustomed to display his great strength by standing across a certain rivulet, which was *ten feet wide from one bank to the other*, at the deer-leap, and by slicing off into the stream the heads of the deer which were driven towards him, with the light strokes of a small knife, almost

¹ The circumference is bevelled. On the upper side a short projection like a socket; and on the under side, three pin-hole apertures communicating with it. The date and uses of these relics are not obvious.

without any effort.¹ The site of the abbey is supposed to have been at the west-end of the meadow, about a quarter of a mile distant, where the parish church now stands.

The coins are chiefly of third brass, and *minimi*; a few only of first and second brass. They are generally in the worst possible condition, many being partially destroyed by corrosion, and others rendered hopelessly illegible. Such of them as allowed the faintest hope of identification, were submitted to the inspection of Mr. Roach Smith, who kindly and ably determined the types of those which are given in the following list :

1st B.	2nd B.							
2	1	Antoninus Pius	-	-	-	-	-	3
1		Marcus Aurelius.	-	-	-	-	-	1
5		Faustina (his wife)	-	-	-	-	-	5
1		Commodus	-	-	-	-	-	1
1		Severus	-	-	-	-	-	1
	1	Gordianus	-	-	-	-	-	1
		Gallienus	-	-	-	-	-	8
		Victorinus	-	-	-	-	-	1
		Tetricus	-	-	-	-	-	4
		Carausius	-	-	-	-	-	2
		Allectus	-	-	-	-	-	2
		The Constantine family	-	-	-	-	-	44
		Valens	-	-	-	-	-	1
		Rude Provincial	-	-	-	-	-	1
								75
10	7	Undetermined, detrited, and corroded	-	-	-	-	-	64
20	9							
							Total	139

The coins are thus seen to extend over the period from about the middle of the second to the end of the fourth century; and that the coinage of Constantine and his family is by far the most numerously represented.

The vases are all of small size, the largest being four and a half inches only in height. Four of them are of the ordinary black or dark ware, which was largely manufactured by the Romans in the Upchurch marshes; two others of grey ware are most probably the product of New Forest kilns, a few

¹ "Est in Dorseta nemus juxta Hortunam, quæ modo destructa, tunc ejus (Ordgari) liberalitate inter abbatias numerabatur. Ibi mirandæ fortitudinis dabat spectaculum si quando remissis curis venerat in ocium. Rivulus juxta saltum venationis feracem labitur, ab una ripa ad alteram 10 pedum spacio. Ille divaricatis pedibus utramque continuabat, parvoque cultro ferarum ad se actarum capita levibus et pene irritis ictibus decutiebat in amnem." (Quoted in Hutchins' *Dorset*, vol. iii, p. 149, 3rd ed.)

miles distant ;¹ resembling also the Castor ware, discovered by Mr. Artis,² having the peculiar style of indentation round the body of the vessel, which has obtained for them in the New Forest the appellation of "thumb-pots". These are only three inches in height. The remaining vessel is a small patera of the so-called Samian ware, which has unfortunately lost the maker's name, and has two small projections on each opposite side of the rim, denoting the original existence of handles. It is not ascertained whether any of those vases contained coins when found ; the first that was found was certainly filled with sand. From the quantity of fragments dug up on the same spot, and which do not present the appearance of recent fracture, we may infer that many more vases, varying in size and shape, were deposited than have been brought to light in a perfect state by these researches.

In reflecting on the probable motive that led to this deposit, the most plausible which suggests itself is, that these objects are the remains of votive offerings to the *numen*, *nymph*, or *genius loci*, who was imagined to preside over the water of this spring. If it could be shown that the water is now regarded by the rustics as possessed of any sanitary properties, this suggestion would be very much corroborated ; but I am bound to say that it does not enjoy any such reputation now, whatever it may have had in the days that are past. Nevertheless, its purity and copiousness alone may have been sufficient to call forth the sense of grateful acknowledgments from the heathen, who knew no other mode of expressing this sentiment than by offering of his slender store to the divinity whom his piety had invented. But we must look a little further for the origin and prevalence of this custom. The *fons sacer* was, as we all know, an integral part of the ancient pagan superstition. The rites peculiar to this worship were termed *fontinalia*, and consisted principally of sacrifice and libation. Thus Horace's lines will be immediately recalled :

" O Fons Blandusiæ, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis hædo," etc.

¹ At Slodden, Frogham, Amberwood, etc. See paper by Rev. Mr. Bartlett in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv.

² *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, plates ix, x, on "Roman Vases found at Strood in Kent," by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

I might indeed refer to the several sacred fountains celebrated in mythological history, and adduce some of the numerous allusions to this superstitious worship scattered through the pages of poets and historians of the classical age, but it is enough to point out where they may be found in the works of their respective authors.¹ Yet I must dwell awhile on the observation of Seneca, "*Magnorum fluvium capita veneramur*", to show what a striking illustration it received a few years ago by a discovery which was made at the sources of the Seine. This river rises in a wild sequestered valley near Besançon. Around the principal spring were found the foundations of a Roman temple, and within them, statues, busts, and *ex voto* limbs and members of the human body, hands, feet, legs, arms, eyes, etc., carved in stone; figures of infants in swaddling-clothes; also *ex voto* parts of animals, as of dogs. There was also a vase containing votive offerings in bronze and silver, and eight hundred and thirty coins from Augustus to Magnus Maximus, chiefly coins of Postumus and Tetricus. The vase was inscribed, *DEAE SEQVANAÆ RVFVS DONAVIT*; a votive altar also, dedicated by Flavius or Flavianus son of Flavius, to the august and sacred goddess Sequana—*AVG. SAC. DEAE. SEQ.*—for the health of his nephew, etc.—*PRO. SAL. NEP. SVI. etc.*²

The process of deification was easily effected by giving a classical terminology to the local name of a spring or river. It may be objected, that no comparison lies between the source of a great river, like the Seine, and the spring of a nameless streamlet, like the one in question; yet there is an analogy, and it consists in the expression of the devotional sentiment which may have prompted the offerings in the one case as well as in the other; the motive was the same, but adapted to the differing conditions of time, place, and people. This ancient form of superstition was doubtlessly carried by the Roman into every country which his arms had subdued. It is a point worth inquiry, whether any Roman remains, which may bear this interpretation, have been discovered at the spring-head of any of our British rivers.

¹ Horace, *Od.* iii, 13; Virgil, *Ecl.* v, 74; *Æn.* vii, 792; Ovid, *Fast.* iii, 273; v, 673; Martial, *Epig.* 299; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii, 13; Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv, 22, 7; Livy, i, 19; Plutarch, *Num.*, p. 68 D; Seneca, *Epist.* 41.

² From manuscript notes of an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by Mr. Roach Smith, on *Rapport sur les Découvertes faites aux Sources de la Seine*, par M. Baudot. 4to., 1845. Paris and Dijon.

The evidence in this instance is conclusive as regards the lateness of the deposit, shown by the large proportion of coins of the Lower Empire ; but if the whole of the remains are to be restricted to this period, it is difficult to give a reason why the devotional sentiment, here assumed, should have remained so long dormant ; it becomes then an open question, whether the earlier coins, though comparatively few, may not indicate a succession of intervals extending through the space of two centuries and a half, during which these offerings were deposited by the Roman colonists, or the natives who had adopted, in some measure, their manners and customs. This solution seems to recommend itself to our approval.

I have just received an unexpected and interesting confirmation of the theory which I have advanced. The information has come to me, through a mutual friend, from Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., of Chester. He says—"We have at Chester a large altar inscribed on two sides, NYMPHIS ET FONTIBVS, found not far from a spring which probably, even in Roman times, supplied water to the city ; close to the latter site vases and coins in some quantity have from time to time been turned up."

ON SOME ROMAN TESSERÆ OF TERRA-COTTA.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

INCIDENTAL passages in the writings of classic authors prove to us that both the Greeks and Romans employed tesseræ or tickets for divers purposes, and which we know, from existing examples, differed considerably in form and material, some being discs, others globes, some square, others oblong ; and wrought of bone, ivory, and wood, metal, stone, and terra-cotta ; and displaying considerable variation in design and manipulation, the devices and lettering being both in cameo and intaglio.[†]

Polybius (vi, 34), Vegetius (*Mil.* ii, 7), and others, speak of the *Tessera Militaris*, or wooden billet, on which the watch-word was inscribed, and distributed to the soldiery, so that they might distinguish friend from foe ; and on which was also at times written the orders of the commander, who thus circulated his wishes and intents through the camp ; and which species of ticket was under the charge of an officer denominated *Tesserarius*.

The *Tessera Theatralis*, by which admission was gained to the theatre and other places of public amusement, is perhaps more familiar to us than any other variety of ancient ticket from the discoveries made at Pompeii, two examples there found preserving views of the *theatrum* ; another assigning the holder to the eighth seat on the second tier of the third space between the pair of *scalæ* or staircases.

Then there was the *Tessera Hospitalis*, a tally or pledge of mutual and lasting friendship, which was broken in twain like the lover's sixpence, one half being retained by the donor, the other half by the receiver, so that should they meet after long separation, or their descendants chance to come together, they possessed a token by which old associations could be proved and revived. Maccius Plautus, who was at the height of popular favour some two hundred years before the Christian era, mentions the *tessera hospitalis* in his comedy of *Pænulus* (v, 2, 88-93).

[†] Some interesting varieties of ancient *tesserae* are engraved in Boyle's *Museum Britannicum*, tab. xxv, p. 62.

But of all tickets the most important in the eyes of the Roman people were the *Tesseræ Frumentariæ* and *Tesseræ Nummariæ*, distributed by magistrates and others to needy persons, and by which they obtained doles of bread, corn, wine, oil, and money, as specified on the several pieces. Count Caylus (*Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes Etrusques*, iv, pl. 67, n. 6) has given a representation of a *tessera nummaria* of ivory, on one side of which is marked AR. XII, indicative of *argenti duodecim*, i.e., twelve denarii.

Welcome as gifts of money were undoubtedly to the plebes, corn was the most important item in the list of largesses. The Romans at various times enacted *Leges Frumentariæ*, some of the later of which bore intimately on the issue of *tesseræ*, as we shall see in the sequel.

Livy (ii, 9, 34 ; iv, 12, 52 ; x, 11 ; xxvi, 40) shows that from an early period of Rome the Government directed its attention to the regular supply of the *Annona*, or Corn Market, with the aim of not simply providing a sufficiency of food for the people but to keep the price thereof within as moderate bounds as could be managed. The first legal provision for supplying the necessitous with corn at a price much below its market value was made in the year 123 B.C. This *Lex Frumentaria*, which was passed at the instance of C. Sempronius Gracchus, enacted that each citizen might receive monthly a specified amount of *triticum* (wheat) at the price of $6\frac{1}{3}$ asses (*senos aris et trientes*) for the *modius*, equal in English measure to one gallon and nearly eight pints.¹ This law had a most pernicious effect, for it at once impoverished the treasury, and turned the masses into State paupers. Somewhere about the year 91 B.C., this law of Gracchus was modified by the tribune M. Octavius, so that the national funds did not suffer quite so much as they had done. And by the *Lex Cornelia*, passed 82 B.C., Sulla abolished the distribution of corn. But this law was revoked in 73 B.C., when the *Lex Terentia Cassia* seems to have revived the *Lex Sempronia* with certain alterations ; and in which it was set forth that each Roman citizen should receive five *modii* of corn a month, $6\frac{1}{3}$ asses being paid for every *modius*.²

All the early *leges frumentariæ* were framed with the

¹ Livy, *Epit.* 60 ; Appian, *B. C.*, 1, 21 ; Plut., *C. Gracchus*, 5.

² Cicero, *Verr.*, iii, 70 ; v, 21, *pro Sext.*, 25 ; Ascon. *in Pis.* 4, p. 9, ed. Orelli.

intent that the corn should be paid for, though at a price far below its cost to the state, but by the *Lex Clodia*, passed in 58 B.C. by the tribune Clodius, the corn was to be dispensed to the people free of charge. When Julius Cæsar gained the mastery, he limited the number of recipients to 150,000,¹ and it is almost certain that it was only the very poorest of these who availed themselves of the privilege conceded to them, and these were furnished with *tessera frumentariæ* or *nummarie*, which they presented when applying for their allotted portion of corn. We gather from Suetonius' *Vitæ Duodecim Cæsarum* (Octav. 41), that Augustus made certain changes in the regulations promulgated by Julius Cæsar, but the main features of his Act were that a fixed number of citizens should be privileged to purchase corn at a very cheap rate, and that those who were perfectly destitute should receive their share gratuitously on producing their *tessera*. As time wore on, these *tessera frumentariæ* became the absolute property of the holders, who could dispose of them whilst living, or bequeath them at their death.²

It is clear from the foregoing statements that there must have been a vast number of corn, money, and other tickets wrought for the service of the Roman plebes, and many of them have doubtlessly defied the devouring tooth of time, and descended to our day, but where are they to be found, and, if found, can they be identified? It is possible, perhaps even probable, that two examples of *tessera frumentariæ* have been exhumed in England, one in North Wiltshire, the other in Middlesex, and bearing such a strong likeness to each other that one delineation would well pass for that of either ticket. The Wiltshire specimen is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1838, p. 495; the London one is in the collection of our associate the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, by whose kind permission it is now exhibited; and we must not omit to mention that it was found with Roman remains in Finsbury, in August, 1874. Both *tessera* are discs, exactly one inch in diameter, and full one-eighth in thickness; the Wilts example is described as being made of "freestone," the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* probably mistaking hard stone-

¹ Suet., *Cæsar*, 55; Dion Cass., xliii, 21.

² *Digesta*, 5, Tit. i, s. 52; 39, Tit. 1 49; 39, Tit. 1, s. 87.

coloured terra-cotta for the substance named ; the one before you is of red terra-cotta. They are of neat fabric, and bear on one side a large F, with a dot above the shaft of the letter and the numeral VI below it. The F may be for *frumentum* ; the cypher implying the number of *modii* to be given to the ticket holder, without it indicates the price of the corn at six asses. Of course it is easy to object to both these suggestions, that the old laws fixed the amount of corn to be given at five *modii*, and the nominal cost at $6\frac{1}{3}$ asses, so that in neither case can agreement be found between the *lex* and the *tessera*. But different regulations may have prevailed at the seat of government, and in the far off province of Britain. It is not without some hesitation that I advance these theories, if they deserve to be so called, and would gladly admit a more rational solution of the incuse letters and numbers if one can be offered. All I can say is, that the conjectural explanation is in strict accordance with the rules of modern practice, for I have now before me two tin beer tickets in use about thirty-five years since, the smaller one stamped with $\frac{6}{S}^{PINT}$, the largest with $\frac{6}{S}^{PINT}$, the letter S standing for stout, and it would be a task of no great difficulty to point to other examples of a like nature. But whether these ancient terra-cotta pieces be *tessera frumentaria* or *tessera* of some other kind, they are scarce objects of considerable interest, and their discovery deserves a record in our pages.

Since the foregoing remarks were penned, Mr. Mayhew has acquired three other terra-cotta *tessera* of the same size, and evidently of the same class as the examples from Wiltshire and London, but displaying different initials. On the first we have the letter A, with the numeral I beneath it ; on the second, a B, with VI below it ; and on the third, a C, and VI similarly arranged ; and in front of them an upright line which has more the aspect of design than accident. These three pieces were purchased a short time since at the sale of the effects of a Mr. Lucas, in Staffordshire, and in the same lot were remains of Roman glass, but their place of find is at present unknown. The sight of these singular objects brings to my recollection a print in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of March, 1792, p. 214, of another *tessera* exhumed from the fosse of a Roman intrenchment at Elmham in Norfolk. On it is a large D surmounting the figure VIII.

Thus we have evidence of the existence of terra-cotta discs bearing the incuse letters A, B, C, D, and F. The A may be the initial of *argentum*, the ticket being for one denarius, and the D may imply *denarii*, and if so the holder of the *tessera* would be entitled to receive eight pieces of silver money. Can the great B signify that the ticket was for six *buccellata*, the hard military biscuits employed by soldiers on a march? The C may possibly stand for *cerealis*, as the F may for *frumentum*. But I must again express my readiness to welcome a better reading of these obscure matters than any now offered, and confess that these few notes are strung together with a view of rather eliciting, than with much hope of affording, information.

THE DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT WAR-SHIP NEAR BOTLEY.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

THE news of the discovery of an ancient vessel of large size having recently attracted much attention, I have had the pleasure of collecting many of the facts from the gentlemen who have been most instrumental in bringing it to public notice ; and in the hope that some permanent record may be of service to our Association, I lay the communications I have received before you in a connected form.

The discovery has been made on the banks of the small river, the Hamble, which falls into Southampton water, and the exact spot is about two and a half miles from Botley, and about two miles inland above Burslean Bridge¹ at a place which has been inaccessible for ships for centuries.

For many years tradition spoke of an ancient vessel having been wrecked on the muddy banks of the Hamble, and a few fragments of blackened wood, covered with seaweed, were pointed to from time to time, when they were visible at very low water in a double and parallel row.

I am informed by Mr. Herbert Guillaume of Botley, that about fifty years ago a rough carving was discovered accidentally, by an inhabitant of this district, to form a part of the wreck, and it was removed with the forepost of the ship. It is spoken of as having been the figure-head, and having the form of an animal resembling a lion. It was removed, and its whereabouts cannot now be traced.

The course of a small rivulet having within very recent times been turned into the river, the thick bed of mud covering the wreck has been by degrees removed, and the broken timbers were much more distinctly visible, and much local curiosity to learn more of the form of the vessel was evinced. Francis Crawshay, Esq., having become the owner of some property in the locality at Burkedan, undertook the work of exploration with considerable spirit, and appears to have spared neither time nor money in carrying it out.

The vessel proved to be of very considerable dimensions, being about 130 feet in length, and extending from close to the water's edge into the stream. On the mud being dug

¹ The Burslean Bridge carries the main road from Southampton to Portsmouth over the river ; and the village of Burslean was once known for its ship-building trade, several men-of-war having been built here in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Dock is shewn, on old maps, below the village, nearer the sea.

out to the depth of about 10 feet, the upright timbers, which were 14 inches by 10 inches, were found to be planked once with three thicknesses of planks, varying from 4 inches to 6 inches in thickness. These had been bent to the shape of the ship, and their edges were bevelled. The joints were found to be caulked with moss and fern leaves, and these were found to be so perfect that the exact outlines of the leaves could be made out. The timbers, which are probably oak, were nearly black or chocolate colour by age, and of great hardness, but the grain of the wood was very distinct when sawn through. Traces of fire were very visible upon some of the timbers. Mr. Crawshay's excavations were continued down to the keel of the vessel, and the length, 130 feet, was taken along it.¹ Old saw-marks were distinctly traced on many of the timbers, and the instruments used must have been of much greater thickness than those now in use, in one place the saw-cut being a quarter of an inch. The timbers were put together with oak circular trenails, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness, and about 20 inches apart, securing the three thicknesses of boarding to the uprights. The edges of the boarding were nailed together by iron square nails with round heads, now very much decayed.

These most interesting researches have been rudely brought to a conclusion. Mr. Crawshay reports to me that, after all his exertions and expenditure, the whole of the fragments of timbers, planks, etc., which he had recovered, have been seized by the Board of Trade, and are now in the coast-guard hulk at the mouth of the Hamble. So rigorously was this done, that even his yacht was boarded, and a few fragments carried off. This termination of most valuable researches is greatly to be deplored, since the investigation of the structure of a ship of magnitude of ancient date is of very rare occurrence, and the prosecution might reveal much of interest. I cannot hear of the discovery of any fragments enabling the date of the vessel to be determined.

The wreck is said to be that of a Danish ship. Its large dimensions warrant this supposition, but it may be unwise, as has been done, to endeavour to fix its being abandoned, on the spot where now found after so many centuries, to the Danish invasion of Wessex in 871, or to the attacks upon Southampton a century later.

¹ Its length is much greater than that of any other ancient vessel yet met with. The celebrated ship found in the Rother was about 60 feet long.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING, EVESHAM, 1875.

AUGUST 16TH TO 21ST INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16TH, 1875.

THE thirty-second annual gathering of the oldest archæological Society in England was inaugurated on Monday at Evesham, to which town, in anticipation of the meeting, a large number of the members and their families, with a goodly array of scientific archæologists, and those who have a happy taste for combining their summer holidays with a certain amount of acquisition of interesting knowledge, made their way during the previous week, and severely taxed the ordinary places of accommodation. At an early hour an unusual state of excitement came over this generally quiet town, as the members and officers began to assemble by railway or road. The well-known faces of J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, E. Roberts, Sir Stafford Carey, E. P. L. Brock, T. Morgan, T. Blashill, and others, were easily distinguished among the foremost; but one missed the veteran member, H. S. Cuming, whose inexhaustible store of antiquities has afforded so much work to the Association for thirty-two years, and G. M. Hills, the ecclesiological archæologist, whose services for the past decade of years will not be soon forgotten, and whose place in the Society will not be easily filled. At an early hour in the afternoon, a large gathering assembled in the Town Hall, to be present at the reception by the Corporation, and address of the President.

The members of the Town Council occupied the recess at the lower end of the hall, which was filled with a large and brilliant assemblage, who awaited the arrival of the President of the Congress, the Marquis of Hertford, K.C.B. Amongst those present were: Lord Hampton, Lady Eleanor Pratt, Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart., Sir P. Stafford Carey and Miss Carey, the Rev. A. H. W. Ingram and Mrs. Ingram, Mr. H. Workman, Rev. H. D. Godfrey Faussett-Osborne and Mrs. Osborne, Rev. B. Davis and the Misses Davis (Cleeve Prior), Rev. R. Wedgwood, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Ashwin, Mr. and Mrs. I. Averill and Miss Averill, Rev. M. Amphlett, Mr. R. N. Chadwick, Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, Rev. M. Wood and Mrs. Wood, Miss Randell, Rev. J. G. Knapp, Mrs. Knapp, the Misses Beale Cooper, Rev. N. G. Batt,

Mr. Croker, Rev. W. de Bentley, Colonel Preedy, Mr. A. Huband, Mrs. Oldham and the Misses Oldham, Mrs. Prance and party, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Haynes and Miss Sanders, Mr. H. E. Haynes, Mr. F. D. Holland, Mr. A. H. Wright, Lieutenant Hall, R.N., Mrs. Herbert New, the Misses New and Messrs. Herbert and Geoffrey New, Messrs. Leonard and Walter New, Mr. G. H. Garrard, Mr. J. Colston, Mr. E. Lees (Worcester), Mr. Parkinson (Cheltenham), Mr. G. Eades, Mr. Chas. Burlingham and Miss Burlingham, Mr. J. Loxley, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. T. White, jun., Rev. J. C. Quinn, Rev. T. R. Traill, Rev. Hugh Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Martin, and Miss Le Breton, Mr. F. W. Astley, Rev. C. H. Wellbeloved and Mrs. Wellbeloved, as well as a large number of the members of the Association from a distance, most of whose names appear in connection with the dinner, which took place the same evening. Shortly after two o'clock, the Marquis of Hertford (President of the Association for the current Congress and Session) and the Marchioness, with Lady Florence Seymour, arrived, accompanied by the Rev. F. W. Holland (Chairman of the Local Committee), Mr. Herbert New (Local Honorary Secretary), and others. The proceedings commenced with the following address read by the Town Clerk :

“May it please your Lordship, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the Borough of Evesham, in Council assembled, desire to offer to your Lordship and the members of the British Archæological Association, a hearty welcome on the occasion of your visit to this town. We feel that you have conferred on us a great honour in selecting our town as the place of meeting for your annual Congress. Its capacity for entertaining a large number of visitors is perhaps hardly equal to such an occasion, but we gladly place our Town Hall at your disposal, and shall endeavour, as will all our fellow-townsmen, to make up for the smallness of our resources by the heartiness of our welcome. The Vale of Evesham has long been famed for its fertility, and for the beauty of its scenery, and from very early days it has been a busy centre of life. The earthworks and ancient camps of the hills, which enclose the Vale, testify, by their number and size, to its importance in the eyes of the Ancient Britons. The Roman occupation is to be traced on every side by the ruins of the buildings, the names of places, and the large number of coins found scattered over the country ; and in the Middle Ages, the famous Abbey of Evesham was one of the principal centres of religious life in England. Few neighbourhoods afford the opportunity of a visit to so many sites of abbeys, and other spots connected with historical events of great and abiding interest. Our own Abbey Church has, unfortunately, disappeared ; the little that remains of it, after having been used as a stone quarry for one hundred years, lying buried

beneath the ground; but our town still contains many relics of the buildings connected with the Abbey, and these, and the site of the Battle of Evesham, will be visited with interest, as will also the spot where lies the body, though now unmarked by any memorial, of Simon de Montfort, the founder of the House of Commons. If the accommodation which our town affords to visitors is small, we feel that the attractions which it presents to the members of such a society as the British Archæological Association, are great indeed, and it will be our endeavour to afford you every facility that lies within our power to make your visit here both agreeable and profitable. We trust that your proceedings this week will lead to a deeper appreciation of archæological science, and also to the careful preservation of the many relics of antiquity which have been handed down to us, but which often suffer so sadly from carelessness or ignorance; and we hope that you will carry away with you, not only a valuable store of historical information, but also a pleasant reminiscence of your Congress at Evesham.

“Given under the corporate common seal of the borough of Evesham, at the Guildhall, in the said borough, this 16th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1875.

“JOHN COLLINS, Chairman.”

The President, in reply, said: Mr. Deputy-Mayor, I beg to thank you and the Corporation generally, upon the part of the British Archæological Association, for the very hearty welcome you have given us to-day, and for the excellent accommodation which you have so kindly provided for us. I have no doubt that you will continue to afford us the same facilities for the rest of the week, so that this meeting may pass off with as much success as those held in other parts of England.

Amidst warm cheering the President was conducted to the chair, and delivered the inaugural address, which has been already printed at pp. 1 to 7. His Lordship was frequently cheered during the delivery of the address, and also at its close.

Lord Hampton, who had an enthusiastic reception, rose and said: Since I entered this room, the committee have done me the honour of imposing upon me the agreeable and welcome duty of moving a hearty vote of thanks to your noble President for taking the chair, and for the clear, and able, and appropriate address with which he has opened this Congress. I am delighted to see my noble friend living amongst you in this neighbourhood, which must benefit from Lord Hertford's residence at Ragley. The committee could not have done more wisely than in asking my noble friend to preside over this Congress; and the people of Evesham must be highly gratified to see his Lordship acting in that capacity. For many years Ragley has only been a name. Ragley is now a reality. I need not point out to you or to any large

assemblage in this country, the great advantages which arise to all classes from the noble residences of the land being occupied by those of ample means, who have a desire and a spirit to fulfil the duties of their station. This remark well applies to the Marquis of Hertford, and, as you have welcomed him with such cordiality, I must conclude that you find the advantage of having such a neighbour. Lord Hampton concluded by saying that he would not detain the meeting longer than to ask them to join him in a cordial vote of thanks to the Marquis of Hertford for accepting the presidency of the Association, and for the admirable address he had given.

Mr. Geo. Godwin, F.R.S., said that as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, and one of the original members, he had been asked to second a vote of thanks to their noble President. His Lordship had referred in somewhat melancholy tones to the fact that the Association could find but little that was new, inasmuch as the numerous societies in the neighbourhood had investigated the local antiquities. That was a source of congratulation rather than regret, for the British Archæological Association was the parent of all these societies, and had inspired in their members a love for antiquarian research which would lead to the better preservation of objects of antiquity. There were truly, in various parts of the country, small bodies of men who were interested in objects of antiquity, and whose efforts would lead to their preservation, but, unfortunately, that had not yet been done in a way anything like it should be, or they would not now be deploring the loss of Cæsar's camp at Wimbledon. The admission of bricks and mortar had commenced in that district, but as the owners of the land had no right to cart bricks across that place this work had been stopped for the present, but he was afraid it was only for a short time. He (the speaker) sincerely trusted, however, that the antiquity of Cæsar's camp would be spared. Sir John Lubbock, he said, had already taken steps in that direction, and he (Mr. Godwin) thought that, if a strong memorial were signed by the members of the archæological societies throughout the country, it would have such an effect upon the House of Commons as to induce them to see to it that such antiquities should be preserved. After some other remarks, the speaker concluded by seconding the vote of thanks to the noble Chairman.

The Chairman said he could not leave the chair without tendering his most grateful thanks to the meeting for the way in which they had received the motion. He confessed that he did for some time refuse to accept the post of President, but from what Lord Hampton and others had told him he eventually did think it his forward and act as their President as they had seen feared he had almost broken down in the discharge of the office which he held, because he did not know so much

as he ought, but it would make him turn his attention much more to antiquities in the future.

The company, about a hundred and fifty in number, then proceeded in carriages and on foot to visit the grounds and museum of Mr. E. C. Rudge at the Abbey Manor, which had been kindly thrown open for the occasion. The Rev. F. W. Holland acted as cicerone, and explained the various objects of interest which were inspected. Within the principal entrance to the mansion were shown the Abbot's Chair of State and two carved "quarter boys", and some gurgoyles from the Bell Tower, etc.

The party were then conducted by Mr. Jones (Mr. Rudge's head-gardener) through the gardens. On one side of the grounds, in front of the Abbey Manor House, and overlooking the Avon, is a tower named in honour of the Earl of Leicester. In another part of the grounds objects of great interest are collected in a Museum, including remains of groins, gurgoyles, etc., from the ancient church of St. Lawrence; and from the Abbey, an emblem of the Crucifixion in stone, well nigh obliterated by the weather; a skull broken in such a manner as to give rise to the reasonable supposition that, in this case, the victim was killed by the blow of a battle-axe. This skull, with bones, was found in a stone coffin in the nave of the Abbey Church. There are also two vases which were found fourteen feet below the surface of the earth, when on April 9th, 1836, excavations were being made for the foundation of a large pillar next the reading-desk in the church of St. Lawrence; the chalice and paten taken from the stone coffin of Abbot Henry, who died A.D. 1263; the skull and thigh-bones of the same abbot,—all of which were found in a stone coffin in the nave of the Abbey Church; a pair of high boots found under an inverted coffin, and the leather of which was perfectly pliable when discovered; also a monumental figure of a recumbent knight in armour, with legs crossed, and which was found in the north-east angle of the nave of the Abbey Church. Among other curiosities may be mentioned the remains of the silken dress of Abbot Henry, and part of his cowl, and his ring, which was found on the third bone of the middle finger of the right hand. In another part of the museum there is a piece of lead with a Latin inscription, which was found in the coffin of Abbot Ælfric. One side of this piece of lead is very much corroded, and this corrosion is said to have been caused by being in contact with the body. The discovery of these coffins and their contents was made during excavations by the late Edward Rudge, Esq., F.S.A., in the years 1821-2. The approach to the museum is flanked with the stone coffins and bases of columns which were found beneath the site of the Abbey.

An obelisk, erected in 1821, to the memory of Simon de Montfort,

was next visited; and here there was a general call for Mr. Herbert New, who has so graphically described the battle of Evesham in his admirable little work on the subject. The obelisk bears an inscription from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, with an addition of two lines¹ of names:

"Great Lester here expir'd with Henry his brave sonne,
When many a high exploit they in that day had done.
Scarce was there noble house, of which those times could tell,
But that some one thereof on this or that side fell;
Amongst the slaughtered men that here lay heap'd on pyles,
Bohuns and Beauchamps were, Basets and Mandeviles:
Hardredeshull, Creppings, Le Despenser, Baliol, Rowe,le,
Inde, Tregoz, Einefyeld, Astley, York, Bermingham, Trossell,
Segraves, and Saint Johns, seek upon the end of all,
To give those of their names their Christian buriall.
Ten thousand on both sides were ta'en and slain that day.
Prince Edward gets the goale, and beares the palme away."

On the arrival of the archæologists at this place, Mr. Herbert New delivered a very interesting address, descriptive of the site of the Battle of Evesham, which took place there on the 4th of August, 1265, when Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, "the vindicator of English liberties against Court corruption and foreign influences, and the originator of popular Parliamentary representation", fell, with his son Henry, and many barons, hopelessly fighting against Prince Edward and the royalist army. Mr. New also briefly explained the arrival of the forces and reviewed the details of the battle.

After the address some of the visitors went in quest of the Battle Well, said by tradition to mark the spot where Simon de Montfort fell, and where miraculous cures were afterwards effected. The Well is now an open pool in the midst of a field, and covered with duck-weed.

This, the first visit of the Society at this Congress, was so pregnant with interesting matter, that it was an augury for one of the most, if not *the* most, successful meetings the Association has ever had.

Having investigated and pondered over the objects of interest in Mr. Rudge's grounds and museum—not to satiety, but so long as time would allow—the company returned to the town, and under the able guidance of the Rev. F. W. Holland, M.A., the respected vicar of Evesham, viewed with great deliberation the Abbey grounds, the bell tower, and the churches of All Saints (which is now undergoing restoration) and St. Lawrence. Mr. Holland gave a most exhaustive description of even the smallest matter of interest as the company passed along, and the attention which all paid who were with him was sufficient evidence to show the great interest they

¹ Lines seven and eight are not in Drayton, and the list of additions must have been collected from several sources.

every object which was brought under their notice. The old Norman gateway at the south-east corner of the market-place, by the church-yard, is said to be the most ancient relic of the Abbey, and is still, comparatively speaking, in a good state of preservation, and the same may be said of the cloister arch. As we have already stated, "All Saints' Church, which is in the grounds of the Abbey, and contiguous to the church of St. Lawrence, is undergoing renovation. Before entering this edifice, Mr. Holland drew the attention of the company to an ancient figure of our Saviour over the west window of the aisle, with a globe in the left hand and a dove between the feet. In the ceiling of the south entrance is an old carving in oak of a heart, and from this project, as it were, at the corners, two hands and two feet. This is designated the coat of arms¹ of Christ. A small mortuary chapel on the south of the church, said to have been built by Abbot Lichfield, the last abbot, is left standing, but the chancel is entirely new, and in it is placed a magnificent marble reredos. In this building, which is cruciform, amongst other objects of interest are to be seen the arms of the Monastery,—namely a chain in chevron between three mitres. The Church of St. Lawrence, which was restored in 1837, is a most interesting and pretty edifice. It is a matter worthy of note that these two churches are almost close together, and the reason assigned for this is that All Saints' Church was a parish church, while that of St. Lawrence was devoted to the use of pilgrims who came there from all parts to worship a celebrated image of the Virgin Mary, which was in a chapel there, built by the Abbot Lichfield. This image was supposed to possess some great miraculous power. A great portion of this church is still in its original state, and, while the mullions of the east window are comparatively new, the buttresses are ancient. Close by this building stands the north wall of the Abbey, the nave of which was 163 feet long. In the grounds of the Abbey stands the Bell Tower, for which Evesham is so famous. This tower is 110 feet high, and can be seen for a great distance from each of the cardinal points. The entrance to the Chapter House of the Abbey, from the cloisters, is untouched, and to this there was originally a covered way with seats on either side. In the course of the peregrinations of the members of the Congress, Mr. Holland pointed out from a chart the exact position of the choir of the Abbey, and in the centre of this stood a high altar, beneath which Simon de Montfort was buried.

Mr. Blashill explained the position of the different parts of the original buildings, the sites of which were staked out to assist the eye in following the speaker.

At seven o'clock on Monday evening, the members and friends of

¹ The shield of the Passion. See *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 92, fig. 2, for a drawing of this emblem.

the Association, to the number of more than a hundred, sat down to a dinner of a very *récherché* character, in the Guildhall. The chair was occupied by the President (the Marquis of Hertford), and amongst those present were Lord Hampton, Lady Eleanor Pratt, the Earl of Yarmouth, M.P., Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart., Sir Stafford Carey and Miss Carey, Mr. A. R. Hudson, Mr. A. H. Martin, Mrs. A. H. Martin, Miss Le Breton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Geo. Hunt, Mrs. Hunt, Mr. H. E. Haynes, Mr. J. Compton, Mr. C. Burlingham, Rev. F. W. Holland, Mr. G. R. Wright, Mr. A. H. Wright, Mr. Lacey, Mrs. Lacey, Mr. J. Colston, Mr. Geo. Eades, Mr. H. W. Smith, Mrs. H. W. Smith, Mr. Kerslake, Mr. Clough, Mr. T. T. Parkinson, Mr. G. H. Garrard, Mr. J. L. Sanford, Mr. A. Shute, Mrs. Akroyd, Mr. T. Blashill, Mrs. Blashill, Mr. John Bush, Mrs. J. Bush, Rev. C. H. Wellbeloved, Mr. W. H. Ashwin, Rev. H. G. G. F. Osborne, Mr. Thos. White, jun., Mr. R. H. Fisher, Mr. Geo. G. Adams, Mr. R. H. Wood, Mr. A. L. Haynes, Rev. N. G. Batt, Rev. W. MacIlwaine, Mr. B. Hicklin, Mrs. Hicklin, Mr. H. New, Mrs. H. New, Mr. H. New, jun., Miss New, Mr. John V. Gregory, Mr. A. Thompson, Mr. Thos. Cox, Mr. Cooke, Miss Cooke, Mr. Jaques, Mrs. Jaques, Mr. J. Edwin Green, Mr. Geo. Godwin, Mr. F. J. Thairlwall, Mr. H. S. Mitchell, Rev. Digby Preedy, Col. Preedy, Miss M. Leach, Lieut. Hall, Mr. C. Lynan, Mr. J. O. H. Phillippis, Rev. J. Fenwick, Mrs. Fenwick, Rev. Mr. Ebdon, Mr. James Matthew and party, Rev. M. Wood, Mr. Chas. Burlingham, Rev. S. M. Mayhew, Mr. Nicholas, Rev. A. H. W. Ingram, Dr. Bush, Mr. E. Bush, Mr. R. H. Bush, Mrs. Roberts, Mr. C. C. Prance, Mr. J. R. Bramble, Mr. J. Brinton, Misses Brinton (2), Mr. Thos. Morgan, Miss Morgan, Mr. Arthur Hodgson, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, Mrs. Brock, Mrs. Silver, Mr. Money, Mr. Cecil Brent, Mr. H. Swayne, Rev. W. de Bentley, etc.

After dinner the President, amidst warm cheering, rose, and said: Among the good old customs of this our favoured land which I trust may never be given up, is that of prefacing all other toasts at public entertainments, by drinking to the health of the Sovereign of these realms. No words will be required from me to induce you to maintain this custom on the present occasion, by drinking to the health and happiness of our beloved Queen. Her Majesty claims descent from Cedric the Saxon. How, I am not genealogist enough to tell you, but I have no doubt of the claim being a correct one, because I saw it vouched for by Lord Lytton, when he was President four years ago; and many here can doubtless give it all in chapter and verse. I propose the health of the Queen with nine times nine.

After a pause, the President again rose and said: My next toast is the health of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family. In the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Saxons and Danes are again united, having been separated, as you know, on the

death of Hardicanute in 1042, by the Saxon line being restored in Edward the Confessor. The present junior branches of the Royal Family have all been brought up to be collectors of specimens in natural history, botany, geology, mineralogy, etc., which, as you well know, is the first step towards being antiquarians. Lord Houghton, in his address at Leeds in 1863, says: "That a love for collection indicates the love of order, and an interest in external objects, both important elements of education; the boy who brings home and arranges his birds' eggs, and the girl who carefully sets out in a book her specimens of seaweed, are laying the foundation for a methodical study of natural history. This propensity, of course, will be exercised sensibly or indiscriminately, according to the knowledge and judgment of the collector." The late lamented Prince Consort well understood this, and commenced an interesting museum at Osborne, to which the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and the Duke of Connaught have been in the habit of sending any antiquarian or other curiosities, which they have picked up during their various travels. You may, therefore, I am sure, consider the Royal Family as being more than usually well affected to the science, the promotion of which this Association has for its object. I ask you to drink to their health and happiness.

The loyal toasts were drunk with great enthusiasm.

Lord Hampton, who was heartily applauded, said: The next toast has been entrusted to me, although it usually proceeds from the chair. It is, however, a toast with regard to which it is immaterial who proposes it, because, from whatever quarter it comes, it is always received with that respect and good feeling to which it is eminently entitled. I refer to the toast of "The Bishops and Clergy, and Ministers of all Christian Denominations." There never was a toast more deserving of honour upon all occasions, and upon no occasion more so than the present, because it is impossible for the clergy and ministers to belong to a society of this kind, for encouraging research, without being reminded of bygone days, that will stimulate them to increased exertions in their sacred calling. So long as the ministers of the Church, be they of the Church of England or other denominations, honestly and well discharge the important duties of their profession, so long will they continue to deserve and to enjoy the respect and good feeling of all amongst whom they live. There never was a more excellent bishop than the Bishop of Worcester, and I trust that his lordship will, in common with his clerical brethren, long retain the esteem of all classes.

The Rev. F. W. Holland, whose name was coupled with the toast, responded, and said: I felt somewhat of an impostor this afternoon, when I found myself acting as guide to such a learned body as those

then around me, and I wished for some one to describe, so much better than I could, the churches and various objects of antiquity. I feel now, also, somewhat of an impostor in standing up to respond to this toast, when I see so many around who could do it better than myself. However, I can only do my best. I know it is a subject of regret that our excellent Bishop is not with us this afternoon. His lordship willingly consented to become a patron when I asked him; and I have had opportunities of meeting him since, and on every occasion he had made inquiries as to the progress we were making. So that, although he is unable to be present with us to-day, much to his regret, owing to other engagements, he is certainly taking an interest in what we are doing. With regard to the clergy, we ought to take the greatest interest in archæology, for we have had entrusted to us so many valuable churches. I speak feelingly myself, for it has fallen to my lot to take in hand the restoration of All Saints' Church and also the restoration of the Bell Tower. You have to-day been admiring the exterior of the Tower, but the interior is almost a wreck, and much in need of attention. Not only do the clergy take an interest in archæology, but as far as my knowledge extends of ministers of other denominations, they also take an interest in the churches and objects of antiquity, and as their own buildings improve in character, so we may expect will their love of archæology increase. There is one hint, which I cannot help throwing out here. It has always been a subject of great regret that there is no monument to mark the spot where Simon de Montfort lies buried. We certainly ought to have a national monument to the founder of the House of Commons; and as there is no doubt that we can point to within a few feet of his grave, although that grave has long been destroyed, I think we might well erect a memorial on the spot. After the Church and Tower have been attended to, we may be able to do this work. In conclusion, I beg to thank Lord Hampton, in my own name and in the name of the clergy and ministers of religion, for the manner in which he has spoken of us, and to express a hope that we may prove worthy of the good feeling which has been shown towards us.

Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., here announced, amid loud applause, that he would give the first five guineas towards a monument to the memory of Simon de Montfort.

Sir Edward Lechmere then gave the toast of "The President and the British Archæological Association". He remarked that they could not possibly have found a nobleman more eligible for the office than Lord Hertford, who need not have made any apology for his ignorance of archæology, for he had shown a degree of research that many in that room would do well to emulate. He hoped that his arduous labours, as Lord Chamberlain, would not interfere with his health.

He saw that he was now suffering from a very ancient archæological affection. He had lately inspected an old manuscript in the Herald's College, which showed conclusively that our great ancestor Adam died of gout. He trusted that Lord Hertford's experience of this meeting would be gratifying, and that those who acted under his lordship's presidency would regard it as not less successful than other congresses of the Association.

The President in reply, said: I beg to return you my best thanks, and to assure you that it has given me pleasure to take part in this meeting, and that I consider it a great honour to have been allowed to act as your President. I feel it is an undeserved one, for, as I said this morning, I am no antiquarian, and feel that I am very ignorant in all that pertains to the science of archæology. His lordship then reiterated the hope he had expressed in his inaugural address, that the Association and Archæological Institute would ere long be united. He urged them to talk the matter over, and trusted that before this time next year they would be fairly in the way of amalgamating the two societies. He had anticipated that two or three former presidents would have been present, but both Lord Carnarvon (whom he had invited to Ragley) and Lord Lytton were prevented attending by family bereavements. He expected to see Lord Houghton there that day, but he had just received a letter to say that he would be upon the other side of the Atlantic. Although the former presidents were absent, he was happy to say that they had a large assembly of real archæologists amongst them, and he looked for a great deal of light being thrown by them on the antiquities of Worcestershire and Warwickshire. He hoped that every member who had a ticket for the week would make his appearance at Ragley, on Saturday next.

Mr. George Godwin proposed "The Mayor and Corporation of Evesham", alluding to the hearty reception the Association had met with, the very kindly address that had been presented by the Town Council, and the facilities which that body had afforded them, for which they well deserved the thanks of the Congress. The speaker then proceeded to explain that the attempted amalgamation of the two societies had been unsuccessful because the Institute allowed the negotiations to fall through, whilst the members of the Association were in favour of a reunion. At one time he was opposed to amalgamation, but now he thought the time had come when it would be beneficial, and speaking for the Council of the Association, he said that the moment a willingness was shown upon the part of the Institute for a combination, the Association would cordially respond to such a proposition. Speaking of Evesham, he remarked that it seemed to be scarcely so well known by archæologists as it deserved to be; and he thought it was highly gratifying that, with so small a number of inhabitants, so

large and complete a restoration of the parish church should have been carried out.

Mr. Councillor Prance was called upon to respond. He said that in the absence, through illness, of the Mayor, who, had he been present, would have filled the place he was now asked to occupy in returning thanks for the toast proposed, he gladly acknowledged the honour that had been conferred upon the Mayor and Corporation, and he trusted, in the words of the address, that their efforts to make the visit of the Association to the town pleasant would be successful, leaving it to others more versed in archæology to render it profitable. In a very able and interesting speech, Mr. Prance spoke of the characteristics of the district as a field for archæological research, and recalled the past glories of Evesham Abbey, which was made up of such an aggregation of buildings as were not equalled, except at Oxford and Cambridge. He dwelt upon the vast power of the Abbot, who, with the coveted mitre and ring, was not accountable to anyone but the Pope or his legate; and drew an admirable picture of the great Abbot, with his train of attendant monks, and referred to the influence which the priests exerted in regard to architecture. He added that as Cuvier, from a single bone, could describe the exact size and character of an animal, so they as archæologists might from the scanty remains which they had seen that day, trace out the great and magnificent abbey which once existed in their midst, and had a wide influence on the History of England generally, as well as on that of this district in particular. In conclusion, Mr. Prance spoke of the scenes of beauty and fertility for which the locality was celebrated, and expressed a hope that the members of the Association would take back pleasant recollections of their visit to Evesham, and of the courtesy of the nobleman who had come forward to help them on the occasion.

Mr. Herbert New said that the opportunity was given them by the presence of the son of their noble president, the honourable member for South Warwickshire, to propose the toast of the "House of Commons", with which he had much pleasure in coupling the name of Lord Yarmouth. Allusion had been made to the great name that was connected with the history of Evesham and also with the origin of the House of Commons; and it was a remarkable fact, of which Evesham people were proud, that, at the end of six hundred and ten years, they should have an opportunity of remembering in an appropriate way the name of Simon de Montfort.

Lord Yarmouth, in replying, said that an unexpected honour had been thrust upon him, as he had no idea when he entered the room that he should be called upon to speak. It seemed to him that the work of the Association, and their work in the House of Commons, was precisely the same, but, as the Irishman said, with a difference.

Their work as archæologists was to dig about for old things to preserve, whilst the work of Parliament was to dig about for new things to legislate upon. It was his impression that if they confined their attention a little more to the old things it would be better. As to Simon de Montfort, he was not able to go into his history at length, or to trace out what boroughs he or his descendants represented. Having lived in the neighbourhood of Evesham for a year, he had had opportunities of seeing the beauties of the quaint old town, with its curious doorways, and perhaps several of those present would be able to throw some light upon the objects of local antiquity. With regard to the House of Commons, he should not trouble them upon such an occasion with a long story as to the past session. He would simply say that they had had a hard session, that they all had to work hard, certainly they had all been up late; but at the same time most of them had come off well. He would not imitate the bad example of the House of Commons by keeping them up late, but would content himself with again thanking them heartily for the cordial reception they had given him.

Mr. Loftus Brock, in graceful terms, proposed "The Ladies", and Mr. Geo. R. Wright responded in a humorous speech.

The company then separated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1875.

The second day's proceedings of the Congress embraced an excursion to Stratford-on-Avon, and an inspection of antiquities relating to England's greatest poet, which are there treasured up with such great care. The weather was fine, and the excursion proved a most delightful one. The members of the Association, to the number of about a hundred and twenty, assembled at the Station, and started for Stratford by an early train. The railway journey is through a district full of archæological and historic interest; but at which the exigencies of time would only permit a rapid glance. Near Honeybourne is the great Roman road, the Icknield or Ryknield Street, and then Moon Hill with its entrenchments, and the commencement of the Cotswold range forms a conspicuous feature in the landscape. On the left of the line proceeding to Stratford is the Manor House of Long Marston, a resting-place of Charles II after leaving Boscobel and travelling as the servant of Jane Lane from Bentley to Abbots Leigh, and here too, as the story goes, the adventure of the cook and the basting ladle occurred, because Charles showed his ignorance of winding up a roasting jack. In the kitchen, part of an old jack still remains, together with a spear. The house belongs now to Mr. Fisher Tomes, in whose family it has been from the time of Charles, and the same gentleman

was also, some years ago, owner of Clopton House, which the party visited in the course of the day. Luddington, where, in the church long since burnt down, Shakespeare is supposed to have married Ann Hathaway, was next caught sight of, then Milcote was passed, associated with the tragic crime of Sir Edward Greville, followed by a glimpse of Shuttery, famous by the courtship of the great bard, and the screech of the whistle gave notice that Stratford was reached. On arriving at their destination, the visitors proceeded at once to the Town Hall, where the Mayor (Mr. J. J. Nason), Dr. Kingsley, the Rev. Dr. Collis (vicar), Dr. French, Alderman Kendall, and Councilors Hutchings, Colborne, Bird, Gibbs, and Downing were in waiting to accord them a hearty greeting.

The visitors appeared to know that the various hostelries had attractions even to archæologists, for while Mistress Page at the Falcon—a Shakespearian name in the tavern in which Shakespeare spent his last evening away from home—had attractions for some, others, like the greatest Shakespearian scholars of modern days, went to the old-new Shakespeare hotel bearing the poet's name, ere they listened to the eloquent welcome of the Mayor, who then delivered the following address:

“To say that it gives this Corporation, over which I have the honour to preside in the present year, pleasure to receive you, the members of the British Archæological Association, on this your visit to our ancient and classic town, is very inadequately to express the feelings which animate us, individually as well as corporatively. It is not too much to say we regard it somewhat in the light of a duty to welcome so distinguished a body, which numbers amongst its members men to whom Stratford is much indebted, prominent amongst them being the name of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. In suggesting that an official reception of your Association should be accorded by this Corporation, you gave us an opportunity of which we were only too willing to avail ourselves, to do honour to a body of ladies and gentlemen who do honour to us by their presence to-day in this hall, and who, to other high qualifications, have added the enviable one of a veneration for all that is historically associated with the grandeur and goodness of the past, whether developed in the fields of literature, art, science, poetry, or architecture. It is one of the sweets of life to turn aside for a time from the whirl of busy ceaseless activities, and seek recreation and repose in a loving contemplation of the genius of our forefathers, enshrined as it is in the countless monuments of this and other lands; and to search for, with filial fondness, those footprints on time's sands, which they have left us, a rich heritage indeed—bright and ever burning lamps—so to speak, which, while they enable us to read the, in some cases, pale faded handwritings of the past, reflect, as from some

rich antique mirror, light which will enable many a student to inscribe the pages of time present, and time to come. Ladies and gentlemen, while it is the glory of our ancient corporations that they embody the principle of local self-government, which had its origin in a protest against the oppression of feudalism, and thus enshrine all that tends to manliness and self-respect, so in the culture of religious qualities, which, in England's people, have contributed more than anything else to England's greatness, they faithfully and wisely conserve and represent all that is oldest and best in the past, and foster and cherish what is newest and most worthy of aspiring to in the present. So is it with Associations like your own, which combine a tender veneration for the glorious memories of bygone years, with an equally earnest desire to promote all that can ennoble and elevate mankind in the present and the future. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to remind you that you are come to visit a town, in size and population small, yet "big to fulness" with historical associations. These records, which have been so admirably arranged and tabulated by Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, by the sanction of the Corporation, and under the care of Mr. Joseph Latimer, the Chamberlain, have been placed on these tables for your inspection. Their contents will take you back almost to the Conqueror's time. In their pages you will learn what an important Church history Stratford possesses, and most of England's early history is intimately connected with that of the Church. You will read how its present Collegiate Church was built upon the site of one which dated back to Saxon times; of its Chantry of Priests founded by that great ecclesiastic and statesman, John de Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury; of the College, wherein they found a congenial home, built for them by Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London; of the Guild of the Holy Cross, and its Chapel, so greatly indebted to one Robert de Stratford; of the Grammar School, founded by good priest Jolyffe. But time would fail me to speak of Sir Hugh Clopton, the liberal, generous, and wealthy Lord Mayor of London, who did so much for Stratford, and of other worthies; and I dare not venture to speak of him who has made Stratford famous amongst all places, and for all time. There are those amongst you whose knowledge of Shakespeare, and of all that appertains to him, is a thousand-fold greater than mine. In company with these worthies, then, we will pay his memory our loving tribute of respect at the place of his birth; the Grammar School, where he was educated; his last dwelling-place; and, finally, that sacred Temple where rests his dust, all that is earthly of that great one, who wrote not for a season, but for all time—on whose like we ne'er shall look again. Ladies and gentlemen, it only remains for me to once more bid you a hearty welcome to Old Stratford, and this I do with all the sincerity of one who owes much to Stratford, of one who loves Stratford well."

Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., in briefly responding to the Mayor's kind greeting, expressed regret at the absence, through indisposition, of the Marquis of Hertford and of Lord Houghton. He assured the Mayor and Corporation that it gave the members of the Association resident in London and other places, the greatest satisfaction to see how well the people of Stratford discharged their great responsibility of preserving the antiquarian treasures connected with Shakespeare.

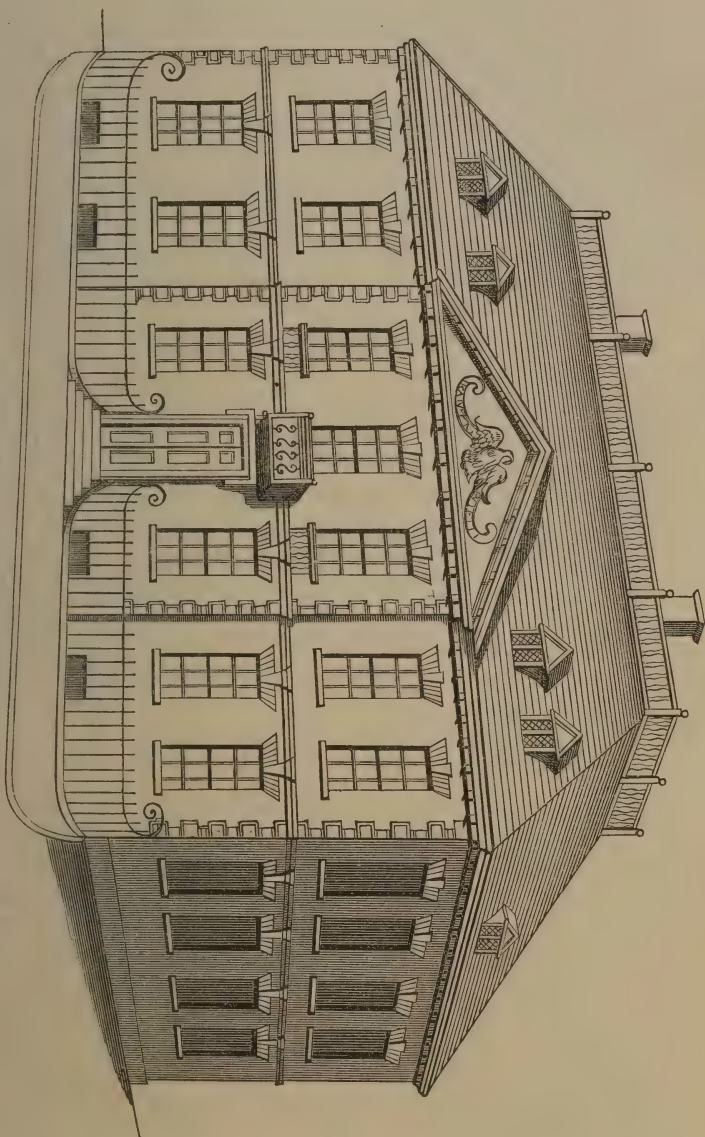
The whole party were then invited to partake of refreshments, most liberally and thoughtfully provided by the Mayor and Corporation, in the ante-room of the Hall.

The party then proceeded to inspect the archives of the town, consisting of the whole of the Corporation deeds, the Chamberlain's accounts, all of them in excellent preservation, laid out on a table in the large room of the Town Hall. The Chamberlain's accounts contain all the entries relating to the first appearance of the players in Stratford, to the first mention of Shakespeare's father in Henley Street, and entries as to his various connections with the Council, first as alderman and high bailiff, and afterwards as being relieved from the payment of rates on account of poverty. After light refreshment the company were conducted to the carefully preserved old timbered house of Shakespeare's father, in Henley Street, in which it is reported that the great poet was born. The visitors had, for the most part, seen the house and its contents before, but its various features were gone over afresh, as though it were something entirely new. Mr. J. T. Burgess and others afforded explanations of the articles in the museum, which are replete with interest. In the lower room of the museum are displayed documents relating to the affairs of Shakespeare's immediate ancestors and the disposition of the poet's estates, with various portraits and pictures. Prominent among the latter is an old oil painting, representing Windsor Castle of former days, with the lane leading to the river down which Falstaff is supposed to have been carried in the buck-basket. There is an indenture made in the year 1596, proving that Shakespeare's father resided in the house now shown as the poet's birthplace; and an autograph of Gilbert Shakespeare, brother of William, dated 1609. In cabinets and table-cases are displayed a variety of small articles—caskets, tobacco-stoppers, and other nicknacks made from Shakespeare's crab-tree and mulberry-tree, and from the walnut-tree which formerly grew in front of the house; a large number of interesting relics of the time illustrating expressions in Shakespeare's writings; copies of early editions of his plays, and the like. In the upper room is a library of editions of the works, copies of the bust which overlooks the tomb in Stratford Church, more portraits of the bard, illustrations of Shakespeare's characters, and—what perhaps is the most interesting article in the whole

collection—a letter making request for the loan of £30, and addressed to the poet by one Richard Quiny. As is well known, this is the only one preserved of the letters sent to him. It is in fair preservation, and every precaution has been taken in its enclosure between two plates of glass, and the shutting out of light, when not under inspection, to preserve its legibility. Passing from the museum to the other division of the house, the kitchen and birth-room were inspected. Not only are these apartments interesting from their association with Shakespeare, but from the collection of autographs upon the walls, ceiling, and windows. Those of Sir Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, the unfortunate G. V. Brooke, and others were eagerly sought out. Thackeray's autograph appears in a very precarious condition, a portion of the whitewash verging on the bottom of the letters having already flaked off.

The antiquarian treasures of the place had been but briefly examined when the party was conducted back again into the High Street, to the New Place, or site of the house in which Shakespeare lived, with its spacious and well-kept garden. The house and grounds, after passing through several hands, found their way at last into those of the Rev. Francis Gastrell, vicar of Frodsham in Cheshire. "This wealthy and unamiable clergyman", Dyce records, conceiving a dislike to the mulberry-tree which Shakespeare had planted in the garden, "because it subjected him to the importunities of travellers whose veneration for Shakespeare induced them to visit it, caused it to be cut down and cleft into pieces for firewood, in 1756." The greater part of the tree was bought by a watchmaker of the town, who had it converted into the goblets, boxes, and other articles which are shown in the museum and elsewhere. Mr. Gastrell having quarrelled with the authorities about the parochial assessment, razed the mansion to the ground in 1759, "and quitted Stratford amidst the rage and execrations of the inhabitants." Excavations made some years ago brought a portion of the foundations to light, and these are now carefully preserved. At the far end of the garden the visitors were shown the high-relief sculpture of Shakespeare, between the goddesses of Music and Painting, which formerly decorated the front of the British Institution, in Pall Mall, but which was removed to Stratford-on-Avon, on that building being demolished to make room for a club. After quenching their thirst from the ivy-covered well in the garden, the party adjourned to the Chapel of the Holy Cross—a small but prominently situated building, consisting of nave, chancel, and square embattled tower.

Dr. French, Head Master of the Grammar School, delivered a short address upon the history of the building. He explained that the original chapel dated from 1297, when Robert de Stratford applied



NEW PLACE, CLOPTON.

A.D. 1759.



to the Bishop of Worcester to allow him to build a chapel for the use of the brethren and sisters of the Confraternity of the Holy Cross. Leave was given, and Robert de Stratford, who was appointed first master, built the chapel. From some error on the part of the donors, the whole of the property was forfeited in the reign of Richard II, but a fresh grant conferring similar privileges to those previously enjoyed by the guild, was granted. It was called frequently the guild of Henry IV, and some persons had supposed that that monarch was the founder. The reason it had been attributed to him was that he granted a restoration of certain rights and privileges. From that time till the reign of Henry VIII there appeared to have been a regular succession of appointed priests to carry on the work of the chapel. In the time of Henry VII the whole of the chapel was pulled down, with the exception of the chancel, which was supposed to be a portion of the original building. The other part of the chapel and tower were rebuilt by Sir Hugh Clopton, afterwards Lord Mayor of London. The chapel at one time seemed to have been used for a school, and some persons thought that William Shakespeare was for a time educated there. In the general repair of the chapel in 1804 some remarkable frescoes were found, but they appear to have been again obliterated. Dr. French, a fortnight ago, succeeded in bringing one to light in an entablature on the right-hand wall of the nave. The general form and some of the colouring of the figure were plain, and Dr. French said he believed it to have been a fresco of St. Modwenna. Some of the structural peculiarities of the building, and the way in which it had been marred by injudicious repairs, having been pointed out by Mr. Loftus Brock, the party passed on to the Grammar School. A paper on one of the doors notified that a half holiday had been conceded, by request of the Mayor, in honour of the visit of the British Archæological Association. The lower apartment of the building, now used as a play-ground for the scholars, contains nothing specially noteworthy; but the timber work of the three upper rooms, probably only two originally, and which constitute the present schoolrooms, is remarkable, both for its design and strength.

From the school the visitors passed on to the grand old church of the Holy Trinity, an archæological treasure, alone well worth a visit to Stratford to see. The party having taken seats in the nave, the Rev. Dr. Collis, the vicar, read a sketch of the architectural history of the structure. He stated that, although a church existed at Stratford from very early times, there were no written records, nor any evidence of stone work antecedent to the thirteenth century. Both the records and the stone work pointed to three distinct periods in which the church grew to be what it is. The first age of the church was early English, from 1200 to 1290; the second was Decorated, about 1332; and the

third age was Perpendicular, about 1450. The church in the early English period was of a fine cruciform shape, with bold transepts, yet remaining—one now occupied by the organ, and the other used as the vestry. It had a small chancel aisle on the north, and close behind the north-eastern pier of the tower is still a small portion of a beautiful lancet arch, which led into the north chancel aisle. It is well worth examining, as giving a clue to the size and position of the old chancel, and as showing what is meant by the bell-shaped capital of the early English style. The tower, as the quoin-stones show, was (not reckoning the spire) about as high as at present, and of three storeys. It still retains its Normaneseque panel arches, with their early English lights, and the early windows in the roof spandrel below. The eastern weather moulding remains, and inside the staircase turret are fragments of the south nave wall, with other stones of the same age, some of great beauty, with dog-tooth ornament in the moulding. Having mentioned the changes which took place at the close of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century, Dr. Collis called attention to the circumstance that the replacing of the old wood and lead spire with the present one of stone had led to several cracks and fissures in the tower, so that in any future restoration the rebuilding of the tower and spire would be of the first importance. This work would require £5,000, and he should like to get £10,000 more, so as to reopen the transepts, abolish the galleries, which now obscure the aisle windows, and effect other improvements. The various architectural beauties of the building, its proportions, and fine west window having been noted, the interference of the turret staircase with the rectangularity of the panelling of the roof, and the curve in the line of the church from east to west were pointed out.

Mr. E. Roberts remarked upon the theories as to the orientation of church naves, to explain their occasional deviation from a right line.

The grave of Shakespeare, and the bust overlooking it, with the familiar inscriptions, were next visited, the party concluding their visit to the church with an inspection of the records of the baptism of the poet, his burial, and that of his wife, in the parish register.

Leaving the church the party proceeded in carriages to Clopton Manor, where they were most kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. A. Hodgson, who entertained the whole party, numbering over one hundred, at a sumptuous luncheon, served in a spacious marquee erected for the occasion on the lawn in front of the house. The repast was served in the most superb style, and its attractions were greatly enhanced by the *bonhomie* of the host, and the assiduity and solicitude for the comfort of the guests displayed by Mrs. Hodgson and her daughters.

After luncheon, Mr. Hodgson read an interesting paper on the history of Clopton House and the Clopton family, making special refer-

ence to the munificent Sir Hugh, the great benefactor of Stratford, referring to his own saving of three sack bottles, bearing the crest of John à Combe, which were about to be thrown away as "litter", and to the legends connected with the house and neighbourhood. This paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*. Dr. Collis proposed "The health of Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson", which was most warmly responded to by the company, and heartily acknowledged by Mr. Hodgson. Mr. Evelyn Shirley then proposed "Success to the British Archæological Association", acknowledged by Mr. Godwin, and the proceedings in the tent ended by the toast of the "Ladies", proposed by Mr. Nason, and humorously responded to by Mr. George Wright. The party then proceeded to inspect the house, the dining-room of the mansion, with its oriel window and armorial bearings, forming the object of chief interest. Then the pictures were inspected, being described most clearly by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, who won all hearts by their great attention to their guests. After a considerable time thus spent, the excursionists returned by the last train to Evesham, highly delighted with their trip to Stratford-on-Avon, and exceedingly gratified by the attention paid to them by the municipal authorities of this famous town and the generous hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson.

A meeting for the reading of papers took place at the Town Hall in the evening. Mr. Godwin was voted to the chair. The attendance of ladies and gentlemen was very numerous. On behalf of the Association, he said that the reception given that day by the Mayor of Stratford was so cordial, the address of the Corporation so charmingly written, and the good-will shown by that body so general that the day commenced most auspiciously. They were also indebted to Dr. French, Mr. Brock, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, and others. Dr. Collis had earned their best thanks for the assistance he had willingly given, and they could scarcely speak too highly, not only of the elegant hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson of Clopton House, but also of the eloquent and admirable paper that Mr. Hodgson had addressed to them. Altogether they had had a most enjoyable and instructive day.

Mr. George R. Wright read a paper prepared by H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., on "The Early Saints of Worcestershire", which will be printed in a future place.

The Rev. Canon A. H. W. Ingram next read a paper on "The Ecclesiastical History of Evesham and neighbourhood in the 16th century", illustrated by entries in the churchwardens' account books of Badsey and South Littleton. Before doing so, he mentioned that the records which he would deal with were supplied to him by the Rev. Thomas Wadley, now vicar of Naunton Beauchamp, who, if he lived, would attain a very high reputation as a genealogist and an antiquary.

He apologised for reproducing in his paper some portions of the lecture which he had recently delivered on the subject, and which was fully reported at the time in the *Evesham Journal*. The paper was listened to with great attention, and at the close, the Chairman, on behalf of the meeting, acknowledged its able and interesting character. He added that seldom had such a remarkable series of entries been read, and with a little "reading between the lines," they could easily trace the progress of the Reformation through its various stages. This paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

The Rev. N. G. Batt said that Mr. Hudson had placed in his hands, for the use of the Association, some ancient documents connected with Pershore, in which mention was made of the sale of St. Andrew's beer. This was analogous to the Church-ale referred to in the Badsey and Littleton records. There were some curious entries in the Norton books, which could at a future time be supplied to the Association as requested. There were also some ancient books in All Saints Church.

The Vicar of Evesham said he had carefully preserved these books, and, when the restoration was complete, they would be again placed in the church, attached to a chain.

The third paper, on "The Mitred Abbey of St. Mary, Evesham", written by the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester, was read by Mr. T. Blashill. This paper has already been printed in the *Journal*, at pages 8 to 31. It is well known that archæologists have long differed on the subject of the builder of the Bell Tower of Evesham, and in his paper Mr. Walcott maintained that this structure was erected before the time of Abbot Lichfield, and that the builder was Abbot Yatton.

Sir P. Stafford Carey said he saw in the paper an immense amount of knowledge, both local and general, applied in such a manner as to carry truth home to the mind. He then drew the attention of the Society to the beautiful ruin of Cleeve Abbey, near Dunster, which Mr. Walcott was engaged in tracing out.¹

The Rev. A. H. W. Ingram combatted the argument that the Bell Tower was not built in Lichfield's time, and quoted from a Latin treatise, written by a monk of Evesham, in the twenty-second year of Lichfield's rule, and translated by Thomas Talbot, a Northamptonshire antiquary of the time of Elizabeth, who added the fact that "in his (Lichfield's) time the new Tower of Evesham was built, which as yet is left untouched". He (Mr. Ingram) contended that the tower was more likely to have been built in settled times under the Tudors, than when the Wars of the Roses prevailed.

The Rev. N. G. Batt said there were many instances of a great amount of building having been done during the Civil Wars, as at

¹ See Mr. Walcott's paper and plan, *Journal*, 1875, vol. xxxi, pp. 402-19.

St. Alban's. He had lately been in Spain, and the arrangement of the Benedictine Abbeys there was almost exactly the same as in the plan of Evesham Abbey by Mr. Walcott.

The Rev. Mr. MacIlwaine spoke of the similarity which the plan bore to those of the Cistercian Abbeys in Ireland.

The Chairman said they ought to be able to settle the point after hearing both sides and visiting the Tower itself in the morning.

The discussion was kept up till half-past ten o'clock, at which hour the meeting dispersed, the parties maintaining their previously expressed opinion.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1875.

This morning found a large party assembled in the old market-square of Evesham, to join in the first carriage excursion of the season; but prior to the carriages starting, a number of ardent ecclesiologists met at the Bell-Tower to discuss the question of its age and date. There was some reference made to contemporary records which allude to the tower as the work of Abbot Lichfield. After some discussion it was agreed that, though some of the mouldings partook of an earlier character, it must be ascribed to the era just prior to the Reformation, when many of the monasteries began to re-edify their houses, grant leases of their lands and farms, and thus prepare for the coming storm. The result of the examination was a general concurrence in the theory that the tower was built by Lichfield.

Mr. George Godwin, to whom the Association is indebted for permission to use the wood-block of the view of the Bell Tower, writes as follows concerning this matter, in the *Builder* for October 16, 1875:

"The Bell-Tower at Evesham.—Our readers may remember that, at the last Congress of the British Archæological Association, held in Evesham, a discussion arose concerning the real date of the bell-tower there, always attributed to Abbot Lichfield, who received that office in the year 1513. The Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, in a paper then read, brought documentary evidence to show that, so far from this being the case, it was built about a century earlier, probably by Abbot Zetton, in which view he was supported by Mr. Parker. The question excited considerable interest, and the architectural members of the Association who happened to be present met on the spot the next morning, and agreed unanimously, on the evidence of the building itself, that the ordinary belief was correct. In this we fully agree, and the tower being a noble one, and amongst the latest works in the Gothic style in England, we give a view of it,¹ and append some documentary evidence on the subject. Thus, Tindall, the historian of Evesham, says:²

¹ "Our drawing was made from a fine photograph produced by Mr. Earl of Worcester."

² *History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Borough of Evesham.* By W. Tindall, M.A. Evesham, 1794.

‘Clement Lichfield, before prior, and a man who cannot be mentioned without emotions of pity and reverence, was made abbot of Evesham on December 28, 1513. . . . Both the learning and virtues of the man were admirable. He was a munificent patron to his convent, and laid out much money in repairing old buildings and erecting new ones. He adorned the choir with much elegance and splendour; *built a very handsome tower in the cemetery, which still remains entire*; and added two chapels of extraordinary beauty—one to St. Lawrence’s Church, and the other to All Saints. . . . He continued abbot till near the dissolution; and then, not choosing to surrender his abbey to the king, was, by the vile arts and low devices of Cromwell, obliged to resign his pastoral office to William Hawford, *alias* Ballard, a young monk of Evesham, who was, in the year 1539, created abbot, for the sole purpose of surrendering the abbey. This he did on November 17th, in the same year. The grief and indignation of poor Lichfield, who survived this catastrophe but a short time, may easily be imagined. It may, without exaggeration, be supposed to have broken his heart. He died at, or near Evesham, and was buried at the entrance into his own chapel, in the church of All Saints, where there is still to be seen a large blue slab, which protected his remains, but of which the inscription is now entirely defaced. The following was put up in his lifetime, in a window of the same church:—“*Orate pro anima Clementis Lychfeld sacerdotis: cujus tempore turris Eveshamiæ ædificata est.*” This inscription also has long disappeared.’

“Again speaking of this tower, Tindall says it is one of the finest specimens of architecture ‘left by our Popish ancestors in the whole kingdom, and is likewise allowed to be one of the latest, if not absolutely the last.’

“Gough speaks of this tower as ‘the last building erected by Popery in England.’

“Habington, who wrote in the time of Charles I, gives the following account of the chapel and tomb of Abbot Lichfield:—“About the middle of the south aisle (of All Saints’ Church) is a curious building called Lichfield’s chapell, in whose embowed chapell is a scutcheon, with the letters of gold, C.P.L.; and on another the lock and chain, ensigns of the Abbey of Evesham. At the entrance of this chapell lyeth humbled on the ground the resemblance of an abbot, truly great in leaving the dignity of his high place; and wise, when foreseeing the storm which overthrew this with other religious houses, he struck sail to avoid shipwrack. His resemblance is engraved at the altar in prayer. On his right hand, ‘*Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac.*’ On the left, ‘*Et in virtute tua judica me.*’ Below, on one side, ‘*Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio.*’ On the opposite, ‘*Miserere Deus et salva me.*’ Underneath his feet an inscription, which was also painted on one of the windows:—“*Orate pro anima domini Clementis Litchfield sacerdotis, cujus tempore nova turris Eveshamiensis ædificata est.*”

“It is only right to say, as respects Mr. Walcott’s statement, that he considers these records applied to the central tower of the Abbey, and not to this. The building itself, however, settles the question. Amongst the obvious indications will be noticed: 1. The general squareness of treatment; 2. The use of the four-centered arch; 3. The dripstones of the archway; and 4. The great similarity to the chapels built by Lichfield attached to the churches of St. Lawrence and All Saints.”

The weather was fine, but cloudy and breezy, when about a hundred members and visitors passed down the bridge, and over the Avon, towards the lofty hills of Broadway with their wealth of association and extensive views. The road led through one of the most fertile and pleasant portions of the Vale of Evesham, by the side of ripened corn-fields in the full energy of harvest, and through smiling meadows. Just before reaching the village of Broadway, the carriages turned to the right, along the foot of the hills, through scenes of sylvan beauty, to the first halting-place of the day. In a nook of the hills, embowered in foliage of the most diverse hues, lies the picturesque village of Buckland. On either side of the road are cottages with which we are familiar in the works of our landscape painters. When the road opens, a few stately elms crown the knoll in front of the churchyard and old manor house. Here Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps and his daughter were in waiting to receive the party.

Mr. Robinson then conducted the party to the very interesting old church, dedicated to St. Michael, passing by a desecrated altar-tomb, with sunk quatrefoils and excellent mouldings, built into the churchyard wall. At the entrance were the base and sockets of the churchyard cross. A good example of a stoup was pointed out at the north door. The church consisted of a nave, chancel, and side-aisles. The north aisle had a lancet east window and the remains of the piscina. The nave was once adorned with fresco paintings which are now whited over. The open roof still bears the signs of its chromatic decorations, and appears to have been remodelled in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The nave is a fair example of late Decorated work, and the Perpendicular chancel east window had some rare stained glass. The pews are well carved, with sunk panels; and in the north aisle some ancient wainscot, erected in 1615 by two parishioners, yet remains, and staircase to the roodloft. The parish Register contains some curious notices of the great plague of 1666, in which the rector, Mr. Maltby, lost six children. The Sanctus bell was removed to the tower.

After a few words explanatory of the monuments, the party adjourned to the neighbouring manor-house, a large mansion, which once belonged to the Thynnes. Here the party were very courteously received by Mr. Banning. The remains of the great hall, now a brewhouse, formed the most interesting portion of this building. Here was a traceried window of early fifteenth century work; a chimney with a huge breast, reminding of yuletide and the wassail-bowl. The north side was of later date, but had an oriel window which now surmounts a cheese-room. The outside of this large, many-gabled manor-house suggested ghosts, legends, and romances, but none were forthcoming. Crosses crowned the barn gables, and a small interesting Sanctus from the chancel of the church was shown. On the opposite side of the way a

small, humble edifice had a moulded doorway, and was thought to be the old vestry. The rectory house, erected by the first rector, Wm. Grafton, whose rebus was in the window of the great hall, remains in the same state as when it was built. Its fine timbered roof was ornamented with angels carrying shields; and in the centre of the room several altarcloths and priests' vestments, dating from the latter end of the fifteenth century, were exhibited by the Rector (Rev. W. Phillipps): indeed, the neighbourhood is rich in these remains of pre-Reformation times. At Campden there is a cope of a somewhat similar era. Some controversy ensued with respect to the date of the house; for though it was attributed to parson Grafton, its apparent date was nearly a century earlier.

The carriages then received their occupants, and proceeded to the old Grange of the monks of Pershore at Broadway. This ancient edifice was distinguished by some elegant windows of the geometric era. Its projecting gable suggested its capability for defence; and the ancient chapel within the building was the subject of much admiration. Some years ago it was used as the poor-house and lock-up for the parish. Before leaving this place, Mr. Morgan proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Robinson for his valuable services as guide. It should be stated that Mr. Averill conducted a party on foot over the hill from Buckland to Broadway, a very delightful walk.

After the Grange had been thoroughly examined, the party proceeded to the Lygon Arms Hotel, where they were joined by Mrs. Dent of Sudeley Castle, the Rev. C. S. Caffin, Mr. R. N. Chadwick, and a large number of other ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The company, about one hundred and seventy in number, sat down to a splendid luncheon, to which they had been invited by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Miss Phillipps. The host himself presided, and after luncheon, which was served by Mr. Drury, the toast of "The Queen" was proposed and duly honoured.

Mr. G. R. Wright proposed the health of Mr. and Miss Phillipps in a very hearty speech. He regretted that Mrs. Phillipps was not well enough to be present, but added that she was well represented by her daughter. The name and fame of their host were such that he required no eulogy from him. He was distinguished in literature, and held a leading position in that neighbourhood as a country gentleman. His devotion to the name and works of Shakespeare were such as would secure for him a lasting reputation; and he remembered that thirty years ago they, as archæologists, were proud of Mr. Phillipps as one of the most active of their members who took part in their excursions, and toiled over hill and dale in search of objects of antiquity.

Mr. I. Averill said that he had consented to relieve Mr. Phillipps of a portion of his onerous duties that day by reading a paper which that

gentleman had prepared, entitled "Some Suggestions respecting a History of Broadway." It will be printed hereafter. The paper was received with much attention.

The old church at Broadway, disused for religious worship since the new church was built nearer the centre of the village, is principally remarkable for its monuments of the Phillipps and Russell families. The building is in a substantial state of repair, and is considered a rather fine example of a thirteenth or fourteenth century village church. The church contains the remains of several persons of some note, among whom may be mentioned Anthony Daston, Esq., sheriff of the county in the time of Elizabeth, who owned Broadway Great Farm, formerly farmed by the abbots of Pershore; Anne Daston, his widow, of whom Habington says,—“This person I mention because she is said to have been the most bountiful gentlewoman of her degree in England”; John Treavis, who built in 1620 the fine old house now the Lygon Arms Hotel, and who was father of “William Treavis, citizen of London and member of the Grocers’ Company, who carried on business in Watling Street, in the citie of London, at y^e sign of y^e iij pigeons, and who died extremely wealthy in Sept. 1664.” Here lie also Walter Savage, Esq., of Broadway Court (one of the Savages of Elmeley Castle), and several members of the fine old family of Sheldon, who were great benefactors to the church and village, and who were for a long period lords of the manor, having obtained the manorial rights from one William Babington, to whom the same had been granted by the crown in the sixth year of Philip and Mary. The Sheldons, when the civil war between King Charles and his Parliament broke out, warmly espoused the royal cause. One of the family fell fighting for his King in that obstinate engagement known as the battle of Newbury. During the civil war Charles I is said to have visited Sheldon at Broadway Court once, if not twice, secretly. William Taylor, some time Recorder of Evesham, lies buried here. He was a man of some mark in the House of Commons. Habington and also Prathenton mention much coloured glass which at one time occupied the windows of this church. Most of this is now gone. Among other names referred to by the writers above mentioned are Pynk, Sambach, Brace, Ireton, Sheldon, etc. The small pillar-almshouse is of early date. The nave of this church was of an Early English character, but the aisles and chancel were of the late Perpendicular of the Tudor age. Some amusement was created by an antique inscription which at the first glance appeared like a sepulchral inscription on a Roman *columbarium*, but which, when read, was as follows:

ASTHOWARTSOWASI, ASIAMSOWILTTHOWBE.

A small portion of a sepulchral effigy of a lady in a wimple and long plaited gown, of the thirteenth century, was of far more archæological

interest. The members were struck by two things,—the signs of recent repair on the outside, and the desolate appearance of the nave, which was only increased by the forlorn appearance of the chancel, in which a few grey wooden tall pews had been left. The old Jacobean pulpit had been dismantled and thrown into a corner. A few panels, apparently of a chancel or rood-screen, had been formed into a tub-like reading-desk. A few hatchments hung on the whitewashed chancel walls. There were a few monuments to the Phillipps family, and plain inscriptions to some of the family of Russell. When the new church of Broadway was built near the centre of the population (for the old church stands alone in the fields, away from the town), it was proposed to pull down the church as useless; but Sir Thomas Phillipps would not consent as his family were buried there. This was mentioned publicly in the church, and was not then contradicted. It was not forgotten that a church much more interesting than Broadway, on the eastern side of the Ilmington Hills, scarcely ten miles away, was dismantled on a new church being built in the village.

Those who ascended Broadway Hill and reached the tower, which is the landmark for many miles round, were amply rewarded by their view of the Campden and Ilmington hills, the spur of the Cotswolds, known as Dover's Hill, so long renowned as the scene of those Cotswold games which Robert Dover, the honest and conscientious lawyer of Barton-on-the-Heath, instituted in the reign of King James. The memory of this famous lawyer, who was the peacemaker of the district, is still cherished in the neighbourhood. From hence can be seen the town of Chipping Campden, long the flourishing seat of the Cotswold wool trade, whose elegant perpendicular church has many early brasses to the Grevilles, ancestors of the present Earl of Warwick, who were the princes of woolstaplers in the time of Elizabeth, and also of the Noel family. Here, too, lived the Noel whose imprudent habits drew forth from Queen Elizabeth the well-known epigram on his name,

“The word of denial, the letter of fifty,
Is the name of him who will never be thrifty.”

The market house and the house of the Grevilles, and the church tower, are good architectural and archæological studies. From hence can be seen Brailes Castle Hill, the trees at Ilmington, full of pleasant memories of the late Rev. Julian Young, and, above all, the summit of the famous hill on which are the weird stones of Rollright. Disappointment was felt at a tumulus, which was opened to celebrate the visit of the Association, having proved a blank; but this did not mar the pleasure of the day, and the party returned to Evesham in the evening well pleased with their excursion.

A meeting was held in the Town Hall in the evening for the reading of

papers. There was again a very large attendance. Mr. Morgan, Treasurer of the Association, presided, and gave a brief account of the day's doings, concluding by expressing the thanks of the Congress to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps for the splendid reception he had given to the Society; and to Mr. J. Robinson for his services as guide to the Churches and other objects of interest which they had visited at Broadway and Buckland.

The Rev. N. G. Batt, M.A., vicar of Norton, read a very able paper on "The Abbey of Evesham, illustrated by the lives of a Triad of its Abbots". The text will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

The Rev. A. H. W. Ingram said he was glad to find that the documentary testimony he had produced last evening was confirmed by the architectural evidence of the Tower itself. To add to the proof already adduced, he found that Tindall, the historian of Evesham, gave the Latin inscription on the tomb of Abbot Lichfield, which translated was as follows: "Pray for the soul of the priest in whose time the new Tower of Evesham was built."

Sir Stafford Carey said that in Dingley's, as well as Grose's, *Antiquities*, there were views of the Evesham Bell Tower as a specimen of architecture of great interest, and in both cases the Tower was represented as being without the obstructions of the walls now on either side of it.

Mr. Blashill said it was due to Mr. Walcott to state that he argued that the words "new Tower", quoted by Mr. Ingram, referred to the central tower of the Abbey, and not to the Bell Tower. The question had, however, been decided upon the architecture of the Tower itself, and not upon the rather vague documentary evidence.

Mr. Ingram said it was palpable that the words could not apply to the central tower, because Talbot, the antiquarian of Elizabeth's time, referred to it as the tower "which is left untouched"; whereas the central tower had then been demolished. He was confident that had Mr. Walcott himself been present he must have acknowledged himself satisfied by such convincing proof as had been brought forward to modify his conclusions.

The Vicar of Evesham said they were perfectly alive to the importance of preserving the Bell Tower. When they had finished All Saints' Church, they would have it thoroughly restored. But in the meantime a new roof would be placed upon it to make it water-tight.¹

The discussion then closed.

¹ On Saturday morning some of the members of the Association, on again inspecting Evesham Bell-Tower, deciphered a monogram of Clement Lichfield on the shield above the arch, with the inscription, "Qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur." This discovery strengthens the conclusion as to the date of the tower, which had been previously arrived at on purely archæological grounds.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5TH, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were elected :

J. T. Burgess, Grassbrooke, Leamington
Wentworth Huyshe, 6, Pelham Place, Brompton
The Free Libraries, Manchester
G. F. Warner, M.A., British Museum.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for Mémoires de la Société Nationale Académique de Cherbourg. Cherbourg, 1871. 8vo.

„ „ Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Annual Report for 1874.

„ „ Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire. December, 1875.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, announced that the exertions of the Association had been the means of restoring to Mr. Crawshay of Southampton the objects discovered during the excavations for the remains of an ancient war-ship at Botley.¹

Mrs. Baily transmitted for exhibition two fine and early examples of Indian *katars*, or double-edged, sharp-pointed daggers with stirrup-shaped hafts. The blade of the oldest specimen is $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch broad next the hilt, both sides having an elegant foliaceous midrib with deep lateral channels. The grip consists of two cross-bars gradually swelling from the ends to the centres where they are obtusely pointed. Traces of silver plating or inlaying are discernible on several parts of the handle. The extreme length of this beautiful weapon is 21 inches. The second *katar* is less ornate in design. The blade measures 10 inches in length by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth next the hilt, each side being deeply channelled. The two cross-bars of the handle are fusiformed, and remains of gold plating or inlaying may be

¹ See pp. 70-71.

detected on different parts of this member of the dagger. This specimen is $19\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that Oriental arms are so seldom brought to the notice of the Association that we must welcome with pleasure the present exhibition of admirable examples of the Mahratta *katar*, *kuttar*, or *khouttar* as the name is sometimes written. Although the broad, sharp-pointed blade of this formidable dagger bears a strong resemblance to that of the European anelace, its hilt can find no parallel out of India. The side-branches of this portion of the weapon form a good protection to the wrist, whilst the hand grasps the transverse bars, and thus serves the purpose of a sort of skeleton gauntlet. The grips are generally two in number; but there are instances where three and even four are riveted to the side-guards. Tavernier, in his *Indian Travels* (Part II, p. 200, London, 1684), gives an outline of a very singular *katar* (or, as he calls it, *canjare*), *khanjar*, with which, he says, a mad Faquir stabbed seventeen Dutch mariners at Souali, on his return from Mecca in the year 1642. He describes the blade as three fingers broad next the handle, and it is prettily flowered down its centre, but appears to be unchannelled. The side-guards of the hilt are richly and elegantly wrought, and they are united by four transverse bars, each having in its centre a boss of graceful design. Two ancient *katars* are engraved in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour* (Plates 139, 141), where they are designated *paisuish* (Persian, *pesh-khaymu*?). The blade of one is 24 inches, the other, $16\frac{1}{2}$ ins., in length. Both have a broad knuckle-guard reaching from the base to above the tops of the lateral members of the hilt, and which seem to be the germ of the gauntlet-guard of the *patah*, or sword of the Mahratta cavalry, which has two transverse bars by way of grip, as may be seen by reference to Grose's *Armour*, Pl. 50, and Meyrick, Pl. 138. Demmin, in his *Weapons of War*, p. 413, has delineated a *katar* with three lozenge-shaped grips, and the blade cleft up the middle so as to form two long sharp points. This rare forked variety of dagger is known as serpent-tongued. The mode in which the *katar* is held in the hand is well shown in *The Mirror* (xxxii, p. 241), where there is a representation of the Bayaderes performing their dagger-dance. The *katar*, like other Eastern weapons, is frequently provided with a costly scabbard. It is sometimes covered with either green or crimson velvet with gold or silver mountings, and the whole sheath is even occasionally wrought of one of these precious metals, enriched with elegant and elaborate chased work and sparkling gems.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a curious lantern of blue and white Warrington pottery, an object of considerable rarity and interest. It is pentagonal in form, three of the panels being solid, and painted with blue flowers, leaves, and tendrils, in a pleasing style; the two other

panels are open, and grooved at the sides to receive panes of glass, which were slipped in from above. At top, rises in the centre a mushroom-headed chimney, the upper surface of which is pierced with six holes, and round its base are three vents which may be likened to dormer windows, the front of each being perforated with nine air-holes; and between the chimney and the handle is a cluster of seven holes. The bow handle is painted with a line of ovals, etc. Fixed on the bottom of the interior is a nozzle for a candle, measuring 1 inch in height and diameter. The extreme height of the lantern is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and it measures a good $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from front to back. It is worthy of record that Dr. Kendrick obtained this quaint piece of domestic furniture from the son of the manager of the old Warrington pottery works. This exhibition elicited the following observations from Mr. H. Syer Cuming:

“Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt was, I believe, the first to gather in the pages of the *Art Journal* what little is as yet known respecting the rise and fall of the Warrington potteries. According to that gentleman’s statement, they had but a brief existence, being established about the year 1797 or 1798, and finally abandoned in 1812. The original projectors of the works were two brothers, Messrs. James and Fletcher Bolton, who, possessing slight practical knowledge of the potter’s art, were very soon compelled to take for partner, Mr. Joseph Ellis, of Hanley, who had previously been employed by the famous Josiah Wedgwood. Mr. Ellis brought with him from Staffordshire a little colony of work-people, who took up their abode on the shore of the Mersey, at a place still known as Pottery Row, Bank Quay. The Warrington potteries flourished well till 1807, when the embargo laid by the Americans on all articles of British manufacture greatly injured the trade, and the firm became bankrupt in 1812, when the colony of potters returned to their old homes in Staffordshire.

“The earthenware produced at Warrington was, generally speaking, of an ordinary character, and, in some instances, scarcely distinguishable from that of Staffordshire. The white-ware was both painted and printed in blue. There was a gold, silver, and purple lustre-ware, and a hard, black, Egyptian ware rather inferior in quality to that made by Wedgwood. Besides the various kinds of earthenware, the Warrington potters are reported to have manufactured a number of porcelain articles, but some obscurity hangs about this branch of their industry. Mr. Jewitt, speaking of this chinaware, says: ‘It is a kind of creamy colour, and of inferior quality, and is ornamented with raised borders, etc., and with groups of figures in blue. In general appearance it is more like earthenware than porcelain.’

“Dr. Kendrick has collected and presented to the Warrington Museum several well authenticated examples of the local pottery.

Among other pieces may be specified a black Egyptian-ware tea-pot ornamented with raised borders, and having a panel on either side enclosing a group of classic figures in relief, some of them, together with the swan surmounting the lid, are surface painted in yellow, red, etc. The lid of this pot is hinged. Another item is a small upright jar of blue and white ware, capable of holding exactly half-an-ounce of tea, the amount, we are told, which was served out to each guest at the tea-gardens of that period. There are also two teacups and a saucer of blue and white ware.

"One very curious object in the Warrington Museum is a tobacco jar, as it is called, of white ware, embellished with purple lustre, in an arabesque pattern. This magazine of utilities consists at present of only five pieces, but originally there must have been six or even seven different portions. The parts rise one above the other, gradually diminishing in diameter as they advance upwards. The lowest member is a base or stand; the second, is the tobacco-jar; the third, an ale mug; the fourth, and perhaps a fifth, stage is wanting; the sixth is either a candle socket or an ink-stand, but more likely the latter, as it is provided with a stopper in the form of the figure seven, and this crowns the whole affair.

"The Warrington Museum contains four very pretty cream-ware fruit dishes and baskets, the latter composed of plaited rolls of paste, with a loop-handle at either end. But one of the most interesting things in the collection is a blue and white quart jug, inscribed with the letters "J. and M. B.," the initials of the potter and his wife, James and Mary Bolton. Dr. Kendrick has, in his own collection, two jugs, one of painted ware, the other of purple lustre, both of which bear the initials of persons well known in Warrington, in days gone by.

"Though it was a common practice with the Warrington potters to place on the vessels the initials of the persons for whom they were wrought, no special mark seems to have been adopted to distinguish the wares from those of other manufactories, and hence it is that so few collectors have ever heard of these Lancashire productions. I must not close this subject without an offer of thanks to Dr. Kendrick for having furnished me with material whereby to add a brief chapter to the history of British Ceramics."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited two *Flandres Gris* jugs, both of the 17th century, one bearing the initials G. R., the other the full faced bust of William III, crowned, in an oval, with the inscription, WILHELM III D.G. MAG. BRIT. FRANC. ET HIB. REX; the King is represented wearing the "George" and robes of the Garter; also an ivory carving of the bust of Shakespeare, from his tomb at Stratford-on-Avon, for suspension; and a wine flagon of glass of Venetian manufacture, and found in the town of Stratford, near to New Place. The glass is

purely crystalline, and superbly splashed with ruby and azure. The capacity of the vessel is about two quarts.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess of Leamington, made an interesting exhibition of objects found in recent excavations at Longbridge in Warwickshire. Some researches have been undertaken with a view of laying bare the pre-Domesday history of the county, and to verify as far as possible the passing allusions to Warwickshire in *Ordericus Vitalis*, in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and in the somewhat mythical chronicles which the earlier historians accepted as facts. These researches have been supplemented within a very recent period by the accidental discovery of an early Saxon burial-place on the banks of the Avon, about a mile due west of the town of Warwick.

Historians will be interested in knowing that these researches have extended along the supposed line of forts, erected by Ostorius Scapula, between the Avon and the Severn, and have brought to light the fact that, whilst the stations and the mansions on the Fosse road occur at regular distances, such is not the case on the great Watling Street way in mid England. The few camp entrenchments and earthworks known to exist when the Ordnance survey was laid down, have been added to considerably, the most extensive "find" being the enormous ramparts which occupy the whole northern side of Red Hill, between Wellesbourne and Loxley, a large entrenchment in Oakley Wood, and a perfect camp in Barmoor Wood, near Claverdon. The Anglo-Saxon graves, exhumed last week, belong to a later period, and, strangely enough, were found in a field belonging to Mr. John Staunton, of Longbridge, whose father and brother formed a wonderful and unique collection of Warwickshire antiquities recently acquired by the Midland Institute at Birmingham. It is also a matter of observation that the remains of the Saxon period found in Warwickshire have been discovered only along the banks of the Avon, or the Roman military ways which exist in or on the borders of the county.

Some months have elapsed since some interesting examples of urn burial were found in the face of a rock at the Priory, at Warwick, in a rude species of *columbarium*; but these remains belong to an earlier period than the graves at Longbridge, which were found in digging for gravel on a slightly sloping bank, which has evidently been thrown up by the Avon when its course was wider, and before it debouched into the open mere which now forms the Sherbourne and Barford meadows on the east of Warwick Castle Park. There are no signs of barrow or mound on the spot, for floods have probably washed over the spot and obliterated any outward sign, if any ever existed. The bodies were buried about two and a half feet below the green turf, and not more than a foot in the coarse gravel, which here lies on the top of a bed of coarse sand. The remains found are various, and such as

are usually found in Anglo-Saxon graves. The indications, from the remains at present exhumed, seem to show that it was not a place of regular interment, or a Saxon cemetery, but a somewhat hurried burial after a battle or skirmish in the immediate neighbourhood, for though some of the bodies were laid east and west, with their heads eastward, others were not so. The bosses or umbos of the shields do not appear to have been laid on the breast, as was usually the case, though it was evident that great care was taken with some of the bodies.

Many of the skeletons were found indiscriminately upon the others, a circumstance which in other cases has given rise to the supposition that these were either prisoners taken in battle, or slaves sacrificed as a propitiation to the gods. With respect to the bodies themselves, one of the most perfect of the skeletons was that of a powerful young man, who was upwards of six feet high, and about twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. His teeth were perfect. His chin somewhat more pointed than usual. This pointed chin marked all the lower jaws which were examined, for many of the skeletons fell into dust or were broken by the workmen in removing them. The remains found with the bodies consist of umbos, or the heavy iron bosses of shields, spear-heads, knives, fibulæ, two or three counters or knives, a head or two, a straight sword, and three of those peculiar buckets found only in Saxon grave mounds. There appear to have been at least six umbos found, and, though not uniform in shape or weight, partake of the usual character of those hand guards or bosses which formed the centre of the Saxon war-boards or shields. When compared with those found at Marton a few years ago, when the Leamington and Rugby Railway was made, they are found to be heavier, taller, and more varied in shape. One was surmounted by a spike or small spear-head, others had a flat disc or terminal button, whilst in others it was round, and with the disc-headed umbo the point of the long heavy sword was found. Several of these umbos were found, with the rivets which attached them to the "linden wood" of which the shields were generally formed, and, in more than one instance, the handle or brace of the shield was found below the umbo. In none of the skeletons was the shield found in any regular position with respect to the body, and in one instance the largest of these bosses was placed above the skull, as if it had formed part of a helmet. The spear-heads are numerous, but of no special individual type. The blades are 8 inches long, and form with the socket, in which the remains of the handle are occasionally found, a weapon 13 inches long. The smaller spear-heads presumed to belong to javelins, are not half the length, and have a wider blade in proportion. The other cutting weapons are the knife blades, and these have been found in considerable numbers. The one sword stands alone. It is one of the few Saxon swords which

have been found which show the remains of the wooden scabbard and its ornamentation. Altogether it formed a weapon 2 feet 10 inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. The end of the hilt is formed of a square piece of bronze brought to a point. The hilt and guard are decayed, but where the scabbard begins there are yet the narrow bands of thin bronze which held the scabbard together, and portions of it can be traced down the entire length of the blade, and is very similar to one found at Fairford a few years ago. It shows the signs of the attachment to the belt or girdle. The Fairford "find" was similar to the one at Longbridge, for the bucket, found in this instance at the usual place at the feet of one of the skeletons, though similar in shape and ornamentation to the one found at Fairford, is considerably larger, for it is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and is about 6 inches in diameter, whilst the Fairford one was only 4 inches in diameter, and between 3 and 4 inches high. The mode of construction was, however, different. The bucket at Longbridge was formed of vertical bands of bronze ornamented with bead-moulding on both sides, which were riveted by prominent studs to the three plain bronze hoops which surrounded the bucket. These hoops and bands are a little over an inch broad, and correspond in width to the narrow strips of wood which formed the bucket-shaped vessel. The upper edge was tipped with metal, and on one side there are the signs of the fastening of some kind of handle. The fibulæ, or brooches, are of a kind somewhat rare in Warwickshire. They are seven in number. The most elaborate in workmanship is circular, is two inches in diameter, and has a circular opening a quarter of an inch in diameter in the centre, which has held a jewel or some precious stone. The space between this was formed of a raised interlaced SS like pattern riveted, with the ring-like edge, to a thin disc of metal which held the pin and catch. The other fibulæ belonged to the sculptæ, or round saucer-shaped fibulæ, made out of a solid disc of metal bearing an incised pattern similar to the more important one. Those bore signs of having been gilded. Two of the fibulæ were of the ordinary flat-ring pattern, and two belonged to what are called cross-shaped fibulæ, of ordinary patterns; one is trefoil headed, and the other is square-headed, ornamented with dotted lines. They are small, but interesting examples. The saucer-shaped fibulæ have been rarely found on the northern side of the Oxfordshire border. Amongst the other objects found is a small amber head, a strip of richly gilt bronze moulding with a saw-like or Vandyke edge, and two or three coins similar in size to what are known as third Roman brass, but the legend and profile are gone. Drawings, measurements, and full notes of these remains have been taken, and it is believed that, after being exhibited, they will find a home in the Warwick Museum.

Before the excavations ceased further researches brought to light

other graves containing many interesting relics ; and these culminated in the opening of the grave of one who appears to have been a Saxon lady, evidently of high rank and importance, if we may judge from the richness of her ornaments and the beauty of their workmanship. The extent of the excavations, up to the present time, do not exceed a space of 50 feet by 60 feet. The opening is rectangular, from west to east, in the widest part. On the eastern side, where the gravel appeared to be thicker, the workmen continued to work in a smaller opening, and this led to the discovery of the last and most interesting of the graves.

It was impossible to ascertain the size and dimensions of the grave, exactly, but, as far as it was possible to judge by the disturbed earth this lady of the past was not more than five feet high. Of her bones nothing remained save a few teeth scattered in the amber-tinted gravel, but on what appeared to be her breast was a large disc of gold, two inches in diameter, which had evidently been appended to some other ornament by wire or string. This other ornament was evidently a few amber beads of somewhat rude workmanship, one of which was of so much brighter colour, as to lead to the belief that it was a ruby or garnet of great value ; it was, however, so friable that great care was necessary to preserve it whole. In the grave was found also a large fibula and a handsome silver bracelet or armlet of excellent workmanship ; but it was not until these were cleansed from the dirt that their rude beauty was made apparent. On careful examination, it appeared that the gold pendant was ornamented by a series of figures formed by a punch, or rather by a series of punches used singly to form the general pattern. The outer markings were not unlike the plain indentations on the rims of modern coins ; these were followed at varying widths by slight curves and a ball not unlike a comma, laid flat ; then surrounding an ill-defined ring, of one inch in diameter, were a series of ball and tassel marks irregularly punched from the front ; the central pattern was marked from the back, and, if it can be likened to anything, it is like a number of birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles mingled together. It weighs 5 dwts. 11 grains, and is of pure gold of a rich colour.

There was found also a smaller disc of silver, bearing a pattern formed by the same set of punches, but differently arranged. The centre is formed by what appears to be a small rowel spur. This was so friable that the various portions found have been with difficulty preserved. The interest of the collection centres in the silver bracelet which is 2 inches in diameter by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is formed of one strip of silver originally 15 inches long, bent so as to form a double ring round the wrist. The silver is only about a quarter of an inch broad on its narrowest side, but swells into three distinct flutes or rolls where the

broader parts overwrap each other, and by this means presents a band of silver in front, nearly an inch and a half wide, of six flutings when the bracelet is on the arm. These flutings are ornamented with stamped markings like the silver plate, and there is no doubt that they were executed by the same tools, though the pattern is differently arranged.

The fibula found in this grave far exceeds in size any found in Warwickshire. It is longer and wider than the beautiful specimen belonging to the Marquis of Hertford, which was found at Ragley, but it is not so richly gilt, and the workmanship is of a coarser quality. Archæologists will understand the difference in design when it is mentioned that they differ as much as the square-headed, bow-shaped fibula does from the shamrock-headed. It has, however, this peculiarity—on the square head which surmounts the bow is a small plate of silver, and small plates of silver once adorned each of the six terminals of the ornaments. Its extreme length is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and its greatest width $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This Saxon lady, who, from the style of her ornaments, must have lived in the latter part of the fifth, or at least early in the sixth, century, was richly adorned. But whether she was one of those daughters of the chiefs who ministered in the religious rites of Odin or of Thor, no one can tell; but for at least thirteen centuries the little Fisher brook has murmured her requiem as it hurried by to the Avon, which has washed the south side of her burial mound.

Much interest attaches itself to the grave which was next to hers on the western side, for in this were found the fragments of one of those curious buckets which have given rise to much speculation. The bucket was the largest of the three which have been found at Longbridge, but it was so nearly the same pattern as the second one as not to be distinguished asunder. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and is surrounded by five bands, or hoops, of bronze, of varying widths, which are fastened to upright strips of plain bronze by square-headed rivets, which give it a chequered appearance, totally unlike any of those figures in Fausett's *Inventorium Sepulchræle*, or Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, or in the British Museum. This bucket has also this peculiarity. On the stave to which one of the upright bands is fastened, on the inside, is a piece of linen, about an inch square, fastened. It is finely woven, of excellent and smooth thread, and adheres firmly to the wood. The wood is remarkably sound and tough, and appears to be yew. The circular fibulæ in this grave differed, too, from all the others. They were saucer-shaped, and richly gilt; the incised markings or chisellings differed in pattern, but surrounded a small piece of ruby-coloured glass, which was securely fastened in the centre. The *umbo* of the shield was unusually heavy, and contained the brace by which it was held by the hand.

Only one drinking-glass has been found, and its shape was identical to one found at Kempston, in Bedfordshire, in 1863, and is figured in Plate xxxix, vol. 4, *Collectanea Antiqua*. Unfortunately this, like the only urn found, has been broken, but it has been carefully figured.

It would have been interesting to know the particular graves to which many of the lesser articles belonged, for amongst other things there is a key, a belt buckle, a small fibula with a pin like a highland brooch, and three bronze rings, one of which is four inches in diameter, and another evidently much worn on two sides by long use.

It is now remembered that a few years ago bodies were found in Warwick Park, and at Barford, on the other side of the Avon, and that on the other side of Longbridge skeletons were frequently revealed by the flooding of the streamlet, but as this is near to the old castle of Fulbrooke, the supposed scene of Shakespeare's deer stealing exploit, and in an old deer park, it is not thought that there is any connection between the two.

Mr. Cuming, Mr. Brent, and Mr. Birch took part in the discussion which ensued, and Mr. Brock drew the attention of the Association to some similar discoveries in the year 1874, at Beddington, in Surrey, which he had reported in the *Journal* at the time (xxx, p. 212).

Mr. Brent exhibited a fine and very exhaustive series of *Jettons*, *Abbey Pieces*, and *Monastic Tokens*, and Mr. Brock described them at length. The account of them will be placed before the Association in the form of a paper, with illustrations, at a future opportunity.

Mr. Brent also exhibited a carved ivory button from Japan, which was considered to be of the sixteenth century, and was of admirable, but quaint execution.

The Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, Rector of Wrington, Bristol, forwarded a paper on "An Inscription upon the Bell in the Church of Clapton, in Gordano," a spot which was visited by the Association during the Congress held at Bristol in 1874. The paper will be inserted hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 19 JANUARY, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A., SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associate was elected:—François Luigi Cramer, 36, Sutherland Place, Westbourne Park.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned for the following additions presented to the library:

To the Society, for Canadian Journal, Vol. xiv, No. 6. 8vo. Toronto, 1876.

„ „ Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and

Natural History Society, during the year 1874, Vol. xx. 8vo. Taunton, 1875.

To the Translator, J. E. Lee, F.S.A., for Excavations of the Kesslerloch, near Thayngen, Switzerland, a cave of the Reindeer Period, by Conrad Merk. 8vo. London, 1876.

Dr. Kendrick sent, with the hope of obtaining information thereon, a singular object of white earthenware, with green edges. It may be described as a trough, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, and 2 in. wide at one end, and $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. at the other, at bottom, but the respective widths at top are $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. and 2 in. It is open at both ends, and the bottom and sides are each pierced with six lozenges between two rows of seven round holes, indicating the article to be a strainer of some kind.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the object appeared to him to be one of a set which fitted into wells of the same form, which radiated from a centre, in the manner of the sunken divisions of a Pope Joan Board, and possibly belonged to the chief piece of an old dessert service. Its age and date of manufacture are both clear enough, its fashion and character of paste and glaze determining it to be a Staffordshire production of *circa* 1765-70; and it agrees so well in general aspect with a ladle-shaped sugar-sifter which he held in his hand, that we might be excused for fancying that the two items appertained to the same service. The perforations in the green-edged bowl of the sifter form a plain cross, with four round holes in each quarter and one in the middle, and the gracefully-curved handle has a long green leaf in the front at top, and on the butt is impressed the letter O. That Dr. Kendrick's specimen is of novel type seems proved by the diversity of opinions expressed regarding it. It has been pronounced a knife-rest, a dish-tilt, a flower-stand, a strainer for a shaving-brush, for a soap-tray, etc.

Mr. Brock exhibited some very delicate stone tracery, in fragments, from a shrine or reredos over the shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Barking Abbey, Co. Essex; together with portions of Roman flue tiles, broken pottery of many periods, plaster decorations of walling about the date of A.D. 1215, encaustic tiles, pieces of stained glass, a Welsh cream-coloured baking dish, a key, two Nuremburg *jettons*, a toothpick and earpick, a pin of a *fibula*, and the *gaude*, or largest agate-glass bead of a rosary. Of these objects Mr. Brock gave the following account, and exhibited plans, and sheet LXXIII, 12, co. Essex, of the Ordnance Survey Map:

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT BARKING ABBEY.

I have the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Association, this evening, some relics of the celebrated Abbey of Barking. This was an establishment of great extent, but with the exception of part of the boundary-walls, an entrance, and the well-known "Fire-bell" Gate,

containing the "Chapel of the Holy Rood atte Gate", the buildings have so entirely disappeared that Dugdale was able to describe their site simply as being on the north side of the churchyard of the parish church.

We owe to Mr. Lethieullier the measurements of the foundations of the church, which appears to have been opened in 1724; and these are given in Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. iv, accompanied with a ground-plan representing a cruciform church with an eastern Lady Chapel. Unfortunately the plan is not drawn to any scale, and it does not agree with the dimensions given. The dimensions state the extreme length from east to west to be 170 feet; the cross-aisle (query, transepts), from north to south, 150 feet; the choir at 60; the width of choir and also the nave, 22 feet; the side-aisles, 11 feet; the cross-aisle, 28 feet only; and the dimensions of the bases of the columns are given as 8 feet 6 inches; and the space of the intercolumniation at 22 feet.

An inspection of what is described both by tradition and by Dugdale as the site of the church, shows a most unpromising spot for investigations. Although the large area enclosed by the boundary-walls has many inequalities, pointing to the site of buildings, yet this has been deeply trenched, most probably for gravel, since Mr. Lethieullier's time. The base of the north boundary-wall of the churchyard, however, at once arrests our attention. This is undoubtedly the portion of a building of large size, and most probably the church. At one spot it has a large recess with traces of an eastern apse, probably the south transept of the church. It is 18 feet deep, and 50 feet from east to west. Taking this as a starting point, the wall continues westward for fully 89 feet, when there is a western return, probably the western front of the church. Following the wall eastward, at the angle of the transept we came upon a solid mass of masonry, overgrown with creepers and brambles. On clearing this, traces of a wall arcade, with the base of a column, are very visible, and the drawing shows their present condition. It will be noticed that it is of Norman date, and rests on a course of Roman bricks. Following the theory of this being a portion of the church, this would be the commencement of the arcading of the south aisle of the choir. The remains of the two wall piers give the width of the intercolumniation at about 10 ft. 8 ins. Proceeding eastward, at a distance of 76 ft., there is a return at right angles of 13 ft., then two more, one 33 ft. by 15 ft., and the second 23 ft. 5 ins. by 16 ft. 3 ins. We have thus the entire south and eastern outline of Lethieullier's Church, with one additional eastern recess, including its eastern Lady Chapel, but of totally different dimensions; and, if this relates to the same spot, the total length (without the Lady Chapel) is 248 feet, instead of 170 as given by him. The ground is

trenched along, almost the entire length of this wall, to so great an extent that under the base of the columns careful hands have built a retaining wall to support it. The excavation ceases at the second return, and the whole of the length of 23 ft. 5 ins. is on the higher level within the garden of the national school-house, and apparently never disturbed until now. It is here that we are indebted to Mr. J. King for an interesting discovery. On digging within this area, close to the churchyard boundary wall, he was surprised to find that the base of the wall was plastered and covered with lines and patterns of brilliant red. With commendable industry he cleared the earth away and found the bases of pillars, traces of tile pavements, and the base apparently of a detached altar. The plan shows the result so far. The walls show a parallelogram from west to east of 23 ft. 5 in., and from north to south of 16 ft. 3 in. There are two angle shafts at the east end, and the detached mass of masonry is central. It stands on the tile pavement, and has been formed of fragments of old stonework from elsewhere, there being part of a circular shaft and a chamfered stone. The tile pavement has also been raised from its original position, as is proved by the plastering going below it. The tiles are of early date, but were probably relaid when the altar was erected. The tiles and also the bases are most probably that of Dame Mabilia de Bosham, Abbess in 1215, when the church is known to have been rebuilt. Following the theory of the site of the church, these remains are those of the Lady Chapel. It is to be hoped that these investigations may be resumed, and search made for the north wall, which would be of service to show whether this be the Lady Chapel, or merely the ending of the south aisle. The materials of the ancient walls demand our notice. Roman bricks have been used in vast numbers, and meet us at every turn: one of them is nearly 2 ft. long. The supposition that these were of later date is disproved by the fact that Roman flue tiles, with the usual scored markings, are also found. Mr. Lethieullier found a column built on Roman bricks, and records the finding of a coin of Magnentius. The site of the Roman station, *Durolitum*, has been placed at an ancient earth encampment near Barking, and is referred to in the Rev. H. Jenkins' interesting paper on the course of the Roman road from London to Colchester, *Journal* for 1863.¹

Mr. Brent exhibited a waxen model of a pip-shaped bottle in the possession of Mr. Gatcomb, of Plymouth, and originally belonging to the Rev. Mr. Hatcham, rector of St. Andrew's, in that town. On one

¹ The north wall of the churchyard is formed entirely with materials from the Abbey, and was erected probably soon after the dissolution. It is remarkable that its mortar is composed with pounded brick, after the Roman manner. The ancient base on which it stands is about 5 feet thick. The materials of both have, in addition to the Roman bricks, many blocks of tufa, and a vast number of water-worn granite boulders of all colours.

side is a portrait, in relief, of the Old Pretender; on the other, medalion portraits of James II, and his Queen, Mary of Modena.

Mr. Cuming read a paper on "Clogs and Pattens," and illustrated his remarks with an exhibition of a variety of specimens of these objects, and several pen and ink sketches of ancient drawings. The paper will find a future place in the *Journal*.

The Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor of Chichester Cathedral, forwarded a paper, entitled "Notes on the Abbeys of Winchcombe, Hales, and Hales-Owen," which was read by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary, and will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. Cuming handed in, and the account was taken as read, owing to the advanced period of the evening, the following note:

ON AN ANCIENT SIGNET RING FOUND AT EVESHAM.

Our late Congress at Evesham has been the means of making known to us the existence of a highly interesting charact signet ring, which Mr. George Eades contributed to the temporary museum there formed, and which he has since most obligingly transmitted to London for my inspection. This curious trinket was discovered about the year 1817, near the ruins of the venerable abbey founded by St. Egwin, and in all likelihood did duty as the *secretum*, or counterseal, of one of its abbots towards the close of the thirteenth century. The ring in question was not the only treasure then and there found, for it was mingled with a large hoard of coins of Edward I, with which were a few of Alexander of Scotland, and two or three foreign sterlings, a good sample of the *trouvaille* being still preserved in Mr. Eades' cabinet. The ring is of silver (once gilt), the hoop being a plain narrow band with triangular slabs at the ends, upon which rests the round bezel, measuring close on three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and in the centre of which is set a Roman intaglio of dark red carnelian, or sard, which is believed by some to be the *Hæmachates* of Pliny.¹ This gem is seven-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, and bears for device the renowned Sphinx, sejant, her head bound by a vitta, her wings raised, and the serpentine tail elevated and coiled like the letter S. Immediately in front of the creature's fore-feet is a human skull, and beneath the ground-line is extended a headless skeleton, the ghastly remains of one of the unhappy wretches who had failed to guess the riddle propounded by the Sphinx, and thus fell a victim to her remorseless fury. Though the Egyptians had their human-headed or andro-sphinx, the ram-headed or crio-sphinx, and the hawk-headed or hieraco-sphinx,

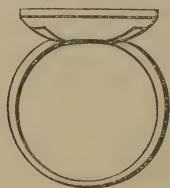
¹ *H. N.*, xxxvii, 10. A ring of precisely the same form as the above, but bearing on its bezel the letter *n*, is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1791, p. 513.

they never represented them as devouring monsters, but looked on them as types of royalty and symbols of mental and physical power. The Greek and Roman sphinx was of a very different complexion, still it is rarely that we find the effects of her vengeance exhibited in art, as it is on the Evesham intaglio, and in the extraordinary sculptured effigy exhumed at Colchester, and delineated in our *Journal* (ii, 38).¹

Suetonius² states that the private seal of the Emperor Augustus bore the figure of a sphinx; and in Tassie's *Catalogue of Impressions of Gems* (1775, p. 88) there are enumerated thirteen with the effigy of the Theban monster, one being of antique paste, two of niccolo, and six of carnelian, one of the latter being said to be the work of Thamindēs, possibly a misreading of Thamyras, whose name appears on a sard in the Vienna collection, and on which is a finely executed sphinx in the act of scratching her ear with her hind foot. I place before you an impression of an ancient intaglio in carnelian, seven-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, discovered in Malta, and representing a sejant sphinx with larger but less elevated wings than those given to the mystic creature on the Evesham signet.

The andro-sphinx of Egypt is always male, and destitute of wings; the ancient Etruscan, Greek, and Roman monster is invariably a winged female; but some modern artists have disregarded these marked distinctions and confounded the two types together, of which I produce an instance in the impression of a seal in which is a wingless female sphinx, couchant, both pose and head-dress being in the Egyptian fashion, but in the exergue is graved the words, ΜΟΝΩ ΟΙΔΗΘ (To *Œdipus* only), clearly proving that it was the cruel daughter of Orthus and Chimaera whom the sculptor intended to portray.

But these various modes of delineating the sphinx in ancient and modern times, must not lead us away from the consideration of the Evesham signet, the legend on which has been as great a puzzle as the



enigma of the wily lady whose figure it surrounds. It was natural to suppose that the inscription was reversed on the matrix to appear

¹ In the Townley Gallery is an elegant sepulchral *cippus* to the memory of a youthful bride named Viria Primitiva, at the base of which is a pair of sejant Sphinxes; and in our *Journal* (xviii, p. 383) is a notice of a couchant Sphinx of bronze, the work probably of John of Bologna; but in neither case is there a trace of victims.

² *Cas. Octav. Aug.*, cap. li, s. 50.

right in an impression, and hence it is that so many have failed to discern its true import; but the truth is the letters stand in the proper way on the verge of the seal and are retrograde in the impression. Mr. W. de G. Birch carefully examined the ring, and deciphered the words, LI COCATRIX. The engraver of the legend mistook the image of the sphinx for that of another fabled monster whose front, according to the old *Bestiaria*, resembled a cock, and its hinder quarters a serpent.

It is a well-known fact that, in olden times, an amuletic value was attached to ancient gems, and hence it is that they were frequently set in the centre of ecclesiastical, baronial, and other seals, in the manner shown in the pages of our *Journal*,¹ and in the example now before us. And such glyptics were also fixed as charms in the pomels of swords and daggers, and in drinking cups as protections against poison. There was something so peculiarly awful and mysterious in the romantic story and composite form of the sphinx, that a gem on which she appeared would be highly prized in a superstitious age, and we may fairly imagine that the Evesham trinket was regarded by its owner as a talisman of no mean influence and potency.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:—

Henry Jenner, British Museum.

Richard William Jones, Maindee, Newport, South Wales.

The thanks of the Association were returned for the following additions to the library:

To the Translator, for The Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India, translated from the Portuguese edition of 1774, with Notes and an Introduction by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L. Vol. I, 8vo. Hakluyt Society, London, 1875.

To the Author, for Ancient Charters and other Muniments of the Borough of Clithero, by J. Harland. Privately printed for the Mayor and Corporation. 1851.

„ „ for Note sur un Vase Romain, trouvé Rue de la Cavée près de l'Ancien Cimetière Ste. Hélène. Par D. Bourdet, Havre; and for Notice sur une Découverte de deux Bustes Romains en Marbre Blanc, trouvés à Lillebonne en 1873, précédé d'un aperçu historique sur les antiquités trouvées dans l'enceinte de l'antique Julio-Bona. Par Désiré Bourdet, Havre, 1875.

¹ ii, p. 345; iii, pp. 190, 330; iv, p. 404; v, p. 241; ix, p. 85; xiv, p. 282; xxx, p. 423.

To the Society, for Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. iii, fourth series, No. 23. July, 1875.

„ „ Smithsonian Report for 1874.

„ „ Account of a Memorial to be erected to William Tyndale in St. Paul's Cathedral, London (Religious Tract Society).

Mrs. Bailey sent for exhibition an English stiletto of the middle of the 16th century. Its extreme length is $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches being taken up by the blade, which measures three-quarters at its greatest breadth. The grip is of white bone, fluted longitudinally, and capped and socketed at the base with silver, engraved with chevrons, etc. The weapon does not appear to have ever been provided with a cross-guard. The blade, just below the grip, is scooped out on either side in a peculiar way, and the upper part of the back is broad and cut into small leaves, the rest is beveled on both edges, and the point is exceedingly sharp. This blade may be compared with one delineated in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, pl. 113, fig. 9.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that, by common assent, the type of dagger now before the meeting was recognised as a stiletto, a stabbing weapon of Italian origin, which became very fashionable in England during the sixteenth century, and which may frequently be seen depicted at the waists of gentlemen of that period. Demmin, in his *Weapons of War*, p. 401, is very brief respecting this species of dagger; all he says is, that "The stiletto (*spitzdolch*) was a small poinard which came into use during the middle ages, and which is well known at this day." Torriano, in his *Italian and English Dictionary*, London, 1688, furnishes this definition of the object in question—"Stiletto, a stiletto, or pocket poinard." The Germans seem to apply the title *Panzer-brecher*, i.e., cuirass-breaker, to both the stiletto and the poinard; and it must be confessed that the weapons (if there be two) glide so imperceptibly one into the other that it is frequently difficult, nay almost impossible, to tell which is which. A good instance of this confusion, or blending of names, is afforded in the *Museum Britannicum*, p. 25, where the author describes an elegant weapon in the national collection as "A pugiunculus, or stilletto, a small short dagger, a poinado, or poinard." Meyrick has a plate of slender daggers of the same type, which he calls "Florentine poignards," and assigns them to the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. One of these "poignards" and a "stiletto," engraved by Demmin (p. 412, fig. 37), bear such a strong resemblance to each other, and also to a pretty little implement I now exhibit, that no one would hesitate to apply the same name to the three specimens. My own delicate blood-letter was purchased at Florence full forty years since, and is a very characteristic example of the Italian weapon of the middle of the sixteenth century. The sharp-pointed triangular blade is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and the pomel,

grip and quillons are cast together of brass, and rather richly wrought. Dalzel, in his *Fragments of Scottish History*, tells us that James VI had his "doublets quilted for (fear of) stelletts," and I produce an example of the Scottish stiletto of this monarch's era, which formed part of lot 6,319 at the sale of the Leverian Museum, where it was denominated a monkish dagger. The hilt is of plain black horn, there are no quillons, and the triangular blade is $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, its greatest breadth being $\frac{6}{10}$ ths of an inch. The beveling at one edge is very remindful of Mrs. Baily's specimen, and there is a further likeness in the engraving on the boss between the tang and blade of my little weapon and the decorations on the haft-mounts of the first-named stiletto. The custom of carrying about the person such small daggers as are here described, and the deadly use to which they were too frequently applied by the choice spirits of the days of Elizabeth and James, are vividly set forth by Samuel Rowland, in his satirical poem entitled, *Look to it, for I'll stabbe ye*, 1604.

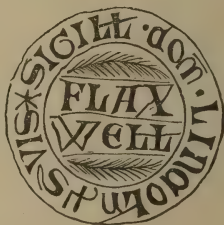
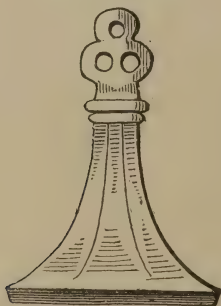
"There is a humour us'd of late
By every rascal, swagg'ring mate,
To give the stabbe. I'll stabbe (says he)
Him that dares take the wall of mee.
If you to pledge a health denie,
Out comes his poniard. There you lie.
If his tobacco you dispraise,
He swears a stabbe shall end your daies.
If you demand the debt he owes,
Into your guts a dagger goes."

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited, by permission of Mr. F. H. Fowler, a very fine German sword of the time of Charles V (1519-58), exhumed on the site of the new Opera House. Its entire length is $31\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The pointed double-edged blade is upwards of $26\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide next the guard, and has three well defined channels on either face. The spreading pomel is much like a cap or coronet in form, and on its top are riveted three rosettes of gilt brass. On one side of the grip is fixed a brass shield graved with a two-headed eagle; and the quillons, viewed from above, resemble the letter S, with brass bosses at the ends, the main portion issuing from serpent's jaws. This interesting specimen is almost the counterpart of one given in Demmin's *Weapons of War* (p. 384, fig. 57), which it thus described—"Sword, German, belonging to a *lansquenet*, sixteenth century, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. The double guard, hilt, and pommel are of iron with copper mountings. *Museum of Carlsruhe*."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited two beautiful examples of Chinese *Po-le* or glass. The first, a circular pendant of a lady's *Urh-Tang* or ear-ring, a lovely imitation of rich green jade. It is $\frac{1}{14}$ ths of an inch

in diameter, the central perforation being $\frac{4}{12}$ ths of an inch in diameter. The second specimen is a bottle for *Pe-yen* or snuff, $2\frac{5}{12}$ inches in height. The body is discoid, either face being decorated with a circular plaque, one displaying a red *Lung* or dragon, with four claws, indicating that the vessel was intended for the use of a mandarin. The opposite plaque has on it the *Foong-hodng* or phoenix. Both creatures are of bright colours on golden fields, and surrounded by blue borders. On each side is a *Kylin's* head with a mimic handle depending from the mouth, both of rich blue glass. The main portion of the bottle is an imitation of white jade or *Yu* stone. In the Cuming Collection is a good series of Chinese snuff-bottles of glass made in imitation of the white and green *Yu* stone, malachite, amber, etc. They are of various contours, one of the most curious representing a species of citrus called *Fo-show* or Hand of Fo. Another takes the form of the *Hoo-loo* or Gourd-Bottle. Two, of white jade glass, have on them pink flowers, with green and yellow leaves, etc., of *appliqué*-work; and there is a rare example of milky-colored glass, the inner surfaces of which are painted with a landscape, etc. The same collection also contains a delicate Chinese bracelet; annular pendant of an ear-ring; and a mul-ler of glass; as well as a cassiolette wrought of agalmatolite, the lid of which is set with fictitious gems of red and green paste. Objects of Chinese glass were formerly very rare in England, and even at the present day are far from common.

The Rev. R. E. Roy, rector of Skirbeck, near Boston, Lincolnshire, exhibited, through Mr. W. de G. Birch, a matrix of a seal of which the following description is extracted from the *History and Antiquities of Boston*, by P. Thompson, folio, 1856, pp. 301, 302: "The seal was found about sixteen inches below the surface, on the borders of the parish of Fishtoft, a short time since. The seal is of a mixed metal



resembling bell-metal, about two inches in height, and the face a little more than an inch in diameter. The inscription round the edge of the face is *SIGILL' COM' LINCOLN' P' S'VIS; and across the centre, FLAX WELL'. This seal was one of those which were made according to the

'Statute of Labourers', twelfth year of Richard II (1388), and was used for authenticating passes for servants and labourers on their leaving their usual place of abode. The statute directed that each hundred should have a seal with the name of the county round the edge, and that of the hundred '*ex transverso dicti sigilli*.' The inscription on the seal is to be read SIGILLUM COMITATUS LINCOLNIE PROSERVIS. There is a similar matrix of the seal of Walshcroft hundred, in Lincolnshire, now preserved in the British Museum, where this matrix is about to find a permanent resting-place.

Mr. Cuming exhibited a gilded cast of an Italian episcopal seal, of poor art and coarse workmanship, which Mr. Birch described as bearing the legend, S. M. FRANCISCI . DE . BELA'TIBVS . DE . SENI . EPISCOPI : GROSETANI; that is, "S[igillum] M[agistri] Francisci de Bel[l]a[n]tibus de Seni, Episcopi Grosetani." The original owner of the seal, Franciscus de Bellantibus, or François Bollantes, a noble of Sienna in Italy, Bishop of Narni, was appointed by Pope Gregory XII to the bishopric of Grossette or Grosseto (Grossetum or Rosetum), a town in Tuscany, in the diocese of Sienna, in the early fifteenth century, and died at Sienna in A.D. 1417.

Mr. Thairlwall, Mr. Cuming, Mr. Wentworth Huyshe, Mr. Brock, and other members of the Association, united in an exhibition of upwards of a hundred objects of Egyptian origin, some of which claimed very remote antiquity and unique excellence.

Mr. Samuel Birch, LL.D., K.R., F.S.A., etc., President of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and Keeper of the Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, Honorary Corresponding Member of the Association, spoke at great length respecting the excellent exhibition, and his remarks were listened to with deep and increasing interest. He said that among a great variety of objects exhibited, he noticed many specimens of porcelain figures, which were popular representations of the *Pantheon* of Egypt. The several members of this Pantheon had to be selected from various and miscellaneous sources. For example, some figures of deities made of porcelain were found enclosed in the beaded network in which the mummy of the orthodox departed was enclosed, in memory of the finding of the dis-severed fragments of the divine Osiris in a net in the sacred river of Nile. Other component gods of the ancient pantheon were for the most part made of bronze, and it was a curious fact, but one worthy of remembrance by the Egyptian student, that those figures of deities that were commonly found in bronze were rarely found in porcelain, while on the other hand those gods that were, for the most part, common enough in porcelain, were very rarely found represented in bronze. For example, Osiris is very rarely met with as a porcelain object; but the small bronze figure of this god is very common. The god Horus

is generally made of bronze; but the bronze specimen of that deity, shown here to-night, is very rare, and of noteworthy excellence in this respect. These figures of the gods always have a ring for suspension in the numerous temples which studded the land of Egypt in its most flourishing days; and it had been stated that the priests were in the habit of burying or otherwise secretly disposing of the offerings in order to make room for more recent acquisitions. The type of Horus exhibited by Mr. Thairlwall was very uncommon, and showed the god with his finger placed upon his chin, and not in his mouth, as had been sometimes asserted. The figure is that of the youthful deity wearing on his head the *pschent* or crown of Lower Egypt, as opposed to the *hut*, that of Upper Egypt. The plumes were those of a hawk.

In addition to the illustrations of the Egyptian Pantheon, a number of amulets had been placed before him, and they had been originally prepared according to the directions for making them which were contained in the *Book of the Dead*. Among the most remarkable were a small model of a pillow or head-rest, stone *scarabæi* from one to two inches in length, and other modes of domestic objects, which, taken together, form an interesting series of amulets deposited with the dead body in its mummy-case. Some of these objects were inscribed with invocations to the heart; others, such as a model of two fingers of the right hand, were inserted into the cavity of the viscera. The scarabs were of a late period, although they have early names inscribed upon them. As a rule, these objects were of glazed steatite, not porcelain, and were employed as component parts of necklaces or as the bezels of rings. One, exhibited by Mr. Thairlwall, had the name of Thothmes III, a king of short reign, although more scarabs had been found with that name upon it than with any other name of an Egyptian monarch.

Among the collection, Dr. Birch pointed out for special examination some models of the *tat*, or Nilometer, in a cream-coloured glaze ware; and the base of a sepulchral cone made according to the usual fashion, of red brick with black inside. These cones appeared to have been generally about 12 inches long, and to have been used for insertion into parts of the architecture; but it was still uncertain in what way and with what object they were most properly employed, whether they were worked in above doorways, or placed in the ground to mark the site of a tomb. The one here exhibited was of the nineteenth dynasty, and recorded the name of *Psammut*, a scribe of the treasury of the royal palace. Next came some sepulchral figures of the date of Amenophis III, engraved with a formula of the sixth chapter of the *Funereal Ritual* or *Book of the Dead*, as was generally the case. These figures attained to the greatest beauty of their execution in the sixth century before Christ, after which period they gradually deteriorated in excellence of workmanship. Stone figures were employed for the

same objects by the richer classes of Egyptians. One which was exhibited had been carefully painted, and recorded the name of *Nektu* of the twenty-second dynasty. Another one, also of stone, was that in honour of a female named *Mahu-hapi*, and of the same period of time. A very handsome but imperfect example, in dark porphyry, had been shown to-night, from the tomb of *Petemenophis*, a celebrated hunting-ground for these objects, in the neighbourhood of Thebes.

One of the most interesting objects exhibited was the wooden foot-board of a pasteboard or *cartonnage* mummy-case, as old as the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth dynasty. It had on it a painting, in body colours, representing the *Apis*, or sacred bull, bearing on his back the encased mummy. This was the conventional painting employed for foot-boards by the mummy-case makers, who were guided by very stringent rules for decorating the wooden coffins, or pasteboard *cartonnages*, in which the embalmed body was preserved.

There were also a cast of a small monumental inscription, two small wooden figures in open work, painted and inscribed, probably from a box or screen; and an object of alabaster, perhaps a vase or palette, although it somewhat resembled a shallow lamp. But as there were no lamps among the Egyptians, this latter use could not be reasonably ascribed to this object.

The attention of the meeting was then directed to the mummied leg of a child of about ten years of age, and to the head of a dog of the greyhound type, from the celebrated Salt Collection, both exhibited by Mr. Cuming, which, Dr. Birch remarked, was of rather unusual occurrence, for he had specially investigated the drawings and sculptures in which these animals had been represented, and he had no record of a dog resembling that of which the mummied head was here displayed. In fact, there were but two dog-mummies in the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum, and this one was of a finer preservation. The reason that the ancient Egyptians preserved the dog in mummy was that this animal was considered sacred to the god Osiris. Several wooden figures, one with jointed members, perhaps a doll; beads; statuette of a male functionary with heavy curled wig, and *shenti*, the eyes once set, but the sockets now empty, of carved wood, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, Tombs of the Kings; statuette of a nude female, minus the arms and feet, which were movable, the hair most curiously arranged in four divisions, of sycamore wood, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, from Belzoni's Collection; male and female figures in profile, of perforated wood painted and varnished, probably portions of a mummy-case, of the time of the twenty-fifth Dynasty, *circa* 700 B.C., both figures habited in long garments, and just behind the shaven head of the man the remains of an inscription in black on a yellow field, this figure is about $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height; and other domestic objects were

also included in the collection; and Dr. Birch concluded his eloquent and interesting address with a reference to an intended publication of the *Ritual of the Dead*, by M. Naville, of Geneva, a celebrated Egyptologist.

M. Edouard Naville testified to the general interest of this exhibition, and, in reference to the footboard painted with the figure of the Apis, said that from an examination of a similar specimen at Geneva, he was of opinion that the date was to be referred to the 22nd Dynasty, about eight centuries before Christ.

Mr. Cuming described the alabaster object which he believed to be a painter's palette.

Dr. Birch, in replying, warned collectors of Egyptian antiquities against the artful and extensive frauds so commonly perpetrated by the manufacturers of these fictitious objects, and mentioned several of the characteristics of the principal types of forgeries, and the methods employed for their detection.

The meeting closed with a hearty and unanimous expression of thanks to Dr. Birch for his interesting and learned remarks.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1876.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:

The Athenæum Club.

Henry Ellis, British Museum.

C. H. Poole, Pailton, Rugby.

The following presents to the library of the Association were received, and thanks ordered to be returned

To Sir P. Stafford Carey, for three documents relating to the City of London and the Channel Islands.

To W. K. Wait, M.P., for a sketch of the Tower of St. Werburgh's Church, Bristol.

Mr. Birch, Honorary Secretary, undertook to examine the ancient documents and report upon the same.

Mrs. Bailly sent for exhibition a fine leaf-shaped spear or lance-head of remarkable character, of the fifteenth century. Its extreme length is $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches, eleven of these being taken up with the blade, which measures $1\frac{4}{6}$ inch at its greatest width. From the short socket descend two long, broad straps, each drilled with four holes to admit the screws employed in fixing the iron to a stout cylindric staff of wood. There is a brief ala on either side the socket, which, if extended a little further, would convert the weapon into a partizan.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that the popular mind included under the general title of lance or spear a goodly variety of kindred weapons, which it is really no easy task for the initiated to distinguish with precision. We hear of spears, of war-lances, and tilting-lances with mornes, coronels and vamplates ; of janetaires, pikes, half-pikes, and morris-pikes, gavelocks, harsegayes, javelins and darts, ranseurs, partizans, spetums, spontoons, linstocks, and other battle implements bearing more or less resemblance to each other, but how very few persons have anything like a clear idea of their contour, character, and designed purpose. Even authors of repute differ respecting the exact form of some of these olden arms ; Demmin, one of our latest guides in weapon-lore, being by no means in accord with Meyrick. It is only by bringing together and carefully studying existing examples that we can hope to arrive at a correct knowledge of arms, and every encouragement should be given to our members to display their rusty blades before us. Our last volume (xxx, 93, 197) contains notices of two very distinct types of pike-heads of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, exhibited by Mrs. Baily ; and we are bound to express our best thanks to that lady for now submitting to us the rare example of the long-bladed lance of the fifteenth century, which forms such a marked and curious contrast to the lozenge-shaped blades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries engraved in our *Journal* of 1864 (xx, 203).

Mr. Hillary Davies exhibited, by permission of Mr. F. H. Fowler, a fine cut and thrust sword of the early part of the sixteenth century, discovered in excavating for the foundations of the new Opera House. The globose pomel is upwards of 2 inches diameter, and is ornamented with eight perpendicular ribs, and a quatrefoil at top. The knuckle-guard may be described as consisting of two upright and one slanting bar, the first-named ones having between them an X shaped cross, the whole forming a stout defence. The straight quillons with bossed ends measure $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The blade is $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{8}{12}$ inch wide next the hilt. It is channeled on either side, and has a thick back till it nears the point, and it then becomes sharp at both edges. On the upper part of the blade is stamped a triple trefoil, and it is also inlaid with a gold or brass cross.

Mr. Fowler also contributed a little group of curious knives and implements found at the same spot with the above sword. The following is a list of them : Remains of a knife-blade with wooden haft, and brass quatrefoil at the butt ; thick-backed knife with slender tang and brass knob at end, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. On the blade is stamped the sun. Ear-pick, with small round bowl, of iron ; the tang passes through a conical haft of wood, and is terminated by a brass quatrefoil $5\frac{7}{12}$ inches long. Pair of iron tweezers $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long ; the sides of the broad clips are graved with transverse lines, and the tang pierces a

wooden haft of conic form. These four objects probably belong to the close of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century. The next item may be as early as the very beginning of the fifteenth century: Part of a knife-blade inlaid with a gilt cross, and mounted with a flat-sided haft of brass, engraved with a legend in large Gothic characters.

Mr. Brock, Honorary Secretary, announced with regret the destruction of Cæsar's Camp, at Wimbledon, by the filling up of the ditches at the expense of the ramparts. Mr. Brock also exhibited a stirrup from London Wall; three spurs, with buckles and pendants, from Thames Street, 1875; a bone head of a lance, thin and flat, from London Wall; a dark green glass bottle 6 inches high, gourd shaped, with finely iridescent colours, dredged up from the Thames, off Temple Pier, 1875; a small vessel of stone ware, found at the Old Bailey.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, F.S.A., exhibited the lower jaw of the *hippopotamus amphibius*, with teeth and tusks *in situ*, a small vase of terra cotta, a large tusk of the wild boar, and two buck-horns, together with the segment of an upper tusk of the hippopotamus, lately found in one excavation on the north bank of the Thames. Mr. Mayhew said:—"These relics might, at first sight, be considered fitter for a geological than archæological meeting. But they belong to the latter, rather than to the former, inasmuch as, great as their antiquity, and great the depth from which they were exhumed, they bear (for the most part) marks of human labour and art. The depth of the excavation was nearly 40 feet, and the tusks appear to have penetrated the river gravel above which lay a thin band of peat, by which the bone has been discoloured, and the antlers of the deer blackened. Both antlers are incised, and the segmentary tusk found with the jaw, gravel stained, has been cut, apparently for an armlet, and rubbed upon the edges. The paper about to be read by our learned Vice-President, Mr. H. S. Cuming, will treat fully on the subject, so that it but remains to ask, whence came these unique remains? Do they belong to pre-historic times, and the ancient animal life of Britain? Or does this little vase furnish us with a clue, even though its shape be more of an eastern than western type? Can we be looking on the remains of a rare animal imported to grace the show of the amphitheatre and make a Roman holiday? An ample field for discussion is before you. From the London gravel we have the teeth of elephants and other remains; the only relics of the hippopotamus I can associate with that before you, is this divided tusk found in the river at Battersea, 1863, and a coin of Severus, from London Wall, bearing the effigy of the animal on its reverse."

With respect to this object Mr. H. S. Cuming read the following paper:

ON THE LOWER JAW OF A HIPPOPOTAMUS FOUND IN LONDON.

Commentators on the Bible seem pretty well agreed that the behemoth mentioned by Job (xl, 15) is the hippopotamus or river-horse of later writers. Its fossil remains attest that it was once a denizen of Europe, although it is at present confined to the great rivers of medial and southern Africa. In ancient times this huge pachyderm made its way up the Nile to Egypt, where it was regarded as an emblem of the god Seth or Typhon; and its figure was stamped on cakes offered to the goddess Isis in commemoration of her victory over the genius of evil. The creature was, however, held sacred by the inhabitants of Papremis, as we learn from Herodotus (ii, 71), and its embalmed body is reported to have been found at Thebes.

The ancient Egyptians hunted the hippopotamus for the sake of its hide, of which, according to Herodotus (ii, 71) and Aristotle (ii, 7), spears and other weapons were made, and Pliny (viii, 39) speaks of its conversion into shields and helmets; and it is a well known fact that for thousands of years the *korbadji*, or whip, has been fashioned out of a strip of the strong hide of this bulky beast, and of which I exhibit an example.

Representations of the hippopotamus occur on the monuments of Egypt, and it is conspicuous on the mosaic pavement in the Temple of Fortune at Præneste (now Palestrina), which Pliny (xxxvi, 64) informs us was laid down by order of Sulla. Here, in one part, may be seen the river-horse enjoying itself in peace; in another, pierced by the lances hurled by the crew of a galley. A delineation of the hippopotamus was met with in a mural picture in a shop near the gate of the city of Pompeii; and the animal is likewise shown on the reverses of some of the money of the earlier Roman emperors, as, for instance, on that of Trajan and Hadrian.

Pliny (viii, 40), who says some strange things about the hippopotamus, records that M. Scaurus was the first who exhibited the creature at Rome, and with it five crocodiles, in a piece of water which he caused to be formed for the occasion of the games which he gave in his ædileship, B.C. 58.

The bones of the *hippopotamus major* have been found, with those of other extinct animals, in the Kirkdale Cave, and in the drift of Bedford and Sussex; and towards the close of last year a portion of the skeleton of the *hippopotamus amphibius*, with the great tusks of a wild boar and the antlers of the roebuck (*cervus capreolus*), were exhumed in London, on the north side of the Thames, and at a depth of some forty feet below the surface-ground. This most remarkable discovery may at first sight seem to be more interesting to the zoologist than the antiquary; but the presence of traces of the hippopotamus in com-

pany with wrought materials, is a circumstance which may fairly engage the thoughts of this Society; and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew deserves our special thanks for having rescued the lower jaw of this ancient mammalian from destruction, and now kindly submitting it, with other relics, for our inspection and consideration. The osseous portion of this fine jaw is somewhat discoloured, from its long inhumation, but the strong enamel of the *dentes* has defied the influence of the soil. The left lateral incisor is lost. All the other teeth still remain in their sockets, and it will be observed that the canines are of formidable proportions. The worn condition of some of the teeth testifies that the jaw must be that of a rather venerable monster.¹

It has already been implied that with this ponderous jaw were found evidence of the co-existence of man at the time of the deposit. These indications consist of two antlers of the roebuck attached to fragments of the skulls, both exhibiting the marks of cutting tools. There is also an ampulla-shaped vessel of elegant contour, of buff-coloured terracotta, 5 inches in height, and $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter at its greatest swell. I have seen vessels of this form and fabric from Western Asia, but this may be of Greek or Roman origin. But that which, perhaps, concerns us most at the present moment, is the transverse section from the base of an incisor of a hippopotamus, which must have been of considerable length when perfect. This section is nearly 1 inch in breadth, the pulp cavity measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in diameter; both of the cut surfaces being rubbed down as if an effort had been made to polish out the saw marks. Though this ivory ring is too small to pass over an ordinary sized hand, I have yet a strong idea that it was designed for a bracelet, many of the Indian *bangles* being quite as contracted, as will be seen by the vitreous pair from Mysore I produce, which measure but about $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter. Bracelets formed of boars' tusks were highly prized by the aborigines of the Sandwich Islands; and bracelets and armlets of elephants' tusks are still fashionable among the tribes of South Africa, so that there is nothing in the material of our ring which militates against its employment as a personal ornament; nay, this very material may be an additional reason for its adoption for such a purpose. There is an ancient conceit—so ancient that its origin is lost amid the hazy distances of time—that a piece of the tooth of a hippopotamus, if carried about the person, was a sure cure for cramp; and this superstition lingered among us far into the seventeenth century. Dr. Grew, in the *Catalogue of the Rarities belonging to the Royal Society* (London, 1681, p. 14), describes the skull

¹ Mr. Mayhew has the inner half of the right inferior canine tooth of the *hippopotamus amphibius*, which was dredged from the bed of the Thames at Battersea in 1865,—a locality which has yielded the bronze and iron arms of the Kelts and Romans. This divided tusk would form a deadly pick or martel if fixed in a stout haft.

of a hippopotamus, and states that "rings made of his teeth are believed to be very effectual against the cramp".

The question of the age of the deposit we have been considering is of so much interest and importance that it should not be passed by in silence. Are we to throw it back to the era of palæolithic man, or bring it within the lines of the historic period? No weapons nor implements of stone are reported to have been found with the jaw to point to the remoter epoch, neither are there any objects which would lead to the conclusion that it can be of modern date. There is a roughness and rudeness about the cuttings on the section of the tooth, and on the antlers, which speak of antiquity, and the presence of the earthen vessel must be taken as a further indication of considerable age. And I must affirm that I have neither seen nor heard of the discovery of anything with these curious remains that would compel us to pronounce the deposit later than the Roman occupation of Britain.

Gladly would we learn when and how this African hippopotamus reached our shores. Was it brought hither as a rare monster, a living wonder; or was its osseous frame alone imported as a mere commercial speculation; and how came it at length to be entombed in the valley of the Thames amid the reliquiæ of deer and swine, the natives of our land? These occult matters seem to defy inquiry, though they may quicken our desire for knowledge. The eyes of the archæologist may be far seeing, but there are depths which no human vision can probe, mysteries which no human intellect can fathom, and, as yet, the early history of the giant's jaw now before us must be numbered among the unsolved riddles of the past.

Mr. Mitchell thought it desirable that further geological facts should be acquired concerning this fossil jaw, and that careful notes of the bed or matrix, and the position of the bones, should be made before any definite attempt could be made towards assigning a date for the deposit.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., Honorary Treasurer, read a paper on the "Rollright Stones", visited during the Evesham Congress last year. The paper will be inserted hereafter.

Mr. J. Grover said he was highly interested in Mr. Morgan's observations, and he would undertake to lay before the Association, on a future occasion, the account of a series of observations taken with the theodolite at Stonehenge at the time of the summer solstice; these observations had been made with far greater care than any yet published. He thought when the results of these investigations were made known through the medium of the Association, and when all can recognise what a wonderful solar temple Stonehenge was, we shall be more favourably disposed to admit that deep scientific knowledge was really cultivated by the makers of that megalithic circle.

Messrs. Brock, Morgan, and Brent, took part in the discussion which ensued, and Mr. A. L. Lewis said he was glad to hear the solar temple theory—of which he had been an advocate for several years, but which was just now rather unfashionable—so ably supported by the preceding speakers. He had visited nearly every rude stone monument within two or three hundred miles of London, and some at a greater distance; having been to the Rollrich twice, and taken detailed measurements, he was able to say that its diameter was about the same as that of the outer circle of Stonehenge, and that the “Kingstone” occupied a position, the bearing and distance of which, from the circle, were nearly the same as those of the “Friar’s Heel” from the circle at Stonehenge. It was well known that the “Friar’s Heel” was so placed that the sun, in rising on the longest day, cast its first rays over the top of that stone into the circle, and this afforded the key to the use of Stonehenge and of all circles in which a reference to the north-east could be found. In nearly all the circles he had visited such a reference was found, and in the rest it was reasonable, from the circumstances in each case, to believe that it had existed, but had been destroyed. In some cases this reference took the form of a solitary stone outside the circle, in others there were three circles running in a north-easterly line from each other, in others three stones were placed in the middle (thus, **III**), the centre one of which faced the north-east, and in these cases there was generally a band of earth round the circle which would render a stone outside invisible and useless. At the Boscawen circle, mentioned by Mr. Morgan, the centre stone leaned to the north-east, and this reminded him that the outlying stones were generally either leaning, or as in the case, of the Kingstone, of a bent or leaning shape. The superstitions and rites still carried on in Celtic districts on the eve of the longest day connected the circles with that race, and the remains found in the barrows surrounding and apparently belonging to the circles were mainly Celtic, and from two to three thousand years old, which age he would also assign to the circles. *Rhol-drwg*, or Druid’s circle, had been suggested as a derivative for Rollrich, but it was possible that Rollo’s name might have become mixed up with it through a battle fought near the stones. He did not think that the “Five Knights” were ever covered up or intended to be covered, and, while agreeing with Mr. Lukis that, so far as he knew, there were no “free-standing” dolmens in France or the Channel Islands, he thought he could show him half a dozen or more (for he would not rely on a single instance) in this country.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Interesting Excavations in Sussex.—The Exploration Committee of the Anthropological Society have published a voluminous Report on the excavations at Cissbury Camp, which is situated on an eminence three miles north of Worthing. The Report is drawn up by Colonel A. Lane Fox, the President of the Society, and the prime mover in the exploration. He discovered that the number of flint flakes found on the surface at Cissbury were in excess of those found in other camps, such as the Devil's Dyke, Hollingbury, Chanctonbury, Beltout, and Seaford; and chiefly in the neighbourhood of a collection of large pits which filled the interior of the camp on the west side. The result of these excavations inclines Colonel Fox to think that the pits were made for the purpose of obtaining flints for implements. The general resemblance of the Cissbury flint works to others in different parts of England and in Belgium having been satisfactorily determined, a question of still greater anthropological interest arose in the consideration of the relative age of the neolithic flint factory, and the entrenchment in which it is situated. Without entering fully into the details of the excavations made during the present year, it may be said that Colonel Lane Fox is convinced of the pre-Roman origin of the entrenchment, and that the flints are of the same age. He found some interesting relics, including (in the ditch) a nest of flint chips, two hundred and thirty-six in number, and a rude, chipped flint block, all of which were contained in a space of about 2 feet in diameter, and 1 foot in depth. The greater part of the animal remains appeared to be those of domesticated animals. Rude flint instruments were found all through the filling, but chiefly in the red seam. Charcoal was found at a depth of 30 feet below the upper margin; and pottery, in the superficial soil, was of a similar character to some of that found in the ditch, but at a depth of 13 feet below the surface of the filling. The mines are of the neolithic age, although some of the instruments present forms connecting them with the palæolithic forms. Colonel Fox says he has nothing to alter from what he said eight years ago upon this point. That

flints were still in use after its erection is probable from the evidence adduced. No bronze instrument has been found at Cissbury, although Colonel Fox had formerly recorded the finding of one in the neighbouring but differently constructed camp of Highdown. No relic of Saxon date has been discovered; and the Romans, if they occupied it, cultivated it, as shown by their vineyard-terraces in the interior of the camp, which would not have been there had they used it as a fort. The Report concludes with an acknowledgment of those who rendered service to the exploration, particular mention being made of Major Wisden, owner of the property. The Society, under the auspices of the Right Hon. the Speaker, who has given the requisite permission, will continue, in the spring, this most interesting series of excavations on Mount Caburn, near Lewes.

Egyptian Archæology.—Dr. Samuel Birch will deliver the Rede Lecture before the University of Cambridge in the Easter term. The subject will be upon the “Progress of Research into the History and Language of the Ancient Egyptians.”

Greek Palæography.—Professor Wattenbach, of Berlin, has just issued the first part of his *Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte der Griechischen Schrift*, being a series of twenty photo-lithographic plates of Greek writing, of early and mediæval periods, taken from scarce fac-similes and original manuscripts, and accompanied with letter-press. The work is specially intended to assist students in mastering the difficulties of reading Greek manuscripts, by placing before them an abundance of well-selected material upon which to work. Should Professor Wattenbach succeed in obtaining a fair number of subscribers, he is prepared to issue further selections. The plates are very finely executed, and are well worth the moderate price of eight shillings, at which the subscription is fixed. The publisher is Weidmann, of Berlin.

Fac-similes of Classical Manuscripts.—A prospectus has just been issued of the *Exempla Codicum Latinorum*, a series of photographic fac-simile plates from early Latin MSS. written in capital or uncial characters. This work will be issued early next year, and is to be edited by Dr. Zangemeister, of Heidelberg, and Professor Wattenbach, of Berlin. It consists of forty-nine plates, of which sixteen are specimens of *capital*-writing, taken from the papyri of Herculaneum, and from codices of Juvenal, Plautus, Virgil, and other classical authors deposited in the Vatican and other libraries. The remaining number represent *uncial*-writing from classical and Biblical MSS. preserved at Rome, Florence, Verona, Vercelli, Paris, St. Gall, Vienna, etc. By the liberality of the Prussian Government, a limited number of copies are reserved for subscribers, at the very moderate price of twenty-five marks, payable to the publisher, Gustav Koester, of Heidelberg.

The Archæology of Rome.—By John Henry Parker, C.B. Part IV. Oxford: James Parker and Co. London: Murray. 1876.—This chapter of Mr. Parker's work on Roman archæology contains an account of the Egyptian obelisks in the Italian capital, drawn up entirely from the inscriptions upon them. Those of the Popes record when each was placed in its present situation, and those of the Emperors on what occasion each was brought to Rome; whilst the hieroglyphics give the original history of each in Egypt. These obelisks, four in number, stand in the Piazza del Laterano, Monte Citorio, the Piazza della Minerva, and the Piazza Navona; and the concise letterpress descriptions of them are illustrated by heliographs of the originals. Appended to this fourth part is a supplement to the three preceding, presenting, by means of plans and diagrams, the results obtained by the great excavations and explorations that have been going on in Rome during the last few years. The work is a valuable one, and will be prized by archæologists and all who take an interest in the past history of the City of the Seven Hills.

An Old Family.—A curious controversy has been raging in Holland. A work has appeared, entitled the *Oera Linda Bok*, which is a chronicle of the Friesic race in general, and particularly of the family of the Over de Lindes. Very high antiquity is claimed for it, the first half being written, according to family testimony, by Adela, an ancestress, and by her children, five centuries before Christ. The second part claims to be two centuries older than our era. The MS. has been transmitted to father and son, with injunctions for its copying, to prevent loss. Dutch scholars place as little reliance on the book as English scholars do on Welsh pedigrees, but admit that if a forgery, it is one some centuries old. The codex from which Dr. Ottema has recently with scrupulous care printed the text claims to date from A.D. 1258. A curious circumstance, and one on which the Friesian *savans*, who affirm the authenticity of the book, may well lay stress, is that the first part records a visit to the lake dwellings of Switzerland, the remains of which were not discovered until 1853, by Dr. Keller. It is true that Herodotus refers to the lacustrine habitations of the Pæonian dwellers on Lake Prasias, which Colonel Leake has identified with the Strymonic Lake (Takhino); and it is also true that the Spanish explorers found such dwellings on the Lake of Maracaibo, and that they are used by the Papous of New Guinea; but the pile-dwellers of the Lake of Zurich were quite unknown until the present generation. An English translation of the *Linda Bok* has been made by Mr. W. R. Sandbach, and will shortly be published by Trübner and Co.

Merchant Shipping.—*Apròpos* of the discovery of the remains of a Danish war vessel in the mud of the river Hamble, of which Mr. Brock

has recorded some particulars at pp. 70-71, we may intimate to our Associates that Mr. W. S. Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping* has just been completed in four volumes, published by Sampson Low and Co., and will be found an indispensable book to all interested in matters concerning the merchant navy of the world, from the earliest times to the present day.

Christian Inscriptions in Britain.—Professor Emil Hübner, of Berlin, is now engaged in printing a volume of *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, a supplement to the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Romanarum*. This volume contains an account of every known inscription, not only on stone but on all kinds of ancient objects, such as tiles, weights, stamps of oculists, pottery, rings, etc., in Britain, from the early Christian ages down to the year 1000.

History of Boston in Lincolnshire.—Mr. J. M. Newcomb, of Boston, is now issuing to the public world of antiquarians the well-known *History of Boston*, by Pishey Thompson. The great labour incessantly demanded of any one, who would undertake to execute, in a becoming manner, such a local history as this is, is abundantly exhibited in every page of this interesting work. We can hardly here, in the restricted space at our command, touch upon even the most prominent points of importance. Mr. Thompson commences his account of his native place with remarks on the probable settlers of the earliest period, the condition in which the Romans found Boston (supposed to be the *Causeennæ* of the *Itineraries*), the changes they effected, and the state in which they left the place. The author then proceeds with the Anglo-Saxon or Early English period in the life of the town, and discusses the probability of Icanhoe of Beda being identical with the monastery founded by St. Botolph at Boston. The various local events mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle are treated in a graphic and masterly way, and the peculiarities of the various grades of landowners under the feudal system of Saxons, Danes, and Normans, handled in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner. It is impossible to follow the author through that part of his book devoted to the mediæval period of the history without experiencing great astonishment at the exhaustive method of his work, and the amount of research displayed throughout the pages, as he runs carefully down from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, tracing with his fluent pen the various fortunes of Boston, its charters, its privileges, its population, trades, names, manners and customs, and improvements, which finally indicate that the town may be safely admitted to enjoy a commercial and sanitary condition above the general run of English towns. There are separate divisions assigned to accounts of the ancient monastery of St. Botolph, of the various friaries which were established at the "beginning of the

end" of monastic supremacy, and of the numerous guilds, or semi-religious, semi-commercial associations, which so rapidly grew up in England in emulation of those which existed on the continent at a very much more ancient period than with us. The history of the Church of St. Botolph and its monuments is concise, but leaves nothing of interest unnoted. The topography of the town is carefully displayed in a chapter entitled a "Walk through the Town"; this part of the book is illustrated with a large number of woodcuts most beautifully engraved, and of great value to the mediæval architect; and the local antiquities, such as arms, regalia, seals, tokens, and discoveries, have not been forgotten, or left without frequent illustration. The biographies of Boston worthies form by no means the least interesting chapter of Mr. Thompson's History. With regard, however, to the pedigree of the *Kyme* or *Kyma* family, the author was probably unaware of the fact that the pedigree of this powerful baronial family might be supplemented in a wonderful degree by an examination of the Harley and Additional Charters in the British Museum, into which were absorbed the muniments of Newhouse, Bollington, Thornton, and many other noble monastic establishments of Lincolnshire. The memoirs of Fox, the martyrologist; of Dr. William Stukeley, whose name is dear to archæologists; of the Rev. John Cotton, the Puritan and Nonconformist; and of the Pilgrim Fathers, who chose the name of this their native town as a fitting one for that "greater Boston" across the Atlantic, which holds to-day so many of their direct descendants, are not only in the highest degree interesting, but form important contributions to the original literature of biography. Mr. Thompson takes in hand the adjacent parishes or villages of Skirbeck, Fishtoft, Butterwick, Benington, Leverton, Leake, Wrangle, etc., and finally devotes separate divisions to a historical review of the Fen district, the "Honour of Richmond", the geology, natural history, agriculture, and dialect of the province. The engravings with which the book is adorned are of a very fine quality, and augment the value of a history which of itself is entitled to a very high position in the ranks of topographical literature.

Cleeve Abbey.—Our Associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Rochester, forwards the following extracts relating to the Abbey of Cleeve, co. Somerset (concerning which a paper by the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott was printed in the *Journal* last year), from the *Long Book* preserved among the documents of the Dean and Chapter of Wells. The compiler is believed to have been Dr. Archer, Canon of Wells. (Page 76.)

"Clyve Pension. About the year MCLXXXVIII, William de Roumara, Earl of Lincoln, gave the Church of Clyve to found a prebend in the Church of Wells, and Bishop Reginald confirmed that grant. Dean Alexander was a witness. (*Reg.*, iii, fol. 382; *Annales*, fol. 59.)

"In the year MCXCI William de Romara began the first foundation of the Abbey of Clyve, for White Monks. (*Annales*, p. 75.)

"MCXCVIII, ix Richard I, William, son of the above mentioned Earl, finished the foundation of Clyve Abbey. This Abbey was a cell to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy. Whereupon this year a dispute happened between the Bishop of Savaricus, the Dean and Chapter, on one part, and the Abbot of Bec and his Convent on the other, about canonical residence, which was due on the account of the prebend; the latter claiming the privilege of a prebendary, without performing the duty and attendance to entitle them to the claim. Upon the whole the Abbot was excused personal residence, and allowed the prebendal privileges, paying a vicar four marks, £2: 13: 4, a year, which stall-wages are the pension paid to this day, since the dissolution of the Abbey by the crown. This agreement was made MCXCIX. (*Reg.* ii, fol. 35; *Reg.* iii, fol. 381; *Annales*, p. 82.)"

Deerhurst Church.—A very exhaustive treatise by the celebrated architect, J. C. Buckler, upon the history and architecture of Deerhurst Church, which was visited by the Congress of the Association at Evesham last year, has been noticed among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. Arrangements are pending which will have, it is hoped, the effect of placing a *précis* of this most important addition to the archæological literature of our last Congress on permanent record in the pages of the *Journal*.

Portraits of the Abbots of Evesham.—The Rev. N. G. Batt, of Norton, near Evesham, has kindly promised to examine the interesting portraits of the Abbots of Evesham, lately discovered by Mr. W. de Gray Birch to have been placed in the windows of the church of Preston-upon-Stour. He will be accompanied by Mr. H. New, the Congress secretary, and it is hoped that our readers will be in possession of their report at an early period.

Roman Mendip.—Our Associate, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, read a paper on the 13th of January, 1876, at Bath, before the Field Club, entitled "Further Gleanings in the Mendip and its Valleys," in which he described an interesting inscription found at Charterhouse in Mendip, which Dr. Hübner, of Berlin, one of the most skilled readers of Roman inscriptions, proposes to restore thus, but with great reserve:

[D.] M.

[C. CORNELIO] AUC.

[TO FRATRIS] VO. RES

[TITVTA SO]ROR FECIT

[MILITI COHORTIS] IV. CENT.

FLAVI[I] HONOR[I] MA[XIMI]

But there are many difficulties, and Mr. C. Roach Smith reads it rather as a votive, than as a funeral, tablet. Mr. Scarth also notices a recent find of British and Roman coins, red cornelian seals, several leaden weights, iron horse-shoes, knives, and choppers; a wooden spade, and a variety of mining implements; and lastly, a cake of pure lead, weighing seventy-eight pounds, the outer rim of a *mortaria* or colander. The paper concluded with a notice of Mr. Ellacombe's recent publication "On the Church Bells of Somerset."

Drawings of St. Alban's Abbey.—Mr. James Neale, A.R.I.A., invites our attention to a volume which he is about to publish, illustrating the "Ancient Abbey of St. Alban", with the history of which all archæologists should be well acquainted. The drawings have been worked to scale and checked on the spot, all jointing, etc., measured, and the mouldings taken real size; in fact, neither time, care, nor expense, has been spared to make them an accurate and complete illustration of the building. They have passed under the criticism of the Royal Institute of British Architects, who, in consequence of their merit, have awarded him the "Pugin Travelling Studentship". Sir George Gilbert Scott, President of the Institute, speaks of these drawings as follows: "I have much pleasure in expressing to you my high sense of the merits and value of the noble set of measured drawings you have, with so much labour, study, and skill, made of the Abbey Church of St. Alban's, and my gratification at hearing of your intention to publish them. The work will be a more complete and accurate illustration of the building than any which I can remember to have seen of any of our ancient mediæval structures; and I heartily trust that it will be so well supported by members of our profession, and other lovers of our ancient architecture, as to give full encouragement to the intention of giving to the public the result of that undertaking which, though a labour of love, must nevertheless have been one requiring very great energy, perseverance and sacrifice of time." The size of the volume will be 22 inches by 15 inches, and will contain about sixty plates, with descriptive letterpress, bound in half morocco, and published at three guineas. Only one edition of three hundred copies will be printed.

Shakespeare Bibliography.—Shakespearian students will be interested in hearing that Mr. Justin Winsor, Superintendent of the Boston Public Library, will shortly publish, by subscription, through Messrs. J. R. Osgood and Co., of Boston, United States, and Trübner and Co., of London, a bibliography of the original quarto and folio editions of Shakespeare's works. It will contain sixty-two heliotype fac-similes from copies in the Barton and Lennox Libraries in Boston, United States, and from the principal Shakespearian collections in Europe.

The edition will be limited to 250 copies, 100 of which will be reserved for England and the Continent.

John Milton's Commonplace-Book.—It is proposed to publish, under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature, an autotype fac-simile of John Milton's Commonplace Book, in the possession of Sir Frederick Graham, Bart. The work will be edited, with an introduction, by Mr. A. J. Horwood. The manuscript, as everybody knows, was discovered during recent researches made for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It contains notes in Milton's handwriting from upwards of eighty works read by him; and these notes are, in general, Milton's deductions, and not mere extracts from the authors whose works he consulted. They were made at various periods of his life. The volume also contains (besides a few notes made after Milton's death) entries by four or five other hands, made evidently by the poet's direction, and probably from his dictation. Corrections by Milton's hand prove that he employed amanuenses before he became blind. The variety of the subjects treated, and the points raised by the writings of the several scribes, make the volume an object of literary interest as well as curiosity; and the importance of it for biographical purposes, and for the verification of the poet's handwriting, can only be realised by a fac-simile of the whole, which will be executed by the process of the Autotype Company. The MS. is of quarto size, and consists of eighty written pages. The price will be two guineas to subscribers only, who are requested to forward their names to W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Secretary to the Royal Society of Literature, 4, St. Martin's Place, Charing Cross.

The Third International Congress of Orientalists will be held at St. Petersburg, and opened on the 1st of September, 1876. At the second Congress, assembled in September, 1874, in London, the Russian members in attendance were elected members of the Committee of Organisation for the approaching Congress. The election of the committee was confirmed by the Minister of Public Instruction, viz., 1. Aulic Counsellor, W. W. Grigorjew, Professor of Oriental History at St. Petersburg; 2. State Counsellor, K. P. Patkanow, Professor of Armenian at the same University; 3. State Counsellor, D. A. Chwolson, Professor of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee at the same University; 4. Hofrath A. L. Kuhn, Attaché to the Governor-General of Turkestan. Professor W. W. Grigorjew has been chosen chairman by the Committee, and authorised by it to conduct the correspondence in its name. As the Congress will assemble in Russia, its chief attention is to be directed towards Asiatic Russia, and more especially to the following geographical departments:—I. West and East Siberia; II. Middle

Asia, within Russian Boundaries, as well as the Independent Khanates of Western Turkestan; III. Caucasasia; IV. Transcaucasia. The remainder of Eastern Asia will be brought under notice, grouped as follows: V. Eastern Turkestan, Mongolia, China, and Japan; VI. India, Persia, and the Islands of the Indian Archipelago; VII. Turkey and Arabia. In each of these seven sections, cartography, linguistics, history and literature, are to be kept in view. Special sections, however, are to be devoted to—VIII. Archæology and Numismatics; and IX. To Religious Creeds and Cultus and to Ethics of the East.

The Organisation Committee invites every one to take part in the session and in the preliminary work, who has occupied himself with the study of Asia and the spread of knowledge connected with it, in whatever phase it may have been—Mariners who have mapped down the shores of Asiatic seas; Staff Officers who have superintended topographical researches in either portion of the continent of Asia; Civil and Military Officials, who, during their term of service in Asia, have availed themselves of the opportunity of collecting ethnographical, statistical, historical, and other data; and lastly, all travellers who have visited that continent, and more particularly those who, by knowledge and experience thus acquired, are able to forward the objects of the Congress. The Organisation Committee has corresponding members not only in all the capitals of Europe, but also in the chief towns of British India, who are authorised to communicate the objects of the Committee and to issue members' tickets for the Congress. Of measures adopted by the committee, two are entitled to special recognition: 1. The scientific labour undertaken and in course of progress in Russia, in order to spread the knowledge of countries and peoples of the East, being but slightly known even in Russia itself, and far less in Western Europe.

When it was resolved that the Congress should meet at St. Petersburg, the committee desired to avail themselves of the opportunity to prevail upon Russian Orientalists, who are engaged in this pursuit, to place on record the labours of their predecessors. Apart from the matters which will be mainly discussed during the sitting of the Congress, the Orientalists of Russia could not render a more essential service to their distinguished and learned guests from all parts of the world, than by placing before them an account of what Russia has done to aid in the general effort of the scientific world of Europe to open up a knowledge of the East, and lay bare the causes of its many changes and vicissitudes. Should this prove that the part Russia has taken in such investigation is smaller than at present she is inclined to admit, this knowledge will stimulate her to greater activity in the present and the future, so as to occupy in science a similar position to that which she already holds in politics in Asia. Should, however, the exertions of Russia in this cause prove more important than is

generally known, with greater self-confidence will she be able to meet her distinguished European and Indian colleagues, who will, no doubt, recognise those exertions when the Congress meets. The Committee does not doubt that this view is shared by all Russian orientalists who devote themselves to Eastern investigation, and among them, it is believed, not a few will be found who will gladly contribute to the realisation of its object.

The following gentlemen have already undertaken to furnish such historico-bibliographical memoirs : I. On Siberia.—Herr K. S. Staritskij with Herr F. Busse, a summary of the cartography of the eastern shores of the country, from the Karian Sea to the frontiers of Manchooria ; of the coast of the Island of Ssachalin ; and of the Japanese Archipelago ;—Herr M. J. Wenjukow, a notice of the cartography of the mainland of Siberia, from the Ural Mountains in the west to the Japanese Sea in the east ;—Herr P. A. von Helmersen, an account of the ethnography of the tribes living in Southern Siberia. II. On Middle Asia within Russian borders.—Baron A. W. von Kaulbars, a review of the cartography of this territory ;—Prof. W. W. Grigorjew, a memoir of the ethnography, history, and archæology, of the same. III. Concerning Transcaucasia.—K. P. Patkanow, a notice of ethnographical works on Russian Armenia ; and also of the linguistics and literature of this country ;—A. A. Zagareli, a similar record respecting Georgia (Grusia) ;—P. A. von Helmersen, an account of the cartography and ethnography of Mongolia ;—Baron F. R. von Osten-Sacken, a retrospect of Russian investigations regarding China, excepting linguistics and history ;—I. I. Sacharow, a notice of the linguistic and historical researches regarding China and Manchooria.

The other measure of the Committee, to which reference has been made, suggests an exhibition of Oriental objects during the session of the Congress, and which the Minister of Public Instruction is desirous to encourage. This measure claims the especial attention of those members of the British Archæological Association who possess collections of Oriental antiquities. The objects to be exhibited must be connected with archæology, palæography, diplomacy, ethnography, and literature. To enumerate all such objects as are deemed suitable for the proposed exhibition would be hardly possible ; the Committee, therefore, simply suggest the following classification as a guide : 1, inscriptions in the languages of the East, both on stone and metal ; 2, MSS. and ancient documents in Oriental languages ; 3, ancient maps of Asiatic countries ; 4, portraits, views, and other drawings, collected during journeyings in the East ; 5, articles in daily use at the present time among Oriental peoples, such as dresses, jewellery and personal ornaments, household furniture and culinary and other domestic utensils, arms, manufactures, implements of husbandry, the chase, and fishing, idols, pictures, and other

articles of social culture, and other evidences of progress and civilisation ; 6, memorials of former life in the East, both public and private, that have been brought by travellers, or have been exhumed from Russian soil ; more particularly such as exhibit inscriptions or pictorial and sculptured figures, such as coins, sculptured gems, and amuletic stones, dishes, drinking-cups, metallic mirrors, astronomical instruments, etc. Many branches of Oriental numismatics, especially the Mohammedan, owe their highly scientific elaboration to the numerous discoveries of buried coins which have taken place in Russia. There remain, however, in these branches still many *lacunæ* to be filled up ; and it is but reasonable to expect that such *lacunæ* would be so filled up to no small extent, if those who, unknown to the scientific world, are in possession of coins of this description, would liberally transmit them to the exhibition. Should any difficulty arise with respect to forwarding to the exhibition the original inscriptions or coins themselves, it is most desirable that casts or impressions in lead, carefully executed, and of coins also, impressions on paper, should be transmitted for exhibition.

The Organization Committee requests that all articles intended for the exhibition be sent, with an exact description of them in a separate letter, as soon as possible, to either of the under-mentioned addresses at St. Petersburg, viz. : " To the care of the Chairman, Aulic Counsellor W. W. Grigorjew ; addressed, Wassili-Ostrow Wolckowskoi pereulok, Haus Nr. 6, Wohnung, Nr. 5." Or, " To the care of the Official Manager, Hofrath P. I. Lerch, Wassili-Ostrow, Grosse Perspektive Nr. 8, an der Ecke der dritten Linie, Wohnung, Nr. 40." The packages forwarded according to these addresses, when received will only be opened in the presence of all the members of the Committee ; and the articles selected for the exhibition will be entered in a book specially prepared for this purpose, under certain numbers, and the sender will be immediately advised of the safe arrival of the articles forwarded.

Previous to the opening of the Congress a catalogue will be printed of the articles forwarded, together with the names of the senders. At the exhibition the articles will have labels attached to each, bearing the name of the owner, and all possible precautions will be taken to ensure the safety of the objects exhibited. After the close of the Congress all articles sent to the exhibition will be returned to the owners, according to the numerical order of their arrival.

In conclusion, the Committee urges that no one who is desirous to assist in promoting the exhibition as a contributor will be deterred from lending his aid, should he only be *in possession of a single object suitable for the exhibition*. It should be remembered that at times a single inscription, a single coin, or *one* sculptured gem, may be of greater scientific importance than many an entire collection of similar but known articles.

The Book of the Dead.—For a long time *savants* who have made the language of ancient Egypt their study have recognised the necessity of having a complete edition of the work which Champollion called the *Rituel Funéraire*, and which is now called *The Book of the Dead*. It is well known that this book, which forms by far the largest portion of the sacred literature of Egypt, is composed of a collection of pieces or chapters not immediately connected, but grouped in various series upon sarcophagi, walls of tombs, and papyri; and it is primarily owing to the love of placing near the bodies of the dead some portions, at least, of their funeral-book, that so very many examples of the text remain scattered throughout every Egyptian collection. The congress of Orientalists which took place in London last year, as our readers will remember, under the presidency of Dr. Birch, decided upon the publication of a complete *corpus* of this ancient work, in three editions, representing three important epochs in the variations of the text; and a well known Egyptologist of Geneva, Monsieur Edouard Naville, was commissioned to search the principal museums of Europe with the object of collecting and classifying the texts which are to form this exhaustive edition. A special committee, formed of Dr. Birch, M. Chabas of Châlons-sur-Saône, Geheime Rath Lepsius, and M. Naville, laid down as the basis of the production of the work, that only hieroglyphic texts shall be used, with the exception of a few hieratic fragments of the Old Empire. The prospectus from which we are quoting proceeds thus: “Un livre dont on retrouve les premières traces sur les sarcophages de la IV^me dynastie, et que les Scribes copiaient encore sous la domination romaine, a dû subir pendant sa longue existence des modifications considérables; le texte n’a pu rester le même pendant quarante siècles, et les croyances qui ont inspiré les auteurs à l’origine ont dû nécessairement s’altérer. Aussi le grand nombre de documents que nous avons, et le fait que ces documents remontent à des dates très différentes, ces deux circonstances font du *Livre des Morts* le texte dans lequel la langue égyptienne, et son développement, pourront le mieux être étudiés. C’est là aussi que nous pourrions nous rendre raison des idées religieuses et mythologiques des Egyptiens.

“Jusqu’ici *Le Livre des Morts* a été cité d’abord d’après le papyrus Cadet, publié dans la *Description de l’Egypte* en 1805, puis d’après un grand papyrus de Turin, publié par M. Lepsius en 1842; ce papyrus est probablement de l’époque des Psammétique; plus tard sont venus s’y joindre deux textes hiératiques à peu près contemporains, l’un de Paris, publié par M. de Rougé, l’autre de Leyde, publié par M. Leemans.

“Mais les rédactions plus anciennes, dont un grand nombre de spécimens se trouvent dans les riches collections de Londres, Paris, Leyde et Berlin, sont encore presque inconnues, sauf quelques fragments publiés par M. Lepsius et M. Devéria. Ce sont ces textes anciens, épars

dans les divers musées d'Europe, dont l'étude est devenue indispensable, et qu'il s'agit maintenant de rassembler et de mettre à la disposition des Egyptologues.

"Chaque rédaction devra comprendre toutes les variantes d'importance qui se trouvent dans les textes de la même époque.

"La rédaction de l'Ancien-Empire embrassera tous les fragments qui datent des dynasties antérieures à la XVIII^{me}.

"La rédaction Thébaine devra être composée à l'aide des papyrus qui se trouvent dans diverses collections, mais dont chacun ne contient qu'un petit nombre de chapitres. Il faudra donc, pour reconstituer le livre, en prendre une portion dans un texte de Londres, une autre dans un texte de Paris, et ainsi de suite ; et les classer toujours dans l'ordre qui se trouve dans le papyrus de Turin. En réunissant ainsi ces divers textes, on obtiendra un livre qui renfermera une quantité considérable de morceaux encore inédits. Partout où il existera plusieurs versions du même chapitre, le plus correcte sera prise comme base, et servira de point de comparaison pour recueillir les variantes.

"Pour la dernière rédaction, celle des Psammétique, le texte du papyrus de Turin publié par M. Lepsius servira de base sur laquelle on collationnera tous les textes à peu près contemporains."

The Academy of Berlin has undertaken to defray the preliminary expenses. The British Museum has assisted this international undertaking by ordering the preparation of photographs of the finest and largest funerary papyri which are ascribed to Theban dynasties ; and the Prussian Government has most liberally voted a sum of 4,800 thalers towards the cost. The authorities of Trinity College, Dublin, have undertaken to assist the publication by photographing the fine papyrus of this text which is preserved in the Library of the College. M. Naville has already been enabled to commence the work, and has collected a large quantity of valuable materials from the Museums of Leyden and Berlin, and from the British Museum. The Committee addresses itself to all collectors and possessors of fragments, however small, of hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri, and desires that all should bear in mind that a small piece may often be of great utility for the variant forms its text exhibits, and that every piece incorporated into this edition will be enhanced in value to its owner ; hence it is most important that the existence of such portions should be pointed out without delay to Dr. Birch at the British Museum, or to any of the members of the Committee already mentioned.

Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, sometime Dean of Norwich, to John Ellis, sometime Under Secretary of State. 1674-1722. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. Printed for the Camden Society ; 1875.—The letters here published seem to divide themselves into two por-

tions, the first giving a graphic picture of Oxford life during the twelve years from 1674 to 1686, and the second relating chiefly to the local politics of Norfolk. Those letters which are devoted to university gossip, possess a singular interest to the student of literature and manners, as well as to all who are specially attracted by the history of our universities. Many of the leading literary men of the time are brought before us in these pages with graphic vigour, and names, with which only specialists in history and biography are familiar, are made attractive to the general reader. No view of the character of John Locke will henceforth be complete without reference to these letters. The absolute and masterly taciturnity of Locke, when his friend and patron, Shaftesbury, was out of favour, when the eyes of his political enemies were upon him, and when plots were laid to provoke him into conversation in which he might drop a word or an expression that would betray him, is already known through Bishop Fell's description and through Lord King's *Life of Locke*. Prideaux not only confirms Dr. Fell's account, but greatly amplifies it, and depicts the mystery in which Locke's movements were, at the time, enveloped. We have also an amusing sketch of the well-known antiquary, Anthony Wood, and his frequent quarrels with Richard Peers, from which Peers always retired "with a bloody nose or a black eye". Glimpses there are, too, of Pocock, Bathurst, Busby, Dean Fairfax, and others. The Dutch Admiral Cornelis Van Tromp has a page or two allotted to him, in which he is pictured as rejecting the good fare of the university and calling for salt junk instead. There were great drinking matches in which the Dutchman could find no equal until he was encountered by Dr. Speed, and five or six more "as able as himself at wine or brandy", when he succumbed at last, and was carried to his lodgings at midnight in a state of helpless intoxication. Prideaux was a robust writer, and his opinions of men and things are expressed with a rough frankness and force.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, BODMIN AND PENZANCE, 1876.

AUGUST 14TH TO 22ND, INCLUSIVE.

PATRON.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CORNWALL, K.G.

VICE-PATRONS.

THE LORD VIVIAN, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF CORNWALL.
THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

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British Archaeological Association.

BODMIN AND PENZANCE, 1876.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS.

MONDAY, AUGUST 14th.

Reception by the EARL OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE at COTEHELE on the Tamar. A Steamer will be engaged to convey the Members and Visitors from Saltash at 9 A.M. to Cotehele, and thence to Saltash at 2.30 P.M., where the Train will be in waiting to take them on to Bodmin.—Dinner will take place at Sandoe's Royal Hotel, Bodmin, at 7 P.M., where the President will take the Chair; after which the Company will adjourn to the Guildhall, where the Mayor and Corporation will receive the President and Association, and the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe deliver his Inaugural Address.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15th.

Excursion to TINTAGEL.—The Members and Visitors to leave Bodmin at 9 A.M. in Carriages for Tintagel, driving through Pancarrow grounds and Camp, then on to Lanteglos Rectory, where the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson will receive and entertain them at Luncheon, and conduct them over the Church, etc. At 1.30 start for Tintagel Church and Castle. Camelford will be visited if time will permit. Return in time for Evening Meeting at Bodmin—8.30.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16th.

The Members and Visitors to leave BODMIN in Carriages at 9 A.M., for Excursions to Restormal Castle, Lanhydrock, Lostwithiel, and St. Neot's Church, where E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., will describe the Painted Windows and architectural features of the Church. Return in time for Evening Meeting at Bodmin—8.30.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17th.

Excursion to LAUNCESTON.—The Members and Visitors to leave Bodmin at 9 A.M. in carriages for Launceston, stopping at the Jamaica Inn to rest horses, and to visit on foot the remains of Temple Church and Dosmery Pool, if time will permit. Reach Launceston at 1 P.M., where the Mayor will receive the party, and Luncheon will be partaken of. At 2 P.M. the Remains of the Castle will be explored, under the guidance of the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, and afterwards visits made to the Churches and other objects of interest in the town. To leave Launceston at 6 P.M., resting again at the Jamaica Inn, and then on to Bodmin, where a Conversazione will be held at the Guildhall on the arrival of the party.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18th.

Excursion by Train to TRURO, where the Members and Visitors will find Carriages in waiting to take them to the Royal Institute of Cornwall, etc.—Reception by the President and Members, and further Excursions to several places of interest in the neighbourhood. Return in time to proceed by last Train to PENZANCE.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19th.

Members and Visitors to leave Queen's Hotel in Carriages at 9.30 A.M., for the following Excursions. Passing several Monoliths in fields adjacent to the Road, arrive at BOSCAWEN UN—Stone Circle, thence to SENNEN CHURCH, and the LAND'S END, which will be reached at 1.30 P.M.—Luncheon, thence to BURYAN CHURCH, reached at 4 P.M.—ROSEMODDRESS Circle, BOLEIT Monoliths, and Underground Structures. Return in time for Evening Meeting at the Guildhall, Penzance—8.30.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21st.

Members and Visitors to leave in Carriages at 10 A.M., and proceed to CHYWOONE CASTLE and Cromlech; BOSULLO HUT CIRCLES; Luncheon at Chywoone. Then proceed to ST. JUST CHURCH and Inscribed Stone, CHAPEL ENNY, CAVE dwellings and BARROW. Return to Penzance in time for Evening Meeting at the Guildhall—8.30.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22nd.

Members and Visitors to leave in Carriages at 10.30 A.M., and proceed to ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT, where they will be received by SIR JOHN ST. AUBYN, BART., M.P.; thence to CHYSANSTER, HUT Village, BOSPHORTHENNIS BEEHIVE-HUT, LANYON CROMLECH. Carriages will convey the party direct to Lanyon Cromlech, or Pedestrians by crossing a moor may see the MAEN SKRYFFA or Inscribed Stone, and the MAEN-AN-TOL or HOLED STONE, and join the Carriages again. Return to Penzance in time to hold the CLOSING MEETING of the CONGRESS at the GUILDHALL.

Evening meetings on the 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 21st, and 22nd of August, at 8.30 P.M., at the Guildhall, Bodmin, where a temporary Local Museum will be arranged; and at the Guildhall, Penzance, the four last dates, for the Reading of Papers, and Discussions, at which Ladies are expected to attend.

An extra day's Excursion is contemplated for Wednesday, the 23rd August, on Return Journey, of which full particulars will be duly announced.

Alterations may be made in the previous sketch of proceedings. PROGRAMMES FOR EACH DAY, containing full and precise directions, will, however, be regularly issued, to prevent the occurrence of mistakes.

The Papers and Addresses will be given according to circumstances, either at the Evening Meetings or at the places to which they refer. The announcements will appear in the daily programmes. The Council and Local Committee will be glad to receive communications, more especially from residents in the neighbourhood of the Congress, who may be disposed to aid in the objects of the Meeting; also loans of local MSS. and ancient objects illustrating local antiquities for the Temporary Museum at Bodmin.

The following have promised Papers.

- THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A. "On the Fleets of the Ancients in Cornish Waters."
 E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A. "On Cothele House and its Architecture, St. Neot's and Temple Churches," &c.
 J. W. GROVER, C.E. "On the History of the Suez Canal from its earliest times."
 REV. DR. MARGOULIOUTH. "The Pros and Cons on the Etymology of certain words in the now obsolete Cornish Language."
 T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.
 J. R. PLANCHÉ (*Somerset Herald*). "On the Earls of Cornwall."
 W. DE GRAY BIRCH.
 S. I. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*). "The Duchy and Dukes of Cornwall."
 GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A. "On Legends connected with some Cornish Families."
 J. T. BURGESS, F.S.A.
 HENRY JENNER. "On the Ancient Cornish Language."
 W. C. BORLASE, M.A., F.S.A.
 REV. T. A. LACH SZYRMA. "On the Spanish Descent upon Newlyn;" "On the History of the Land's End;" and "On Sennen and St. Just Churches."
 REV. W. JAGO, B.A., Local Secretary for Cornwall, Society of Antiquaries. "On the Antiquities of Bodmin."
 T. Q. COUCH, F.S.A. "On the History of Restormel Castle."
 REV. PREBENDARY KINSMAN. "On Tintagel Church and Castle."
 SIR JOHN MACLEAN.
 REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH.
 REV. J. J. WILKINSON, M.A. "On Launceston Castle."
 J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A. "On the *Kapros*, or Horn of the Keltic People, and its various applications."
 REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A. "Jottings on Cornwall."
 REV. WILLIAM C. LUKIS, M.A. "On the Cornish Megaliths."

The Titles of other Papers will appear in the second edition of the Programme.

NOTICE.

Ladies and Gentlemen intending to be present at the Congress, should arrange to reach PLYMOUTH during Saturday or Sunday, the 12th and 13th August next, where good hotel accommodation may be found at the Duke of Cornwall and Royal Hotels, so as to be able to start by steamer at 9 a.m., on Monday, the 14th August, from the Mill Bay Wharf, for the excursion up the Tamar for Cotehele, where the EARL OF MOUNT EDG-CUMBE, as President of the Association, will receive the party. Applications for Tickets, and all other information, should be made to the HON. TREASURER or CONGRESS SECRETARY, without delay.

Ladies are especially invited to the Dinner at Sandoe's Royal Hotel, Bodmin, and to the Excursions, Entertainments, and Evening Meetings.

Carriages for the Excursions will be provided at a price per head. Ladies and Gentlemen intending to avail themselves of these arrangements, should apply for information at the Committee Room, at the Royal Hotel, Bodmin, and provide themselves with tickets ON THE EVENING PRECEDING EACH EXCURSION, otherwise it may be difficult for them to obtain seats.

CONGRESS TICKETS.

Tickets of admission, One Guinea each, for the entire Congress, admitting a Gentleman and a Lady, or half-a-Guinea each, admitting a Lady only, may be obtained of the Hon. Treasurer, Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., Hill-Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, London, S.W. and at Bodmin and Penzance, of the Hon. Local Secretary, the Hon. Local Treasurer, or of Miss Liddell, Bookseller, Bodmin.

Each Ticket confers the right to be present at the Meetings, and to attend all the *Soirées*, Excursions, etc., which may be arranged for the Members of the Association. It must be produced at the several places of examination or entertainment, and whenever required.

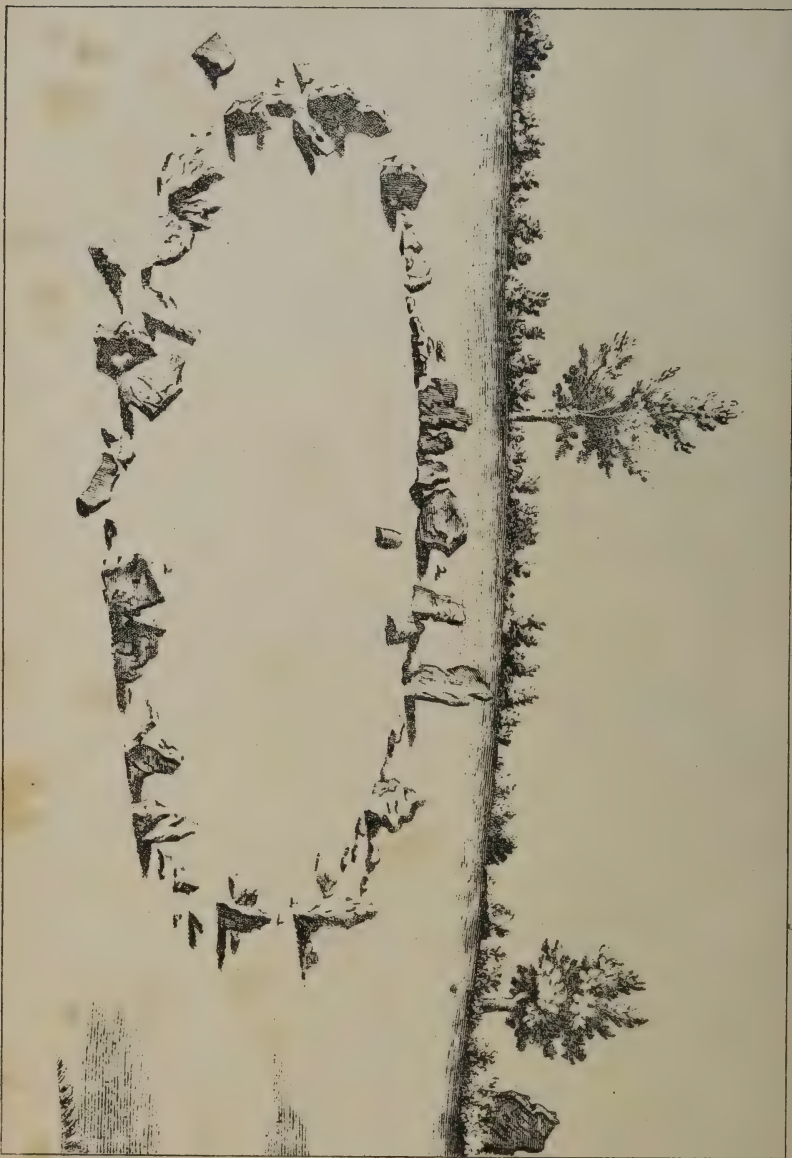
DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

DONATIONS in aid of the Congress, and of the Illustration of the Antiquities of the neighbourhood, as well as Subscriptions from those who may be desirous of becoming Associates, must be paid to the Hon. Treasurer or the Local Treasurer or Secretaries. Ladies and Gentlemen paying Two Guineas at the least (which may include the Congress Ticket), will be entitled to the volume of the PROCEEDINGS of the Association relating to this Congress, but they do not become Associates. Larger Donations will be recognized by a proportionate number of succeeding volumes.

ASSOCIATES are elected by the Council on the nomination of Two Members; the Subscription is One Guinea per annum, and the Entrance Fee One Guinea. The Life Composition is Eleven Guineas.

* * * Arrangements are hoped to be made with the authorities of the Great Western and Cornwall Railways, by which the Holders of Congress Tickets may have facilities given them in travelling to and from London or other places on the line of route to Penzance via Plymouth.





THE ROLL-RIGHT STONES
From 'PLOT. 1677.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE, 1876.

ON THE WICCI AND THEIR TERRITORY.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

IN the interval of twenty-eight years which has elapsed between the visits of the British Archæological Association, under the presidency of Lord Albert Conyngham, to the counties of Gloucester in 1846, Warwick in 1847, and Worcester in 1848, up to our recent Congresses at Bristol in 1874, and Evesham in 1875, much new information concerning the antiquities of these counties has been printed from the rich store of MSS. in the British Museum, the Rolls series of chronicles and charters, and much knowledge on the subject has been contributed to the pages of our *Journal*, and those of the local societies; yet, without treading in the exact foot-prints of our predecessors, but following them, *non passibus æquis*, we may, after a study of what has been written, and a personal survey of the localities themselves, endeavour to place some relics of an obscure period of history under an aspect whence new light may be thrown upon them. I shall endeavour to trace the connection between late Roman and Anglo-Saxon times in these counties, and to show how the moral authority of Rome was kept up even when the camps were no longer garrisoned by Roman-born subjects, and how the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucester, the very “fess-point” of the Roman dominion, bristling with castles and fortresses, became, under the name of Wiccia, the nursery of monasteries, which, during centuries of strife, stored up and defended the Christian faith. When we stood on the site of a Roman

camp upon Clifton Down, at the foot of which the Lower Avon rolled its turbid stream some 280 feet below, we beheld, on the heights across the river, two other forts at nearly equal elevation, and a few miles down the river are still to be seen the remains of the great naval arsenal and fortress of Roman Abone, now Sea-Mills. These forts, controlling the navigation of the Avon and country on each side of it, convey a grand idea of Roman military tactics. From this point three natural ways are opened up across the island, which give a clue to the intercommunication of those tribes recorded by Cæsar, and guide us in the subsequent history :

1st. The line of the Severn up the vales of Berkeley and Gloucester, through the vale of Evesham, and by the Ikneld Street, through Warwickshire, up to Lincoln (*Lindum*), the capital of the Iceni Coritani, or the elder race of the Iceni (*Iken-eld*).

2nd. The way by Cirencester (*Corinium*), to the east of the Cotswold Hills, by the Foss-way up to Leicester (*Ratae*), to Castor (*Durobriva*) near Peterborough, on to Caistor (*Venta Icenorum*) in Norfolk, the capital of the Iceni Magni.

3rd. A direct line eastward from Cirencester (*Corinium*), by Oxford to St. Alban's (*Verulam*), and thence on to Maldon in Essex (*Camulodunum*) ; these two latter towns being respectively the capitals of the tribes of the Cassii¹ and Trinobantes, which were united under Cassibelan and his successors.

The tribe of the Dobuni,² deriving their name, as is supposed, from Bothuc or Boduc, deep, as applied to the vale of Gloucester, had the privilege of occupying this garden of Britain, the counties of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire on the left bank of the Severn, a small part of Warwickshire, and a good part of Oxfordshire, their chief town being Cirencester (*Corinium*). The combination of the habits of the two races of Celts and Scythians³ in the ancient world con-

¹ The Cassii of Cæsar are by Dion named Cattovellani, and by Ptolemy Catteuchlani. Their name seems to be preserved in Cassio Hundred and Cashio-bury.

² Dion writes *Bodunni*. *Bodo* or *Bodon*, according to Pliny, signified "deep" in the ancient Gaulish language. He mentions a town, *Bodincomagus*, "ubi præcipua altitudo incipit". (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, iii, 20.) Our word "bottom", as applied to a low flat, so often used in Kent, as Lock's Bottom, etc., may derive hence its origin.

³ Justin gives their leading characteristics, *Hist.*, ii, 2.

tributed to the improvement of both.¹ This union in our own history is exemplified in the Belgian tribes over which Cassibelan ruled. His marriage with the Queen of the Brigantes cemented the union of the oxen-feeding Icen² (*Ikeni*) and the corn-growing and fort-building Brigantes.³ The ear of corn and the horse on the coins of his nephew, Cunobelin, may be cited in reference to the two systems which he found it his interest to combine. The name of Cassibelaunus is probably a title rather than a proper name, signifying God-like King of the Cassii, as that of Cunobelin⁴ may be resolved into King of the Ikeni. In the same way that of Segonax was probably King of the Segontiaci,⁵ who dwelt in Berkshire, having his capital at Silchester (*Vindonum*), he being one of the four chiefs of the maritime states whose names or titles are preserved to us by Cæsar.⁶ The King of the Cassii, who before Cæsar's time had been at war with the Belgian intruders south of the Thames, was now enlisted with them in the common cause against the Romans, and to the north of his territories in Norfolk and Suffolk dwelt the community of the Icen⁷ or Cenimagni, which latter word seems to be the Celtic "magen", signifying a community. Allied with them were the Icen⁸ Coritani in Lincolnshire, called the old Icen⁹, and these again seem to have been connected with the Dobuni and Cornavii in the west, who occupied the position of the Jugantes of Tacitus, and the Huiccii or Wiccii of later times. When

¹ The blending of the tribes on both sides of the Rhine is spoken of by Claudian as a merit in the tactics of Honorius. (*De Prim. Cons. Stilich.*, lib. i, 225-7.) The lessons of Julius Cæsar were not forgotten four hundred years after his time,—to separate in order to subdue, to amalgamate in order to govern.

² It was the custom of the ancients to change the feeding-grounds of the cattle three times a year. In the spring, the groves where they could crop the twigs, leaves, and tender sprouts, were considered the best pasturage; in winter, the salt-marshes near the sea; and in summer, the shady forests on the hills.

³ "Castella Brigantum." (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv, 196.)

⁴ The first syllable representing the Cen or Ceni for Ikeni; Belinus, the Celtic Apollo, being the title of sovereignty. I am indebted for this and many interpretations of British names and titles under Roman forms, to the valuable papers "On the Coins of Cunobeline", by the Rev. Beale Poste, in the earlier volumes of our *Journal*.

⁵ Hercules of the Segontiaci was found at Silchester (*Vindonum*). The inscription is given, and the walls of the city described, in *Journal*, xvi, pp. 92-93. See also Dr. Becke "On the Roman Roads of Berkshire", in *Archæologia*, S. A., xv. "Kaer Segent quæ fuit super Tamesin, non longe a Reding' et vocatur Silcestre." (Henry of Huntingdon.)

⁶ *B. G.*, v, 22.

Aulus Plautius, the pro-prætor, overcoming the disinclination of his soldiers for service in Britain, crossed over here in A.D. 43, with four legions, he seems to have defeated the Cassii and Trinobantes, and to have taken possession of their capital Camulodunum, when Caractacus and Togodumnus withdrew to their western territories. The defeat, however, which they met with in Oxfordshire, where¹ Togodumnus was killed, enabled the Romans to establish themselves on a river, probably the Severn, and obtain a control over the Dobuni. Great were the rejoicings at Rome when the Emperor Claudius celebrated his triumph *de Britannis*, and British captives were made to fight in the gladiatorial combats in the arena,² and a mock siege of a British town was enacted in the Campius Martius, with the spectacle of its surrender and that of its chiefs.³ Vespasian, in the third year of his command, took possession of Bath and Bristol, and fortified this country.⁴ His successors completed the quadrilateral defence formed by the fortresses of Bath (*Aquæ Solis*), Bristol (*Trajectus*),⁵ Gloucester (*Glebum*), and Cirencester (*Corinium*), by taking advantage of the position of the neighbouring hills and rivers.⁶

From Clifton Down a chain of ancient forts extends in a north-easterly direction upwards of forty miles; we are able to trace the communication from one to another by signal, and in some places the ancient trackways can almost be identified.⁷

I will here give the names in this chain of downs and earth-works, a full description of which will be found in a paper by Mr. T. J. L. Baker, in the *Archæologia*, S. A., xix, p. 161.

1. Clifton Down, east to west, about 100 yards; north to south, about 170 yards; nearly a parallelogram with three banks and ditches.

2. King's Weston Hill, south-east to north-west, 100

¹ Tog-o-Dubn, Dux Dobunorum; the Tog or Tag, perhaps, from ταγος.

² Dion, xxxix.

³ Suetonius, *In Vita Claud.*

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* xii, 31.

⁵ Mr. Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*, gives no less than thirty-five different ways of spelling the name of this city, and seven French forms. Bristow is the most common form from the Saxon period to the age of Elizabeth and later. *Bristol* in modern Latin.

⁶ Agric. xvii.

⁷ The old Gloucester road from Shirehampton Ferry was an old British track. Its probable course was to Over, to Knole, and to the top of Almondsbury Hill and thence on towards Gloucester. (Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i, p. 72.)

yards; south-west to north-east, 64 yards; irregular in shape, with two banks and ditches.

3. Blaize Castle, on a high conical hill, irregular in shape, with two banks and ditches; the foss-way ran up the north-east side of it.

4. Knole Park near Almondsbury.

5. Elberton, nearly but not quite a parallelogram of about 100 yards; two banks with a ditch between them.

6. Oldbury,¹ a quarter of a mile from the Severn; near it is Oldbury pill or creek.

7. About a mile from Alverton, eleven miles from Bristol, on a piece of ground called the Abbey, is a fortification east to west, about 240 yards; north to south, 340 yards.

8. At Bloody Acre, in Lord Ducie's Park at Tortworth, is one of an oblong form.

9. Bury Hill, in a line from Blaize Castle to Old Sodbury about a mile from Winterbourne, a camp of about 200 yards long, 100 yards broad, having two banks with ditch between; it is nearly a parallelogram, with the corners very much rounded off.

10. Near Dyrham, a work consisting of a high steep bank and deep and perfect ditch, probably used when Ceaulin, King of the West Saxons, obtained his decisive victory over the Britons.

11. Old Sodbury, Roman, nearly an oblong, length about 300 yards, breadth about 200 yards; entrance on east and west; about a quarter of a mile from the Oxford Road.

12. Horton, a mile north of the last, consisting of a high bank and ditch of an irregular figure; west side, 200 yards long; east side, 140 yards long; north side, 110 yards long; south side, 120 yards long.

13. On a projection of the Cotswold Hills near Wotton-under-Edge, a fort 700 or 800 yards round the trench.

14. The highest point of Stinchcombe Hill, probably a sort of beacon, commanding one of the most extensive prospects in England.

15. Uley Bury, one of the largest, and certainly the most remarkable one of the whole, containing thirty-two acres of land within the trenches.

¹ Opposite Oldbury, across the Severn, are two Roman camps, the largest an oblong 830 feet in length, 370 feet in breadth, surrounded by a single ditch except towards the east end, where the descent being less steep, it has a double one. (*Archæol.*, S. A., v, p. 207.)

16. Broadridge Green, just above the village of Haresfield, about 900 yards long.

17. Painswick Beacon, the highest point of the Cotswold Hills, with three banks and ditches on south-east and west sides; on the north side the steepness of the hill is a sufficient defence.

18. Church Down, of a very irregular shape.

19. High Brotheridge on the Cotswold Hills.

20. Just below this entrenchment a Roman villa was discovered at Whitcombe, on Sir W. Hicks's property. The Roman road from Gloucester to Cirencester ascends the Cotswold Hills, and crosses the line at or near Birdlip, more than a mile from this spot.

21. Crickley Hill, two banks and ditches.

22. On Leckhampton Hill a single bank and ditch form two sides of a pretty large fortress.

23. Cleeve Hill, the most puzzling of them all; an irregular parallelogram, with the two obtuse angles very much rounded off; it is about 180 yards by about 100 yards.

24. Nottingham Hill, one of the largest.

25. Breedon Hill stands in the vale by itself. On it is an entrenchment of about 170 yards by 130 yards.

Mr. Baker considers Old Sodbury decidedly Roman work. At Uley Bury and Broadbridge Green, Roman coins have been found.

Though not many of these entrenchments are constructed strictly after the Roman manner, we know that the Romans used to adapt their camps to the nature of the ground when they took to the hills and occupied forts of British origin.

The heights and earthworks round Bath¹ have been so fully described by the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, in the *Journal*, xiii, p. 91, that I need only refer to them, and notice as briefly the great Wansdyke or Woden's Dyke, running east and west on the south side of the Avon, which divided the kingdom of Wessex from Mercia in Saxon times, as it had probably before separated the Belgian states of the

¹ The Roman city of Bath, Akeman and Badon-Chester of Saxon times, has been described by the Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth in the *Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 257, and vol. xvii, p. 8, and elsewhere. The restoration of the Temple of Minerva, by Jas. T. Irvine, Esq., in the *Journal*, xxix, p. 379, is an attempt we should like to see repeated, of restoring Roman buildings where the ground-plans can be traced out, and some portions of the superstructure recovered.

latest immigration from the more ancient settlers. It seems undetermined whether the dyke ended at Stokesleigh Fort, opposite Clifton Down, or was carried westward, as Collinson supposes, as far as Portishead.¹ This work has been explored along the length of eighty miles, through Somerset and North Wilts, by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, and described by him as above mentioned. It is an instance of the labours of successive occupants; the early British ridge-way succeeded by a Roman road and dyke, to be afterwards used in Saxon times as the bulwark between two powerful kingdoms.

The course of this historical sketch will show how difficult it must be to attribute to the fortified earth-works their occupation at any fixed time by any particular tribe or nation, since we find the Romano-Britain, as well as the Romano-Saxon, fortifying them, and fighting after the old Roman manner, modified no doubt by later usages, as in the case of Sorbiodunum (*Old Sarum*), where the Roman fort has a central arx added to it afterwards, and the vallum is cut down to be formed into a second outwork (see p. 301, *Journal*, vol. xv). And in the same way, the ancient British earthworks of the time of Cæsar, or long before, would be occupied by the pagan descendants of the Britons and by the kindred Saxons and Danes, who continued to fortify and to fight according to the custom of their ancestors, since the age of Woden.

The Cotswold Hills form a natural barrier to the valley of the Severn river, to which they run nearly parallel as far as Tewkesbury, and then proceed in a more easterly direction as far as the Worcester and Oxford railway. To the eastward of these hills lies the old Roman foss-way, from Bath up to Cirencester, and thence on to Leicester and Lincoln.

That central point, the camp of Alcester (*Alauna Castra*), is supposed to have been the locality honoured by the presence of the Emperor Hadrian, when he spent one winter, in the year A.D. 119-120, in Britain accompanied by the Empress Sabina.² The military occupation of the country

¹ "The Course of the Wansdyke", in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, vii, p. 9.

² In his third consulship. The interesting coin figured in Petrie's *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, Plate II, 6, fixes the event and the date: HADRIANVS AVG COS III. P.P.; rev., ADVENTVS AVG BRITANNIÆ. The Emperor is addressing a female

had been nearly completed by his predecessors ; he had only to profit by the results, and make the most of a great military review. Roman discipline was never more perfect than at this period, and the description by Hyginus, a contemporary writer, of a Roman camp, places before us the very image of its internal arrangements, as well as the mode of marching out of it, when, after three blasts of the bugle, all would be ready, tents struck, each ensign and centurion at his post, and knowing by which of the roads or gates his own division was to pass out ; but I must postpone for another occasion what I have to say on the subject of Roman camps in reference to the earlier occupation of these counties.

Alcester became memorable for the murder there of Carausius, who rose to power by the support of the national in opposition to the imperial party, and by the command he had over the sea. He had taught and defeated the Batavian pirates and sea-kings of the Baltic, and at last had secured their assistance to attain his own ends. Allectus, trained by his guiding influence, put an end to the life of his benefactor. But it is too much to maintain that Alcester derives its name from this man, whereas it is probably the Ealdceaster, or the old camp ; unless we prefer to derive it from Alne-Ceaster, from the river Alne ; or take it as a corruption of *Ælia Castra*, camp of *Ælius Hadrianus*. The coins of Carausius shew us the thick-necked, bluff naval leader ; and one coin¹ is worthy of remark as indicating his naval power, on which Neptune is depicted standing with his right foot on a galley, and his left upon a fish which he is in the act of striking with his trident, and he holds a fish in his right hand. This may be a symbol, perhaps, of the Christian government of Rome, which Carausius had defeated. The legions of Britain had long surpassed all others in turbulence and boldness.² Probus in vain had sent over such of the Burgundians and Vandals as he could secure alive, who, as colonists in Britain, were made use of by the Emperor in times of revolt.³

figure, and between them is an altar and a victim ; below, s. c. On the reverse of another coin, No. 7, is the legend, *EXERC BRITANNI*. The Emperor, on horseback, is addressing four standard-bearers, who may represent the four prætorian cohorts, or the four legions stationed in Britain.

¹ This coin is figured in Plate VI, No. 16, Petrie's *Mon. Hist. Brit.* Another of the long series of this Emperor's coins has the legend, *IMP CARAVSIUS PF AVG ; rev., COHR PRÆT.* Four military standards. In the exergue, M.L.

² Zosimus.

³ Zosimus.

Maximus, in 333, a Spaniard by birth, and a soldier in Britain, obtained sufficient influence with the army to cause Valentinian to admit him to a share of the empire after the death of Gratian, who had met with a violent end,¹ and Theodosius asserted his right to the imperial dignity by defeating Maximus at Aquileia in A.D. 338. The effects of dismembering the empire by its partition between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius was felt in Britain during several centuries, notwithstanding the severance of our island from the empire. The legions in Britain had been giving less and less support to a central power in Rome, in proportion as they had to be recruited from the provinces in which they were quartered, instead of receiving, as in the flourishing times, a constant influx of foreign elements from distant nations. Mutinies among the soldiers became frequent, when these sympathised with their British brethren against the ruling powers. Such a general revolution among the Celts is recorded to have occurred when Constantine, in A.D. 406, obtained or usurped the Roman imperium in Britain, nearly a hundred years after his great namesake had ruled at York. The civil influence of Rome never survived this movement, and the priests of Theuth, or Mercury, or Woden, took care to improve the occasion, and endeavoured to extend their religion and liberties at the expense of Christianity. It is impossible to conceal the efforts made on both sides, if we wish to understand the history of those times. The people of Britain, as well as of Gaul, liberated themselves, expelling the Roman prefects, and setting up a civil polity according to their own inclination.²

Archæology has shown us how deeply rooted Roman manners had become in this western country of which Corinium was the metropolis. In no part of Britain have more or better executed remains of Roman art been found than in Gloucestershire. The villas display pavements, and the remains of walls retain fresco-paintings in good style of ancient art, and I would particularly call attention to the villa of Chedworth, described and illustrated by drawings in the *Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 129, by Mr. J. W. Grover, to which an additional interest is given by the Christian symbols there found, as well as inscriptions which open a wide field of

¹ The troops of Britain were particularly hostile to Gratian. (Zosimus.)

² Zosimus, vi.

conjecture as to their date. It is quite in harmony with what I shall have to say about the early Christian rulers to suppose that in their persons Roman customs in which they had been educated would be continued, and if the *præsul* adopted the duties of the *præses*, he would avail himself of the villas, gardens, and establishments which must have remained in full vigour where the pagan arms had not penetrated, and could be restored if they had been lost, so soon as a Saxon ruler like Ina came to adopt the religion and imitate the manners of the Romans. Hence, I think, there is a wide range of time through which such villas may have been erected or kept up, extending perhaps hundreds of years after the age of Constantine the Great.¹ Even the ground plans of our monasteries are not so dissimilar from the arrangement of Roman villas on a large scale, and their cloisters served the purposes of the covered peristyle in ancient times; the *exhedræ* leading from them, corresponding with the cells of the monks; whilst the basilica was converted into the narrow nave and apse of the earliest temples.

Before entering upon the second historical portion of my subject, it will be well to give some geographical details of Warwick and Worcestershire, pointing out at the same time some of the changes which had crept into the Roman military organisation.

The *weald* and the *wold* express, in the terseness of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, the woody and the open champain country. That *incædua silva*, known to us as the Forest of Arden, probably extended, on the first coming of the Romans at least, over a great part of Worcestershire, and over that portion of Warwickshire to the north of the Avon, which severs the county from north-east to south-west. And here, as usual, the native inhabitants could find shelter with their droves of cattle and swine, enclosed in the fortified *oppida* of such woody fastnesses, and the brave and hardy warriors of Worcestershire could still defend them even after the occupation of the adjoining county by the Romans, who had constructed through Warwickshire three of their most

¹ A Roman villa discovered at Bisley, Gloucestershire, in a field called "The Church Piece", is described in *Journal*, vol. i, p. 44, and vol. ii, p. 324; and in the Gloucester volume of the British Archæological Association others are referred to, such as Woodchester (p. 324), and one in Lord Bathurst's park, near Cirencester, and many others.

important high roads, and where we accordingly find remains of their camps, towns, castles, and guard stations (*præsidia*) to which I will direct attention.

Warwick occupied the centre not only of the county but of Roman Britain, and was, therefore, entitled to be called the *præsidium* κατ' ἐξοχην.

Situated on the Avon river, it was not far from the foss-way which extended out of Gloucestershire and across Warwickshire. At High Cross,¹ near Claybrook, was the *Venonæ* of Antoninus upon the Watling-Street, where the foss crossed that great prætorian way which from *Venonæ* ran in a north-westerly direction to Manceter (*Manduessedum*), xii m.p., and thence to *Etōcetum*, vi m.p., where we visited it at Wall near Lichfield on the occasion of the Wolverhampton Congress. In the opposite direction, that is to the south-east from *Venonæ*, the Watling Street proceeds to *Bennavenna*, xvii m.p., which may reasonably be fixed at Borough Hill,² not far from Daventry.³ From the Watling Street, where it is crossed by the Avon, and not far from the Roman station of Tripontium, a chain of fortified posts extends towards the west to Alcester (*Alne-ceaster*), seated at the confluence of the rivers Arrow and Alne. This town is not far from the Ikneild Street, a Roman road which skirted the western frontier of Warwickshire, from south to north, into Staffordshire. The most important remains are found at Brownsover in the neighbourhood of Rugby, where, on the north-west side is a triple row of ramparts or banks rising in terraces one above the other ; at Cesterover is a fort which seems to have depended on Brownsover for protection in the same manner as King's Newnham did upon Brinklow. The tumulus, nearly 200 feet in diameter at the base, rises nearly 100 feet above the level of the foss around it. At Beausal Common is a camp, five acres in extent, foss deep and wide ; Kington Grange is somewhat oval in form, 150 yards across, and, including the ditches, occupies a

¹ Horsley (*Brit. Rom.*) says this should be Twy Cross, from the Saxon *twy*, two. It may be from the name of the god of the Brigantes, Twy, or Dwi, or Teuth. Cleicester is about a mile off.

² Near Burrow Hill Camp is a Roman camp called Burnt Walls, containing about six acres. Burrow Hill is the largest of all the Roman camps in that part of the country, being a mile long and half a mile broad, according to Mr. Eyre's account in Horsley (*Britan. Rom.*).

³ The distance agrees exactly, which induced Horsley to prefer this to Weedon for the station of *Bennavenna*.

space of four acres. The earthworks at Oversley, about a mile south-west of Alcester, are connected by a covered way, or foss-lane, with the river at Wixford. A mile to the north of Alcester there are some entrenchments called Danes-Banks ; the Roman station of Alauna occupies some rising ground by the side of the river between them. The Danes Camp, about five miles south of Birmingham, and half a mile from Solihull Lodge, contains nine acres. The extensive earthworks at Castle Bromwich consist of a large tumulus surrounded by earthworks of a somewhat similar plan to those at Brinklow.

By the side of the Watling Street, the extensive camps at Oldbury and Hartshill, as well as the smaller one at Seckington, are the most remarkable. It is somewhat similar to the Brinklow encampment, but without the interesting rampart. Oldbury is known to us as the summer camp of the Roman legion stationed at *Manduessedum* in the vale below. I am indebted for the description of remains of earthworks along the frontier of the forest to the labours and personal survey of Mr. J. Tom Burgess of Leamington ; and I would refer the reader to his account of all the earthworks in this district, in the *Journal* of our transactions for 1873, p. 37, and to a paper on the Warwickshire antiquities, read by him before the Warwickshire Archæological Society ; but the same remarks I have made on the earthworks of Gloucestershire will equally apply to these.

The old walls, Roman bricks, and antiquities, as well as forts, stations, and roads, sufficiently indicate Warwickshire to have been a great military centre, confirming the written accounts of the Roman mode of bringing the whole country into subjection. C. J. Frontinus¹ quoted a saying of Cæsar that he preferred, like some doctors, to relieve the body of a morbid excrescence by diet and regimen rather than by the use of the knife ; and this great commander acted upon such a principle when, in subduing the Welsh and the natives of Gloucestershire, he by stratagem occupied and made use of the hill-forts (*præsidia*), castles (*castella*), and guardhouses (*custodiæ*), to form the lines along the border, separating the natives both from the Roman province and from each other. Frontinus himself² gives an instance where

¹ *Stratagem.*, lib. iv, c. vii, ex. 1.

² *Ibid.*, lib. i, c. iii, ex. 10.

Domitian in Germany, when harassed by the natives from the woods, to which they could securely retreat again after each raid, checked them effectually by extending the limits of the province over one hundred and twenty miles, by which he not only changed the *status* of the war, but subdued the enemy by laying bare his retreat. This could only be done by securing posts at frequent intervals along the border, and these, we are told by Paulus Orosius (*Valentinian*), were vulgarly called "burgs". The soldiers employed in the *præsidia* were called *milites limitanei*.¹ I find in Spartian (Hadrian, 12), "barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur; stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepis funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit." A real Roman barricade of this kind, composed of whole trunks of oak trees, discovered at Wall in Staffordshire, and described by Shaw, is referred to in the account of *Etocetum* by Mr. W. Molyneux, in our *Journal* for 1873, at p. 53. A passage in Tacitus (*Ann.* xii, 38), having reference to the forts in Gloucestershire and South Wales, in few words explains the nature of the warfare there, and military occupation of the country. Herein reference is made to the *præsidia*, which were fortified strongholds, not always artificially made, but often adapted by the nature and fitness of the ground for receiving the *præsidary* soldiers. The *castella* were small forts or castles; and the *vici*, or towns, are mentioned separately. The troops of cavalry sent out to protect the foraging parties, and the prefect of camps, whose duty it was to superintend their construction, were defeated, which leads us to some considerations on the Roman cavalry, of which we find a force quartered at Warwick (*Præsidium*), according to the *Notitia Imperii*, which names "Præfectus equitum Dalmatorum" as stationed there; and the same document places the "Præfectus equitum Cataphractorum" at *Morbium*, three miles from Sheffield; and the "Præfectus equitum Crispianorum" at *Danum* (Doncaster).² The *equites catafracti* were heavy cavalry, the horses

¹ "Drusus in tutelam provinciarum præsidia et custodias ubique, præsertim vero per Rheni ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxerat." (Florius, iv, c. 13.)

² The *Notitia* also gives the names of the following troops as under the "Comes Britanniarum":—"Equites Catafractarii juniores"; "Equites Scutarii Aureliaci"; "Equites Honoriani seniores"; "Equites Stablesiani"; "Equites Syri"; "Equites Taifali".

covered with steel-plated armour,¹ and the riders equipped after the fashion of the East, with the *lorica catena*. They seem to be a link between a Roman *eques* and the modern knight who figures upon our earliest seals.² The *Notitia* was probably written not less than three hundred years after the age of Trajan ; but a troop, or *turma*, of Roman cavalry may have occupied Warwick during that long interval. The cavalry was an important arm in the service of Britain, and could not be incorporated with the legion constructed, as this was, upon the old principles of the republic. The Roman *equites*³ took the command of supplementary troops of cavalry ; that is, composed of tributary states or barbarian nations ; and we find frequent mention made of them in history ; and a proper place is assigned them in that description of a camp, and of the method on which it was marked out, left us by Hyginus, who, as before mentioned, lived about the time of Hadrian.

Our antiquaries, in referring to camps in Britain, have attached themselves too much to the description of them given by Polybius, who lived centuries before the Romans thought of our island ; but although that author said the method of placing and laying out their camps in the plain country was the very reverse of that employed by the Greeks, who built their forts upon elevated sites difficult of access, and therefore more easily defended, yet he tells us in the same chapter (*Hist.*, vi) that the Romans were always ready to adopt any new arrangement, if that wise master, experience, taught them it was better than the old. Now in the long interval between Polybius and Hyginus captive Greece had made prisoners of her rude conquerors in more ways than one. The Dalmatian and the Moorish horse were made available to assist the legions in Britain, and the

¹ Vegetius says, "Catafracti equites propter munimina quæ gerunt tuti, sed propter impedimentum et pondus armorum capi eos facile est." (*De Re Militari*, c. 23.)

² Livy (xxxvii, 40) describes the Gallo-Grecian horse called "Catafracti", and Tacitus (*Ann.* iii) calls similar troops of the Gauls by the name of "Crupellarii". Lampridius says the "Catafracti" were the same as the "Clibanarii" of the Persians, which is confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi). I am indebted for these references to Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick in *Archæologia*, S. A. xix. Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited a specimen of the *lorica catena* found in London. See *Journal*, i, p. 142.

³ These officers were to be thoroughly efficient. The censors took away his horse from a cavalry officer who became corpulent, considering that he was rendered incompetent properly to discharge his duties. (Aulus Gellius, vii, 22.)

names *milliaria* and *quingenaria*, given to squadrons of 1,000 and 500, shew the importance attached to this new arm of the service.¹

In Britain the Romans could not quietly take up their winter quarters in the regular camps and towns in the plains and along their lines of road, but were compelled to keep up garrisons through the country, and all the year round in the high and fortified positions before occupied by their enemies. The possession of these strongholds was not less eagerly sought for by those nations or parties, in after times, who held the reins of power. As an instance of the Roman endurance in keeping the field through the winter, I may refer to Tacitus,² who records the whole army, during a very severe winter in Cappadocia, to have been encamped under their skin tents, when they had to excavate the ground to shelter themselves from the frost and snow.

It was only by their superiority in the use of arms, in the discipline of the camp, and in military science, that the Romans could make up for their inferiority in numbers and in the stature of the men, as opposed to the multitudes of the Gallic hosts and the gigantic persons of their German antagonists. The Spaniards exceeded them not only in numbers, but in strength of body; the Africans in strategy and in wealth; and the Greeks in skill and prudence; yet the Romans defeated them all by their knowledge of the whole art of war.³

In selecting their camps they were careful that no road should run along the sides of the rampart, but a river should subtend these; and any inaccessible heights near to and overlooking the camp, to which were given the name of *novercæ* (stepmothers), must not be allowed to remain in the occupation of the enemy, lest he should pour down his

¹ The Romans rendered their cavalry more efficient by placing young men on foot, good runners, between the horsemen, armed with light shields, swords, and spears (Vegetius, ii, 16); and this mixed method of fighting was introduced with success by Q. Nævius, the centurion, A.U.C. 542, and retained in after times. (Valerius Max., xxvi, c. 3.)

² *Ann.*, xiii, 35.

³ Vegetius, lib. i, c. ii. This author, in the same place, gives a curious reason for the northern nations making the best soldiers. He says that the great heat of the sun dries up the blood of the southerners; and as they feel how little they have to spare, so they are afraid of losing any; whereas the northerners, redundant of blood, are more fitted for war. He therefore recommends the army to be recruited in northern latitudes. Such sentiments would not have suited the age of Cæsar and Pompey.

forces from them, or be able thence to pry into what was going on in camp. Round the gates, where an attack might be expected, small mounds were to be raised, like pulpits (*tribunalia*), to plant the artillery upon; and upon the *coaxæ*, or angles of the camp, catapults, ballistæ, and other engines of war, were better than raw recruits for the purpose of defence; and *carroballistæ*, or engines upon wheels, were used.¹ The vallum should be cut into a double ascent where an attack might be expected, particularly if there should be a *noverca* on that side of the camp in the hands of the enemy. We have oftener to visit the *præsidia* in our excursions than the oblong camp rounded at the corners, duly constructed according to Roman rule, though of these we have good examples.

In the *retentura*, or hinder portion of the camp, towards the Decuman gate, were quartered the prisoners of rank, hostages, plunder, etc., and perhaps the "Præfectus Castrorum". These occupied a space called by an old name, the *quæstorium*.

In a line at the rear, but inside the tents of the legionary cohorts which surrounded the whole camp, were placed the troops of auxiliary nations, Goths, etc.

The tent space allowed for the cavalry was twice that given to the infantry, and the Prætorian guards had allowed them twice as much space as the others in both arms, besides receiving the pay of two denarii a day instead of one.

We have mention made of the Vexillarii, of whom there were 1,500 in this camp; that is 500 to each of the three legions. It appears that this name was applied not only to the standard-bearers² of the centuries, but also to veterans serving under one flag, that is to soldiers of sixteen years' service out of the twenty which they were bound for, before they could obtain their discharge and pension (*honesta missio*) and serving together the last four years under one flag were called Vexillarii. They are referred to in Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii,

¹ Drawn by mules, and one of these *carroballistæ* was appointed to each century, eleven men being told off to arm and direct it. (Veg., *De Re Milit.*, lib. ii, c. 25.)

² The *aquilifer* carried the eagle, the standard of the whole legion, while the cohorts were represented by dragons; but each century had its flag with number of cohort and century upon it; and the centurions, on the crests of their helmets, had also the number or letter by which they could be distinguished. Mr. J. W. Grover gives an account of an eagle found in London, in January 1873, at p. 182 of our *Journal* for that year.

c. 66, and *Hist.*, iii, c. 1, where they are spoken of as the flower of the British Army.

It will have been seen how the prætorian cohorts and the cavalry begin already to fill a considerable space at this time in the camp, as the *Milliarian* wings (of 1,000 men each) and *Quingenarian* (of 500 each) testify, foreshadowing the influence they were afterwards to have in raising up and putting down emperors and governments. The nations also as auxiliaries occupied an important position. There were 500 Palmyrenians, 900 Goths, 700 Daci or Danes, 500 Britons, 700 Cantabrians, according to the account of Hyginus.

I will now carry on a comparison with the description we have of a Roman army at a later period, that is, according to the treatise of Vegetius, written in the reign of Valentinian II. It will herein be seen how the Roman legionary element had slackened. The wings or *supplementa* form now the only substance of the army. The *Ala milliaria* takes the place of the 1st cohort, and the *quingenaria* that of the others. The form of the legion is still almost the same, the number of a full legion being nominally 6,100 foot and 726 horse; but the zeal and regrets of Vegetius could avail nothing to revive the old spirit, or fill the ranks, or teach the young recruit as of yore, so to manage the shield as to turn off obliquely the flying spears, and from his knowledge of the art of war, feel no fear but rather pleasure on the battle-field, and it was not easy for him to learn to be firm in his own position without interfering with the others in the ranks. Vegetius then goes on to say (sect. i, c. 20) that up to the time of Gratian the infantry had been armed with helmets and cuirasses, but afterwards found them too heavy,¹ and thus by their laziness exposing heads and chests, were often routed by the arrows of the Goths. What, he says, can an archer do without armour and helmet, who, when his hands are occupied with bow and arrows, is unable to hold a shield? The same may be said of the standard-bearers, now called *Draconarii*,² formerly *Signiferi*. He laments the disuse of

¹ In the good old times each man had to carry with him food for a fortnight. Cicero's joke was long remembered in camp. He said a Roman legionary could carry any weight that was required of him, and could even march off with the whole *vallum* on his back, if necessary. (*Tuscul.*, ii.)

² Vegetius designates the standards (*signa*) as eagles, dragons, flags (*vexilla*), gonfanons (*flammulæ*), from their shape or colour; crests of hair on helmet, *tufæ*; wings or feathers, *pinnæ*. (*De Re Milit.*, lib. iii, c. 5.)

the Roman pilum, which, with its triangular iron head of nine inches or a foot, when fixed in the enemy's shield, could not be cut or disengaged, and which properly directed easily pierced the helmet. He glories in the old science, when, left foot foremost, the legionary vibrated, and then hurled to a distance the light spear, but when it came to close quarters, either with the pilum or hand to hand with the sword, then the right foot was placed foremost, to guard against a wound on the left side. They were to strike with the point, not with the edge, of the sword, for a cut, let it come with what force it might, would seldom prove mortal, whereas a thrust penetrating only two inches might cause death. The barbarians, he says, chiefly use a spear they call *Bebra*, and they carry two and sometimes three of these. The *ferentarii* and light armed, and the shield-bearing troops, are armed with *plumbali*, swords, and missiles as formerly. A troop of horse has 32 troopers headed by a *decurio*, who commands 110 foot under the same flag. The centurions presiding over each century are now called *centenarii*, and the heads of each tent, *decani*.

Promotion formerly was so arranged that the soldier went through all the cohorts of the legion. Now, the reasons he gives for the decline of martial spirit are, firstly, that the rewards of valour are monopolized by the ambitious, and promotion is obtained only by interest, and no longer by work. He gives other reasons also for the falling away of the legions, that is, the harder service, the slower rewards, and severer discipline than existed in the national regiments; to avoid which most men, he says, enlist in the auxiliary forces, and take the oath accordingly in those forces where the work is less and the rewards are sooner obtained. They no longer take a pride in being bound by the old Roman military oath, the *venerandum dominationis arcanum*. On the downfall of the Western Empire, the British rulers showed vacillation between the national and Roman systems, which explains some transactions not to be accounted for in any other way. Vortigern gets the odium from a Roman point of view of having invited over the Saxons; the words of Henry of Huntingdon, however, are "that it pleased *all* to invite the assistance of the Saxons." Jeffrey of Monmouth seems to confound Vortigern with Gerontius one of the generals of Constantine; perhaps he

really was the same person, and by the help of the natives and their allies hoped to establish a national government as Carausius had done before him. The results were favourable to the heathen cause. The combination of Saxons, Danes, Norwegians, and Britons, through a long period of years was persistent, and communication was kept up between the most distant parts of the island. The Christians, on the other hand, had the advantage afforded them by the military and legal organisation of the Romans. The fortresses could still be garrisoned after the Roman manner if recruits could be obtained, and a certain number of the pagans brought to respect Roman law. The office of *præses* of the cities could best be filled by a *præsul* of the Church; his administration of the Roman law placed him in the position of a *regulus* or half-king, as the Saxons called such a ruler.¹ The title of *rex*, and its diminutive *regulus*, is peculiarly applicable to the highest religious functionaries. The *rex sacrorum* in Rome survived the extinction of the kingly office, and was retained to the last by pagan Rome. Lactantius (*De Morte Perfec.*, c. 36) says of Maximian, *Novo more sacerdotes maximos per singulas civitates, singulos ex primoribus fecit* (quoted by Stillingfleet, *Origines Britan.*, ch. 2). The machinery was, therefore, ready to hand. We hear little from our clerical historians of the pagan priesthood of Woden, though we know they had great power over the northern races; and we may conjecture that, either from conviction or from interest,² they were often converted into zealous Christian priests, who, like Coifi at Godmanchester, armed himself with a lance and sword after the Roman manner when he became a Christian, and was zealous in destroying the heathen altars he had himself erected. Such a convert would consign to everlasting oblivion all record of his former life and times. We are scantily supplied with the transactions and dates of the fifth century. A vast number of northerners became absorbed into the native population; active Anglo-Saxon governments were gradually established, which had grown up independently of Roman ideas, and were ruled by a religion associated with the history of the northern nations, and moulded by their habits and traditions. In them

¹ See Ducange, *Gloss.*, inf. Lat. in voce "Regulus".

² "Avara et fœneratoria Gallorum philosophia." (Valerius Max., ii, c. 6-11.)

hatred of the Roman laws and of the Christian Church was inflamed by opposition, and this seems to have slackened when success had secured them immunity. The kingdom of Wessex began in A.D. 519, when Justinian reigned at Constantinople (H. of Huntingdon), twenty-four years after Cerdic's arrival at Cerdices-ore. This place is fixed by Camden at Yarmouth in Norfolk, where he mentions a place called by the inhabitants Cerdick-Sand.¹ By this way the Romano-Britons could best be attacked at the two Caistors in Norfolk and Northamptonshire, and thence the invaders would work down to Cirencester by the second road before referred to. In the seventh year after their landing, the Saxons seem to have sailed round to the West Coast, whilst Porta, with his two ships, landed at Portsmouth. In 514, Cerdic's nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, had made their invasion of Hampshire, and, in 519, Cerdic and his son Cynric obtained a victory at Cerdicesford, which Camden places at a ford over the Avon at Charford in Hants, by which their rule was established. In 534, Cerdic died. His son Cynric defeated the Britons at Searobyrig, Salisbury, in 552, and four years afterwards at Berabyrig, Banbury, Oxfordshire² (H. of Huntingdon). Cealwin, the third king of Wessex, succeeded in 560. His brother defeated the Britons at Bedford, and dispossessed them of four towns in 571: Lygeanburgh, Leighton, Beds; Æglesburgh, Aylesbury, Bucks; Bennington, Bensington, Oxford; Egonesham, Ensham, Oxford; and six years afterwards, 577, Cealwin himself obtained a great victory near Deorham in Gloucestershire against three kings (Ethelwerd I). Seven years after, at Fethanleagh, a son of Cealwin fell in another struggle, and this time the Saxons retreated in disorder, but they captured (584) the fortresses of the west, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, which occurred eighty-two years after Cerdic's arrival at Cerdices-ore. Arthur, the champion of the Romano-Britons, had fought twelve battles,³

¹ Gibson's *Camden*, p. 390.

² Or Barbury Castle, near Marlborough. Henry of Huntingdon's description of the battle is characteristic of the ancient modes of warfare, the Roman and the Saxon. The former were drawn up in three lines, each line consisting of three distinct bodies; and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, took their places according to the Roman battle-array; while the Saxons were massed together in a compact body, more like the Macedonian phalanx. He speaks of the great stature, vigour, and boldness of the Saxons.

³ Nennius, c. 62, 63.

the battle of Badon Hill, near Bath, being his latest, which may have retarded, though it did not prevent Cerdic's ultimate success in reducing the western strongholds. The Christianity of the fifth and sixth centuries, in assembling men and women in monasteries after the example of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, and St. Basil of Pontus,¹ caused the dissemination of speculative and philosophical ideas which ill accorded with the views of the Roman system. St. Cyprian points out the difference between Christian and stoical ethics ;² monachism of the latter character transplanted into England, Scotland, and Ireland, bore its fruit at the beginning of the seventh century in the discussions about uniformity, which Augustine, the legate of Pope Gregory, A.D. 603, was as little able to control when he met the British clergy at St. Augustine's Oak,³ as was Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who assembled a synod for the same purpose at Haethfelth, about eighty years later.⁴ The disputes of the Christians as to points of difference in rites, which were accepted as symbols of belief and doctrine, could not fail to strengthen the hands of the enemies of the faith ; and the prophecy of Augustine, that the monks would meet with their death by the swords of the enemy, was soon fulfilled at Bangor⁵ and in many other places. The party feeling and divisions among Christians, which had the effect then of promoting paganism, may be used as a caution to later ages. The questions so ardently debated at Antioch and Alexandria were reproduced on the smaller area of our island, where Novatians, Montanists, and Pelagians, each had their supporters. In a worldly point of view, the Christianity of these two centuries, the fifth and sixth, does not seem, as far as we know, to have been of a very active kind, but, on this very account,

¹ The rule of St. Basil, being Greek, was extinguished ; but many churches dedicated to this saint preserve the record of his name in the outlying districts of our country. Sir William Geil (*Topography of Rome*, 1834) mentions some Basilican monks at Grotta Ferrata, near Rome, where, in the church of their monastery, a Greek version of the Roman ritual was used.

² "Inter Christianos autem et philosophos plurimum distat." (S. Cyprian, *Op.*, p. 70.)

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii, 2. "On thære stowe the mon nemneth Agustinus ac on Hwicna gemære and West Sexna." (Alfred's translation of Bede.)

⁴ In the fifth year of the reign of Kentwin, xv kalends of October, indiction viii. (*Chron.* J. Bromton apud Twysden.)

⁵ The monks of Bangor were divided into seven choirs (Bede, ii, c. 2), and their rites savoured of Eastern customs. (Mabillon, *Act. SS. Sæc. V.*)

it made steady progress. The legend of the seven sleepers of Ephesus symbolised the apathy of the champions of the Church during two hundred years, but when the seven young men awoke they found Christianity firmly established without their aid. Gildas laments that "no longer was seen, drawn up on the shore, the square battle-array, the right wing, the other warlike appliances, and the fleet at sea, prepared to fight bravely in defence of country. On the contrary, the Britons shewed their backs instead of their shields to the enemy, offered their necks to the sword, and like women, a cold trembling pervading their bones, they offered their wrists to be manacled." He had yet to learn that the moral influence of Roman civilisation could still be extended without the help of sword or *pilum*. He may have had in his mind the fleet at Abone, supporting, in ancient times, the land operations on the Severn and Avon.¹ Eldol, the *Dux*, or Bishop of Gloucester, when the Saxons invaded, in the fifth century, was an example of active courage which may or may not have been greatly followed in his own age and in the following two centuries, which are scantily chronicled; but at the end of the seventh we find the Church established in that position to which it was entitled by its learning and discipline, irrespective of its divine foundation. The MSS. written at this period, specimens of which (in exact facsimile), recently published by the Palæographical Society, have brought prominently into public notice the culture of the rulers of the English nation in about A.D. 700;² and we may take the life of St. Aldhelm as a good example of the peace of the Church at this period, as well as the desire shewn to spread the taste for literature. The monastery of Malmesbury had been first established by one "Maidulphus,"³ a Scotte, that taught good letters there, and

¹ The marines of Misenum and Ravenna, serving in this country on shore, and the operations of the Roman fleet generally, claim more investigation than they have yet received. The *Notitia* mentions the "Cohors prima Ælia classica" as stationed at *Tunnocelum* (Boulness).

² I would particularly call attention to the Gospels written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 698-721, the plates, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 22, from the Cottonian MS., Nero, D. iv, Brit. Mus. The Gospel of St. John, plate 17, from a MS. at Stoneyhurst College, about A.D. 700. The Gospels of St. Chad, about A.D. 700, plates 20-21. The interlaced work introduced into the figure of St. Luke is very characteristic of the style of those early times as exhibited in sculptured stone monuments. Psalter of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, about A.D. 700, plates 18 and 19, from the Cotton. MS., Vespasian, A. 1, Brit. Mus.

³ Also written Meidulfus or Meldum. New and original matter concerning

afterwards procured an abbey ther to be made. It was Maidulphesbyri.”¹ Aldhelm was first a monk, then was in priest’s orders, and was promoted to be abbot after Maidulph. His extensive learning obtained him great influence, and his biographer, William of Malmesbury, attributes to him the correction of the religious errors of the English nation, and their adoption of the orthodox faith. He says, however, that the English considered themselves entitled, from their insular position, to obey their own rather than Roman traditions, and that Augustine could only get them to say that schismatics must be led by persuasion, and not driven by violence.

Aldhelm went to Romè, and was well entertained by Pope Sergius, who, in return for a little favour he had done him at Rome, was liberal in spiritual concessions to the Monastery of Malmesbury. This was the foundation which so increased at a later period that you might leave the building early in the morning, and return home late at night, after walking all the time on the lands belonging to the Monastery. “*Ad quadringentos et amplius cassatos excrevit locus qui vix ante LX habebat.*” Visitors were attracted from all parts, some to witness the sanctity of Aldhelm’s secluded life, others to profit by his literary acquirements. He was deeply versed in Hebrew and Egyptian lore ; but his Latin poems on the merits of celibacy and on the eight mortal sins, were more likely to tickle the ears of a learned monk than to reform the manners of the age. At the death of Hedda, Bishop of the West Saxons, having his see at Winchester, the diocese was divided into two sees, one of which (Winchester) was given to Daniel, and the other (Sherborne) to Aldhelm, the abbot. Iniquitous and unequal was this division, says William of Malmesbury, since one included only two towns, and the other the immense tract of Wessex. Aldhelm died in 709, eighteen years before Ina, and twenty-five before Bede.

The quarrels between the Saxon kings through the seventh century argue differences between the national and the Anglo-Roman party.² The latter being the party of

him and his successor, Aldhelm, will be found in the article on the succession of the Abbots of Malmesbury, by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxvii, 1871.

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. ii, p. 25.

² Time and fire have committed havoc among the Greek MSS. relating to

progress, became so well established at its close, that Ina, the King of Wessex, stood up as the redoubtable champion of Western Rome, and his code of laws implies that he must have had power to enforce their execution.¹ Son of Cenred, who was the nephew of Cynegils, he succeeded Ceadwalla in 688, and after a stormy reign of thirty-seven years, at the persuasion of his wife, left all his grandeur to retire to Rome, where he died. It seems probable that the arbitrary character of his laws led not only to this result, but to the civil wars which vexed the country during the eighth century, and encouraged the powerful confederacies of the ninth and tenth, notorious in our history as the period of the invasions of the Danes.

To return to Worcestershire, we may remark that if this county, lying out of the main high roads of the early Roman period, cannot deduce so many camp-towns from that epoch as Warwickshire, or claim the notice of Roman writers, yet there is little difficulty in fixing at Worcester the *Branogenium*² of Ptolemy and Ravennas ; and the *Ypocessa* of the latter anonymous writer may, perhaps, be rightly placed by Stukeley at Upton. As we are promised an account of the Roman roads in Worcestershire, I will pass over this subject to advert to the numerous castles scattered over the county, which lead us to suppose that some were built on the spots where the *castella* and *præsidia* existed in Roman times, even if not actually standing upon the old foundations or constructed of the stones of the older forts. Worcester Castle may be named, and a few miles from it, Hartlebury Castle, where the Bishops of Worcester still take up their residence. We have Dudley, Holt, Elmsley upon the Bredon Hills, Hanley in Arden, and Bengeworth upon the Avon, south of Evesham, as well as Warwick and the old tower of Kenilworth. These may be taken as examples, and I must leave the closer inspection and criticism, in each instance, to those who have made an especial study of the construction of castle-walls. Some of those mentioned, however, exist now only in history.

those times, of which there must have been no lack in England. We have been spared, perhaps, some interminable arguments about the *εκθεσις* and the *τυπος* of the patristic creeds.

¹ He rebuilt the Abbey of Glastonbury at the request of Aldhelm.

² Though Horsley (*Britan. Rom.*) places *Branogenium* at Ludlow, while admitting that Ptolemy and Ravennas indicate Worcester.

Following upon Roman times, we find the name of Wiccii given to the dwellers in these three counties; the *regulus*, or king of the Wiccians, being the bishop who regulated this most military province of the kings of Mercia. I can find no more likely derivation of the name of Wiccia than from Wiga, a warrior, and Wiga-erne, the habitation of warriors; which seems confirmed by the Latinised form still in use, of Wigornia and Wigornensis. At the same time Wic is a dwelling-place and a fortress, and is used by Bede¹ for a monastery. It also means the bend of a creek or river. Such a bend did often subtend a camp, a fortress, or a monastery. All the significations seem to point to one origin.

The first great light which succeeded the darkness of the fifth and sixth centuries was the reign of an Æthelred in Mercia at the end of the seventh (A.D. 675 to 704), when a galaxy of learned and zealous men at the same period illumined the land from north to south and east to west. The King, Æthelred, built the Abbey of St. Peter's at Gloucester, under the care of his nephew Osric, who was viceroy, or *sub-regulus*, of the Wiccii, but afterwards King of Northumbria. Another of the King's nephews, Oswald, made it his special care to found and to build the Abbey at Pershore about 689.² Deerhurst seems to have been an off-shoot of Pershore about the same time. Tewkesbury was founded between this time and a century later, if Brihtric, the predecessor of Egbert, was buried here. Egwin was third Bishop of the Wiccians after the kingdom of Mercia had been divided into five bishoprics in A.D. 679, of which Florence of Worcester says Wiccia was the first. This Bishop was the founder of the Abbey of Evesham in A.D. 709.³ He had exchanged with Æthelardus, a viceroy or *sub-regulus* of the Wiccians, the ancient Abbey of Fleodanbyrig⁴ (Fladbury), which Æthelred, the King, had given him, being part of his wife Ostri-tha's property, for another abbey at Stratford, which can be

¹ *Hist.*, iii, c. 19.

² Leland, *Collect.*, i, p. 240.

³ A general council was held at Alcester at this important period, under Æthelred's successor,—“Rex insignis Kenred ubi Roma rediit confestim generale Sinodum in loco qui Alne vocatur jussit congregari. Conveniunt illuc primates regni Cantuariensis antistes Bertuualdus et Wilfridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus et cum eis utriusque ordinis summi et eminentiores viri.” (*Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*; Rolls edition, London, 1873. Edited by W. D. Murray, M.A.)

⁴ At the Domesday Survey the Bishop of Worcester had a wood at Fledberie, “ii lew' lg' & dimid' lat', from which he derived all the game and the honey.

seen by St. Egwin's charter.¹ The episcopal see of Worcester,² and secular clerks there, had been established in 680, the same year in which King Æthelred finished the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, begun by his brother Wulphere.

This important move on the part of the Wiccians preserved to them that supremacy in the kingdom which the Romans had established and the *reguli* had continued, but there were enemies at home as well as abroad. The Mercian nobles killed Queen Ostritha,³ and King Æthelred retired into a monastery. Ethelbald commenced a vigorous reign; but in a rebellion of his subjects he lost his life at the hands of Beared, at Secundunum, an old Saxon town in Warwickshire. The retrograde movement continued. Offa was called a great King; but Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne, says of him, "confirmatione regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit",⁴ which in a few words tells a long tale. His name is preserved in Offchurch, Warwickshire, as well as in Offenham near Evesham.

The next century is ushered in by the important reign of Ecgbright or Egbert, who in 800 succeeded to the throne of his great-grand-uncle, Ina of Wessex, and it was not long before he put into practice the lessons of military and ecclesiastical discipline which he had made himself master of in France under Charlemagne. He first defeated the heathens of the west in Devonshire and Cornwall, and then profiting by the disorders of Mercia, consequent upon the death of Kenwulf and the murder of his youthful son, resolved to put an end to the rivalry which had so long distracted the two sister kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex,—an antagonism which is traceable through the long interval from the conference under St. Augustine's Oak, at the beginning of the seventh century, to the period under review. At Wilton the fate of Mercia was decided, and Egbert obtained a com-

¹ Leland, *Collect.*, vol. i.

² Of the twelve hundreds into which Worcestershire was divided, seven were free from taxes, and paid nothing to the sheriff. These probably belonged to the church of Worcester and the Abbots of Evesham, Westminster, and Pershore. (Nash's *Worcestershire*.) Washbourn-under-Bredon Hills, severed from the main body, belonged to Worcestershire. These dismembered parts of the county, except Dudley, were originally church lands. Old Barrow belonged to Evesham Abbey, Alderminster to Pershore, and the rest were the lands of the Bishop and church of Worcester. (Camden's *Britannia*.)

³ See her supposed portrait on the wall of Melbourne Church, Derbyshire. (*Journal*, vii, p. 353.)

⁴ Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.*, p. 33.

plete victory after a battle fought with great obstinacy on both sides, in 823.¹ Egbert then engaged East Anglia to revolt against Mercia rather than make a direct attack himself upon the heart of the kingdom; and this being successful, he took advantage of the opportunity to degrade Mercia into a tributary province of Wessex, under the nominal sovereignty of its King, Wiglaf, who from his retreat at the monastery of Croyland appears to have made a humiliating treaty in 827.²

Ingulfus says that the two usurpers, Beornwulf and Ludecan, by their imprudence destroyed Mercia. They had neglected to man the old military positions of the Romans in Warwickshire and their castles in Worcestershire. These, as in Roman times, were the key of the country, and the Wiccii could not have played the important part they did, with their bishop, or *rex*, or *regulus*, at their head establishing and directing the government of the kings of Mercia, unless they had retained these fortresses; but the tyrants "*regno vehementer oppresso, totam militiam ejus quæ quondam plurima exstiterat et victoriosissima suâ imprudentiâ perdiderant.*"³

Egbert, with the assistance of Ealstan, his trusty general and counsellor, had reduced Mercia to submission and promise of a yearly tribute; but all the good counsels, political and military, of Bishop Ealstan could not make a good general of Ethelwulf, the son of Egbert, who from a cloister⁴ ascended a throne; and throughout the ninth century battles were fought with various success against the heathen Danes who were banded together against Christianity. Bishop Ealstan enjoyed his dignity for no less than fifty years; but

¹ *Sax. Chron.*, Flor. Wic., Hen. Hunting.

² It may be useful to enumerate the following monasteries in addition to those mentioned throughout this paper, founded in Wiccia during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries (before Dunstan's Benedictine foundations), extracted from Mr. Walter de Gray Birch's *Fusti Monastici Ævi Saxon.*, London, 1872:—Monastery at Tetbury or Tettan, before 680; at Daeglesford or Deilesford, 718; at Kidderminster, 736; at Kemesey, 799; at Clive or Wendlesclive, 790-888; at Beccanford, 803; at Cheltenham, 803; at Berkley, 824; at Hehiambiri or Hembury, *circa* 833; at Bloccanlegh or Blockley, before 855; at Westbury, before 824.

³ Ing., 7.

⁴ The devout zeal of Ethelwulf is shewn in the yearly gift of three hundred *mancusæ* which he had conveyed to Rome to be appropriated as follows: one hundred *mancusæ* to furnish oil for the church of St. Peter; another hundred for oil for St. Paul's church; and the remainder for the general use of the apostolic see. (Asser.)

he knew no peace till he was buried in his cathedral church of Sherborne.

The marriage of Ethelswitha, daughter of Ethelwulf, with Burrhed, King of Mercia, an important political event, was celebrated at Chippenham in 853.¹ Alfred, though a younger son, was the favourite of his father. (Asser.) They both went together to Rome when Alfred was only in his seventh year.² They remained there twelve months, and on the road through France Ethelwulf took to himself a wife, in Judith, daughter of Charles; and this step-mother of Alfred gets the credit of having taken great pains with his education.³ After this event it was that the great battle took place at Æscesdun, probably in the Vale of the White Horse, in Berkshire, where Ethelred and his brother Alfred were engaged; and after obtaining some successes over the Danes, were totally defeated, and the King lost his life.

The first seven years of Alfred's reign are marked by a want of vigour in opposing the Danes, and by several treaties made with them, which appear pusillanimous, or brought about by circumstances which we do not comprehend. I cannot but suspect that the sympathies of his people with the enemy, and their regard for their old forms of religion, their sacred circles, prophetic caves, and Druid priests, had much to do with the crisis, and Alfred was obliged to temporise: hence the severe strictures upon his conduct by his friend St. Neot. When the Danes wintered at Chippenham, in 878,⁴ Alfred was compelled to seclude and fortify himself at Æthelney.⁵ He had to brace up the energy of a mind not only stored with deep learning, but tutored by the hard experience of facts. He proved himself a lover of his

¹ A gold ring of this queen, weighing three hundred and twelve grains, was ploughed up in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A., on 14 January, 1875. The inscription inside the ring reads, EATHELSVITH REGNA. See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*.

² Leo IV anointed him King on the occasion, calling him the child of his adoption, A.D. 853. (Asser.)

³ Rev. J. A. Giles (*Life of Alfred*) has remarked that Judith retired to France in 861, when little more than seventeen years of age; therefore the preceptress of Alfred must have been his own mother, Osburga, which seems more natural.

⁴ *Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 871, says that nine general battles were fought this year with the army in the kingdom south of the Thames.

⁵ In 868 they had wintered at Nottingham; in Saxon, Scnotingham. Asser speaks of eight battles in which the pagans lost, he says, "God knows how many thousand men"; but this is rather vague.

country; and when fortune smiled upon him afterwards, he shewed at the head of affairs a moderation in striking contrast with the habits of the age, and far in advance of his times. His code of laws, and particularly the preamble to them, may be adduced in evidence of this, and contrasts favourably with those of Ina, who preceded him by some two hundred years.¹

The story of Alfred in the swineherd's cottage was probably allegorical. The pagans were not unfrequently described as swine, and the allegory is in keeping with the mediæval mode of writing.² The swineherd was some heathen priest whose name is handed down to us as Denulf. This seems the more probable as a learned Druid converted to Christianity would be a subject more likely to be consecrated Bishop of Winchester, as he afterwards was, than one who had been only a driver of pigs. Denulf died Bishop of Winchester in 909.

The same year (878) which witnessed the defeat of Ubbo and his Danes at the castle of Kynwith, in the north of Devon, where Odin's magical standard of the raven was captured³ (Asser), has been rendered memorable by the battle of Eddendun,⁴ fought about Bratton Hill, near Westbury, where Alfred was left master of the field; and a treaty was made between him and Godrun, whereby the latter was to retain East Anglia. Watling Street and the Thames were to be the limits, west and south, of his territories.⁵ The Danes

¹ He adopted he said, many of the laws of his ancestors, "quæ mihi placebant, et multa eorum quæ non placebant rejeci, cum meo sapienti consilio." (Leges Alfredi apud Wilkins, *Leges Ang.-Sax.*)

² The cake story is given by Asser (in some MSS. only), and in the Saxon Life of St. Nest, said to be by the same author. The chroniclers do not mention it till we come to Roger de Wendover. Florence of Worcester mentions the herdsman Denulf, but takes no notice of the anecdote of the cakes. See Giles' *Life of Alfred*. The cakes may be interpreted as the towns and fortresses left to burn while Alfred was otherwise engaged.

³ "Nominatissimum vexillum quod qui demoniaco instinctu corvina effigie deformaverant Raven vocabant." (Ailred, Abb. Rievall, apud Twysden.)

⁴ Variouslly written Ethandune, Edderandun, Assandune, and Edendune. Dr. Whitaker thinks it is the present Yatton, about five miles from Chippenham; but the battle a little lower on the Avon, at Slaughterford. Edington is six miles from Leigh, and not more than ten from Clay Hill. Its proximity to Bratton Castle, the fortification to which the Danes fled, and held out a siege of fourteen days, seems to mark the spot. The fortress is oval, double-ditched, with very steep trenches; its area, twenty-three or twenty-four acres. Chippenham was situated on the eastern bank of the Avon, and the Danes reduced all the country round to subjection. There is a white horse cut in the chalk, similar to that in Berkshire, on Ashdown.

⁵ See text of the treaty in Wilkins, *Leges Ang.-Sax.* The West Saxon king-

removed from Chippenham to Cirencester, the great Roman town; where they made themselves, however, quite at home for a year before retreating to East Anglia in 880, according to the treaty.

The intrepid sea-king, Hastings, gave full occupation to Alfred for many years. In 894 this bold pirate was sailing up the Thames, and overrunning Mercia. (Ethelwerd.) Taking possession of both banks of the Severn, he found himself blockaded in his fortresses by Alfred's generals, and with difficulty the Danes made their escape across the country to Essex. In 897 he again appears at Quatbridge (Bridge-north), where he wintered; but his army was afterwards dispersed,—a part returned to Essex, some fled to Northumbria, while others succeeded in regaining their ships. Many Danish vessels ravaged the Isle of Wight and Devonshire; but Alfred had now formed a strong fleet, and overpowered them. In 900 or 901 King Alfred died at the age of fifty-two, his friend and kinsman, St. Neot, a monk of Glastonbury, having died before him in 878.

Edward the elder was more engaged in filling up the *cadres* of his army than the vacant bishoprics of the kingdom, for which he was under excommunication from Rome; but he made amends by filling seven sees in one day.¹ He had to defend himself against the Danes. They came round Cornwall into the Severn, and devastated South Wales. The counties of Hereford and Gloucester were up in arms, and the two bodies of the enemy were overtaken in Somersetshire: one was destroyed in Watchett, the other in Porlock Bay. Edward vigorously carried out his father's military plans; and his sister, like a *mater castrorum* of the old type of a Faustina Junior or Julia Pia,² was appointed by her brother governor of Mercia, which assumed a second life under her spirited rule. The fortress of Warwick rose from its ruins, and the royal residences of later times occupied the sites of her royal burghs of Coventry, Kenilworth, Kingsbury, and forts thereunto belonging. Ingulfus says of her:

dom was always of more importance (*principalior*) than the East Saxon. (Asser.)

¹ William of Malmesbury.

² A coin is dedicated to the wife of Severus as "Matri Castrorum". A seated figure of the Empress holds in her right hand a patera; in her left, a spear. Under her feet are three military standards. (Vaillant, *Num. Imp. Rom.*, tom. ii, p. 248. Paris, 1692.)

"Ipsam etiam urbibus extruendis, castellis muniendis ac exercitibus ducendis deditam, sexum mutasse putaris" (p. 28).

After contemplating military and political affairs wielded by the skill of a martial lady or a zealous bishop, it is refreshing to refer to deeds more suitable to the sex of the one and the profession of the other,—the foundation of religious houses dedicated to works of charity and religion. The principal Roman stations became royal burghs, and many have descended to the crown in later times. Convents established by royal ladies and others grew up under the protection of the Roman fort. Among these may be named Polesworth or Pollysworth, where Edith, daughter of Egbert, with St. Lyne and St. Ositha, lived together in a holy manner; and here the King soon after founded a religious house for them on the banks of the river Anker, constituting Edith abbess thereof. A nunnery also existed at Warwick, and another at Coventry, both which were destroyed by the Danes in 1016.

The prætorian *comites* may be dimly shewn forth in those shadowy counts or earls whom the chronicles mention from time to time "to point a moral or adorn a tale". The class of earls in Norway, called "satraps" by the Latin writers, seem to have been at the same period in a similar state of independence as our own, until these wild horses were broken in by St. Ólave, and were afterwards curbed by the restraining tie of the feudal system. The work of consolidation begun by Alfred was nearly completed by the strong hand of Athelstan, who succeeded to the crown in 924, and had power to enforce the administration of the laws throughout the land. His good understanding with Harold of Norway, whose son Hako he had educated in England in the principles of Christian government, promoted this result, and brought freebooting among the Norwegians into discredit when religious differences were at an end.

The victory of Bennanburh,¹ in Northumberland, so raised the repute of Athelstan in the eyes of Europe that foreign powers contended for his alliance. Henry the Fowler of Germany sent to demand the hand of Athelstan's

¹ Ingulfus gives a detailed account of this battle, in which the Chancellor Thurketul turned the tide of victory by bringing up some veterans who may be compared with the *veixillarii* of former times. They were citizens of London and the men of Worcestershire, under their centurion, Singrinus. (Ingulf, 37.)

sister in marriage for Otho his son and future emperor, and Hugh, King of the Franks, married his son to another sister. Presents were sent over of value both intrinsic and suggestive; among these were the sword of Constantine, and the spear of Charlemagne, if the chroniclers are not writing allegorically as they sometimes do.¹ Athelstan had earned the title of King of All England, and, having trampled his enemies under his feet, strove to prove his gratitude to Almighty God by founding monasteries and offering the most precious gifts on the sacred altars. Before entering upon the great monastic revival and events of the latter part of the tenth century, I will retrace my steps a little in order to connect the intervening struggle with the heathens on the heights around the Wiccians on the south and west, with the remains which still tell a tale of those times.

The estuary of Uzella or river Ivell, in Somersetshire, still flows into the Severn-sea, as in the time of Ptolemy, and at the confluence of the Ivell with the Pedred, was formed an island called Muchelney, where stood the old monastery built by Athelstan.² The Pedred, commonly called the Parret, runs by Crewkerne, and by Pedderton, formerly Pedridan, where was a palace of King Ina. Hence, proceeding up to where the Parret receives the Horne river, we pass up to Wellington. The Æthelney, or island of nobles, is formed by these two rivers, illustrious from its association with Alfred the Great, and the monastery erected there.

The Thone washes Thontun, or Taunton, "delicately seated, and in short one of the eyes of this county", as Camden has it (Gibson's edition). Here Ina built a castle as a frontier fortress against his enemies in the west. At Norton-Fitzwarren, about two and a half miles north-west of Taunton, is an ancient earth-work, which escaped the notice of Phelps and Collinson, and of which an interesting account is given in the transactions of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, 1849-50.³ Five miles south of Wells

¹ William of Malmesbury delighted, he said, to season his histories with Roman salt. He sometimes put in too much.

² Here, in 845, Eanulf, the ealdorman, with the men of Somerset, and Bishop Ealchstan, and Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Dorset, fought against the Danish army, and there made a great slaughter, and got the victory. (*Sax. Chron.*)

³ The Rev. F. Warre, who has described this locality, fixes the ancient *Theo-*

⁴ Norton, before Taunton was built. See vol. vii, p. 43, of the *Proc. Somerset. Arch. Soc.*

stands Glastonbury, on the Isle of Avalon ; the glassy island, Glaston-ey, where the monastery nurtured and defended many early champions of Christianity. Between this and the sea foamed those wonderful turbaries which are mentioned by Nennius as among the marvels of Britain. A greater marvel was the embankment of the Parret by the Romans from its mouth to beyond Borough Bridge, in order to reclaim the low lands by keeping out the sea.

Intermixed with the great military earthworks in Somersetshire, are the religious mounds and places of assembly and of burial¹ used by the pagans—the British, Saxon, and Danish followers of Woden. North Somersetshire seems to have been a great centre of Wodenism, to judge from the extent of the remains.

Stanton-Drew, seven miles from Bristol, is a stone circle, the measurement of which is variously given by antiquaries. It has the features of Abury, Rollrich, and Stonehenge. It would be desirable to have these great monuments accurately measured. Eastward of this is the circle of eight, with a diameter of 94 feet to 96 feet. Then there is the south-west circle, 140 feet in diameter, according to Wood ; 120 feet, according to Stukeley. North-west from this last circle, is a cave 10 feet wide, and about 8 feet deep, formed of three large flat stones, 18 inches thick. Two large stones lie flat in a field called Lower Tynning—most suggestive this name of the Field of Assembly, the *Ting Ing*.

Worle-Hill has been described by Rev. F. Warre, in the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, vol. x. p. 14 ; and by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth on the spot during the Bristol Congress, and in our *Journal*, xxxi.

There is another work on Banwell Hill, six miles from Worle Hill, and three miles to the east is Dolberry Camp, containing apparently 20 acres, the formation of which is attributed to the Red Shanks, *i.e.*, the Danes. A very extensive fortress occupies the eastern extremity of Dundry Hill, distant from Bristol six miles south. At the western extremity, a narrow isthmus of the hill is closed by a tumulus called Maes Knoll, vulgarly known as Miss Knoll-Tump, 390 ft. long by 84 broad, and 45 ft. high above the level of the camp on the inside. Here we have a fort, perhaps a ship-

¹ Colonel Preedy, at the Evesham Congress, pointed out the similarity between our stone cromlechs and analogous structures in Northern India and Central Asia.

barrow, recalling the battle-field, which its name Maes Knoll indicates, that is battle-field hill. In a sequestered spot in the ancient forest of Selwood, far removed from any road, and about fifteen miles from the sea, is a long chambered tumulus of an oval shape, measuring 150 feet from north to south, and 75 feet from east to west, known by the name of Fairies Toot, probably derived from Theuth or Tentales. This was opened in 1788, and the Rev. T. Bere gave a description of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for July 1789. There is the Wellow tumulus, three-quarters of a mile south-west of the church, 107 ft. in length, 54 ft. in width, and 13 ft. in height.

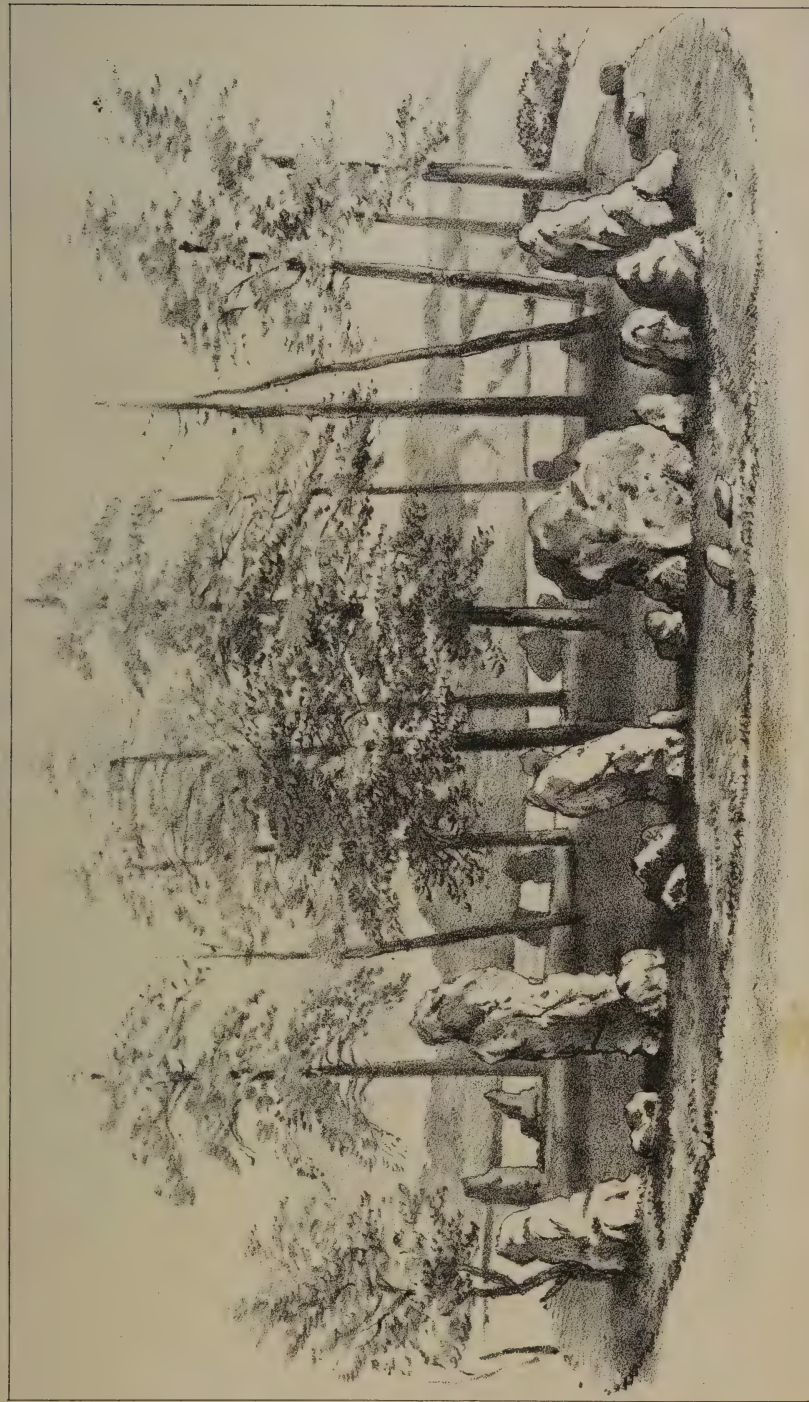
It is not necessary to multiply examples in Somersetshire, and I will only add to the forts and earthworks already named in Gloucestershire, some account of that most remarkable monument overlooking the Vale of Evesham, a valley said to extend from Meon Camp as far as Malvern Hills.

The circle of stones known as Rollright is by Camden written Rollrich, and he attributes this monument to Rollo. If approached from the side of Chipping Norton, a town seated on the high road between Oxford and Worcester, through Evesham and Pershore, Great Rollright church is seen on the right; and ascending for five furlongs, Little Rollright Church is passed on the left, and in another mile the summit of the elevation is attained. The name suggests such an origin as Roll-ric, the domain of Rollo, but without laying too much stress upon this derivation, we may suppose that the cautious Camden had other than purely etymological reasons for adopting it.¹ Mr. R. Gale, in 1719, measured the diameter of the circle, and found it to be really an ellipse, being 35 yards long by 33 yards broad. He said there were then only twenty-two stones standing upright out of sixty, apparently the original number. The stones are flattish, about 15 or 16 inches thick, and few exceeding 4 feet in height, but one in the very north point is much higher than the rest, being 7 feet high, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. There was an entrance at the north-east, as at Stonehenge, and the diameter of the Rollrich circle is about equal to the outer circle of Stonehenge. We are informed by Mr. G. Higgins² that, to the north-east, is a great tumulus or barrow of a long form, but much dug away. It was described by Dr.

¹ Dr. Stukeley derives the name from Rholdrwyg, Circle of the Druids.

² *Celtic Druids*, London, 1827.

PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE ROLL-RIGHT STONES



From a Sketch by Lieut. H. J. Morgan, R.N.

J. Jobbins



Stukeley as 60 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth, flat-tish at the top. Mr. Higgins goes on to say that in the same place may be seen another barrow, but circular, below the road to the left hand, on the side of the hill. Under it is a spring-head, running eastward to Long Compton. This barrow has had stone-work at the eastern end. Upon the same heath eastward, on the way to Banbury, are many barrows of different shapes within sight of Rollrich, particularly near a place called the Chapel: on the heath is a large flat and circular tumulus ditched about. There are, too, on the heath, many circular dish-like cavities, as there are near Stonehenge. Not far from the long barrow is a square work double-ditched; the earth of the ditches thrown inward between the two so as to raise a terrace going quite round. Within are seemingly remains of stone walls. It is within sight of the temple, and has a fine prospect all round, being seated on the highest part of the ridge. A little further is a small round barrow with stone wall at the east end, like that before spoken of, a dry stone wall or fence running quite over it across the heath. Five hundred paces directly east from it is a kist-vaen or stone-cist.

Near the King Stone is a square plot of oblong shape on the turf. At Euston, a little way off, between Neal Euston and Fulwell, by the side of a bank or tumulus, stands a great stone, with others smaller. It is half a mile south-west of Euston Church.¹ If the long barrow above referred to be really one of the ship barrows, it would seem to indicate a battle fought hereabouts, as I have before suggested in my sketch of Odinism in Britain,² and in further support of this view, I may mention the stratum of black earth usually found in them, which seems to confirm the old opinion that the long barrow covered the heaps of slain hastily buried after a battle, and the fact that no weapons are found in them, can be accounted for by supposing that these would be too much needed by the living to be buried with the dead on such an occasion.

Dr. Thurnam,³ in reference to the black earth says, "these (the long barrows) differ from the circular barrows in having at the base a stratum, often two feet or more in thickness, in which the skeletons are found, of a black or grey ash-coloured and often unctuous looking earth. This peculiar

¹ Higgins, *Celtic Druids*.

² *Journal*, vol. xxix.

³ *Archæologia*, S. A., xlii.

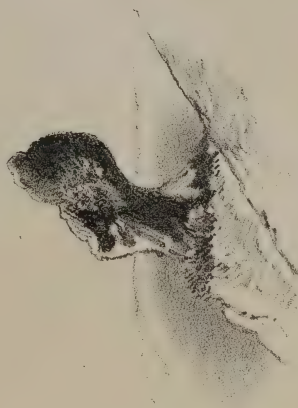
stratum was a source of much perplexity to Sir S. C. Hoare and his coadjutor ; and two of the leading chemists of that day, Mr. Hatchett and Dr. Gibbes, were consulted as to its nature." Between this long barrow and the circle of Rollrich, at a distance from the latter of 84 yards, is a large stone standing upright called the King-stone, 8 feet high and 7 feet broad.

These stones and barrows of Scandinavian character are suggestive of the handiwork of Rollo and his ships' crews, before they became Christians. After baptism, the chroniclers acknowledge him as a respectable member of society, under the name of Robert or Roux. They seem to have derived the latter name from a misinterpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Rad, red and rod signifying counsel,¹ or perhaps the modern word "decision" would best explain it, as counsel followed by action. Though this hero's exploits and those of his posterity are well known, as recorded by our chroniclers, yet his origin, as given by the chronicler of the kings of Norway, being less often adverted to, I will recall what he says on the subject. Rangwold, Earl of the Mæres, was intimate with Harold of the beautiful hair, King of Norway. His wife's name was Hilda, daughter of Rollo of the Nase (or promontory), and they had two sons, Rollo and Thorer. Rollo was a noted pirate, and of so gigantic a stature that he could find no horse to carry him, so that he obtained the nick-name of Rollo the Walker. He was so accustomed to visit the shores of the Baltic, and kidnap, when he had need, the cattle browsing on its coasts, that it is not to be wondered at that he should, on an occasion, seize some oxen on the coast of Vikia ; but, unfortunately, King Harold happened to be near the spot at the time, and was much incensed at this conduct, because he had lately proclaimed by ordinance that his subjects, though they were free to help themselves on the lands of their foreign neighbours, would be condemned to exile if they did this on the coasts of Norway, their own country ; and, accordingly, Rollo was banished the kingdom. His mother Hilda, with womanly zeal and affection, implored the king to reconsider his hard sentence, in some such strains as the following :

¹ See Camden, *Remains, in voce* "Rod." The name Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire, reads like the Saxon "Rod-mære-tun", or Rollo's boundary-town. A long barrow existing here, 176 feet long by 71 feet wide, is described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Second Series, vol. ii, p. 275.



Whispering Knights.



Kings Stone



Whispering Knights



Whispering Knights



"A noble soul from noble land, O King,
Why outlaw, and like wolf or other thing
Ignoble chase away? But he from weald
Shall in his turn your flocks molest in field."

Rollo, after this, sought out his friends in the Hebrides, and thence went to the Vandal coast on roving expeditions, fixing himself in Neustria, which after this time took the name of Normandy, or land of the North-men.¹ The interpretation of Snorre as to the origin of Rollo's nick-name of the Walker, must be taken at what it is worth. "Gang-Rollo" is the original word; Horseman is a type in the poetry of Scandinavia of one who rides on the waves (the white horses) in a ship. Such a horseman was Horsa and Raguar and Hastings. This Rollo may have been called the Walker, because he was not satisfied to be always riding the waves, but knew how to maintain his footing on land, and could occupy a country instead of being content with a raid upon it. He probably caused the beautiful plain, looked down upon from the heights of Rollrich, to be called the Valley of the Red-Horse. Though a walker, he was also the horseman, the man of decision, the red-rover. A shipbarrow, as referred to above, stood not far from the stones, a long mound erected over the heap of slain (the val or wæl) after some desperate engagement with the enemy. Whether or not the battle fought at Hocknorton had to do with Rollo and his exploits must remain undecided: the date of the battle is variously fixed at from 906 up to 911, the latter assigned to it by Bromton and Henry of Huntingdon; 914 by Florence of Worcester; and 917 by the Saxon Chronicle; now if the date of Rollo's baptism is correctly fixed in the year 912, and if Godrun, when he came to assist, had been baptised in 878, when Alfred stood god-father, and gave him and his people many and fine buildings (*Asser Menev.*) then both Rollo and Godrun must have been Christians at the battle of Hocknorton, if the date of it is correctly given by Florence of Worcester, and the Saxon Chronicle. This, however, is not probable, and is irreconcilable with the stones and the barrows, if Rollo is to be connected with them, but if one of the earlier dates is correct, then Rollo fought and occupied this country while he was still a pagan. Wallingford says that Rollo came to assist Alfred, who had

¹ Snorre, *Harald Saga*, c. xxiv.

invited him over in 878, but this was more than thirty years before our dates of the battle of Hocknorton. Hogs Norton is, by the chroniclers, written Hochmeretune, or simply Meretune, as written in the register of Eynsham Abbey. It may be derived from the Saxon Hof-Mære-Tun, or Temple-boundary-town. It is written Hocnēpa-Tun in the Saxon Chronicle; so Moreton in the Marsh, a town at no great distance, may be corrupted from Mære-tun-on-that-Maes—Boundary-town, near the battle-field, but I only offer these as conjectural derivations.

The dates of important actions with the Danes begin from 866, when the names of Halfdan, Hingwar, Hubba, Beigsegg, Guthrum, Oskytul, Amund, the two Sidrocs, as well as Osbern, Frana, and Harold, appear as occupying the soil of England up to 871, when a pagan army was in force at Reading, and a great battle was fought at Basing,¹ where Beigsegg, king and earl, lost his life, and our Alfred, by the death of his brother, King Ethelred, was raised to the throne of Wessex. Alfred made the treaty to divide his kingdom with Godrun in 878, when Godrun took the name of Athelstan, but Dudo² says that Godrun divided his kingdom with Rollo. Godrun is also written Guthrum and Gorman. In Danish history there are two kings named Gorman at about this period, the first being surnamed the Englishman, and the second the Aged, on account of his advanced age. To reconcile the dates with each other, and with the course of the action, is a task of no small difficulty. Let us go back to the King-stone at Rollrich, and consider whether there is any good reason for this name being given to it. It stands outside the circle which may have been used for religious observances at certain seasons when the course of the sun would be indicated by its relative position to the stones, according to its altitude above the horizon, but whether or not these stones were placed here by the Danes, whose observation of the heavenly bodies was indispensable to their education as seafaring men, or whether the more ancient inhabitants of the country had to do with placing the stones where we see them, is a question not easily decided; we know, at all events, that within times of historical record it was the custom for solemn assemblies

¹ Asser, 24; Roger de Hoveden *apud Savile*, p. 239.

² *Apud Duchesn. Script. Norman.*

of the people to be held on elevated ground crowned by circles of stones set in order, for the various purposes of government, and particularly for the election of a king, who was raised upon the lofty stone, indicative of solidity, according to Saxo Grammaticus, above the nobles, who took their position around upon the other stones in the circle, while the people occupied the space within, or the king and nobles stood each by a stone, when this was not fashioned for sitting upon. The King-stone was, however, according to this custom, in the middle of the circle, and not removed from it as in the present case. Here the election must have been made at the King-stone outside, and in connection with one portion only of the circle. Olaus Wormius¹ speaks of the Kōng-stolen or King's seat at Lethra in Zealand, and the Mora-Stan or Mere-Stone at Upsal in Sweden, on which stood the newly elected king surrounded by twelve other stones on which the nobles took up their position. A stone or part of one, formerly used at the coronation of the kings of Scotland, now inserted in the chair shown at Westminster Abbey, preserves the recollection of the ancient veneration for stones by its use at the coronation of our own sovereigns.

A circle, with a King-stone in the middle, is mentioned by Camden as existing in Cornwall near St. Burien's, at a place called Biscaw-Wowne, where nineteen stones are set round, 12 feet apart, and one much larger than the others in the centre. Wormius attributes this to Athelstan or some other Danish king. It may have been the custom of our kings to go through the form of a popular election in each of the ancient Saxon kingdoms. Godrun or Athelstan may have been elected here, and Athelstan in Cornwall as well as on the King's Stone, near the Thames in Surrey (Kingston). Alfred met his army in Somersetshire at Ecgbyrhtes-Stan at the eastern part of Selwood Forest.²

Guthredus, who succeeded Halfden in Northumberland, was to be elected king on Oswlesdune or Oswald's Mount, and the bracelet or armilla was to be placed on his right arm.³

The learned Selden, in commenting upon a passage in Drayton's *Polyolbion*,

— “from Rollright, which remains
A witness of that day we wonne upon the Danes.”

¹ *Dan. Monum.*, Hafn, 1643.

² Asser.

³ Simeon of Durham.

remarks that, of "that unknown nation (the Danish), so much mistaking hath beene of names and times, that scarce any undoubted truth therein can now justifie itself"; and again, he says he is induced to think "that of Godfrey and Rollo hath beene like confusion of names, but both raignes and persons are so disturbed in the stories, that, being insufficient to rectifie the contrarieties, I leewe you to the liberty of common report." Common report seems also to mix up Rollo and Hastings together, and so we must leave this matter. As to the cromlech to the eastward of the circle popularly known as "the Whispering Knights", it is not difficult to suppose this to be the chamber of a barrow denuded of the earth, according to the theory so ably and convincingly advocated by our associate the Rev. W. C. Lukis, in his numerous writings on the subject of cromlechs and barrows.

Edmund the Elder, defeated by Aulaf of Northumbria at Tamworth, and compelled to cede to him the country north of Watling Street, was relieved by the death of the victorious monarch the year after, and availed himself of the opportunity to recover Northumbria, and secure the five cities on the northern frontiers of Mercia, which the Danes had long occupied, that is Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln. He met with a violent death at the hands of an assassin, "quo vulnere examinatus fabulæ januam¹ in omnem Angliam de interitu suo patefecit," A.D. 946.² The youthful Edwin, eldest son of Edmund the Elder, who succeeded Edred at the age of sixteen, had not the experience to cope with the leaders of that movement by which a great reform was effected in the kingdom through the political skill of Dunstan and the earnest zeal of Oswald and Ethelwold, supported by Odo, a relation of Dunstan, and, like himself, of Danish parentage and a good politician. They conceived the idea of raising monasticism into a uniform system, and so giving it a first place in the direction of the affairs of the Church. King Edwin was compelled to divide

¹ The Danes had occupied a large part of this country, more or less, during two centuries, and, intermixed with the English population, must have been, for the most part, Christian during the tenth century, yet the chroniclers found it convenient to treat adverse parties as heathen Danes. William of Malmesbury's words, in speaking of the destruction of buildings, are remarkable:—"Veruntamen utrum tantarum ædium destructio imputanda sit Danorum insanis præliis, an Anglorum rapacibus cuneis non facile discreverim."

² Will. of Malmesbury.

his kingdom with his younger brother Edgar, and we find that he died three years after this humiliation, "pro dolore tanti infortunii usque ad mortem infirmatus."¹ Henry of Huntingdon says, "Non illaudabiliter regni infulam tenuit".

Edgar is styled in his deeds Albionis basileus, imitating the style and attributes of the Roman emperors of the east. Ethelwold, the Abbot of Abingdon, was made Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald Bishop of Worcester, when Dunstan was translated to London, and the same year, 959, to the archbishopric of Canterbury.² He consecrated Elfstan to the see of London. Oswald, who had been a monk at Fleury, brought thence many regulations of the Benedictines, which were usefully incorporated into the *Regularis Concordia*, a body of rules which has descended to us in the form in which it was written soon after the monastic revival. Oswald set about restoring churches and monasteries which had fallen to decay or been burnt throughout the Dane-lea. The name of Oswald's-low (probably from "lea") still marks the district over which his paternal control extended; and we have had the opportunity of inspecting churches at Pershore, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Worcester, and Winchester,³ where the gigantic remains of edifices reared by these great men still stand intermixed with the masonry of later and perhaps of earlier times, but clearly pointing to this important epoch when the churches were designed as places of defence and of refuge as well as of prayer.⁴

¹ Ingulf.

² Dunstan died in 988, and his first biographer dedicated his work to Elfric, who ruled the church of Canterbury from 996 to 1006. See the *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, edited by William Stubbs, M.A. (Rolls Series, 1874), who says that the life of St. Oswald contained in the Cotton. MS., Nero E. 1, has never been printed, though we may hope for an edition of it in Canon Raine's York volumes of this series; and adding that it is an invaluable and almost unknown evidence for the reigns of Edgar and Ethelred.

³ Of two Benedictine foundations of the period, Evesham and Winchcombe, no remains of the churches are to be seen above ground. The base-plan of the former is given in *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. v, as uncovered and mapped out by E. J. Rudge in 1832. Winchcombe, founded in 798 by Kenulph, King of Mercia, on the site where Offa had established a nunnery in 787, was restored, and rededicated to St. Kenelm and the Virgin Mary, by Oswald in 985. (Ingulfus.) "Oswaldus ep'us clericos ejecit et monachis introductis Germanum Abbatem constituit." (Will. Malmes.) It was one of the three peeral monasteries of Gloucestershire, the other two being Gloucester and Cirencester. (Atkyns' *Gloucestershire*.)

⁴ The chamber in the tower of Deerhurst Church, to which there was no access but by a ladder, is an interesting example, pointed out to us by Mr. Edw. Roberts on our late visit. The chamber of the tower at Pershore presents

The monasteries, in becoming the nurseries of the church establishment by furnishing it with its best men, were acted upon in turn by the influence of church authority to which they were gradually subordinated ; an interval of three hundred years separates the first monastic period from that of St. Dunstan. In the former, the more humble buildings, feeble imitations of the old Roman forms, were sufficient to seclude the philosophers and Christians of that primitive epoch. In the middle of the eighth century Pope Zachary had produced a document, then said to be two hundred years old, containing the original rule of St. Benedict, who died A.D. 509 (Saxon Chronicle), and set on foot throughout Europe monasteries under this respected name, which were to be under the immediate control of the Pope, and subject to no interference on the part of provincial bishops. Though the new Benedictine foundations were established, and their inmates known as canons regular, subjected to orthodox rules and strict vows, still enough of the old element of independence remained in the numerous religious houses throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, encouraged by their conscious strength, derived from landed property and growing wealth, to oppose and retard the encroachments of Rome and of the regular clergy, so that as late as the twelfth century, Giraldus, the famous Bishop of St. David's, and travelling companion through Wales of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, thought it prudent to insert into his daily prayers the formula "From the malice of the monks, O Lord, deliver us". Whether this malice was confined to the forging of charters of immunities to their establishments by foregone Saxon kings, or whether he prayed against malice of a more aggressive nature, does not appear. But to return to Archbishop Dunstan ; this enterprising monk, during his tenure of power, did most thoroughly reduce monasticism to a system, enforced by the hard Benedictine vow of celibacy.¹ He and his coadjutors completed a plan of architectural revival on a grand scale. There is some parallel in the history of Dunstan and that of Wilfrid. Both were disgraced and both were restored to power. Dunstan's Danish parentage

some similar characteristics of later date, but this is reached by a flight of stone steps inside the wall.

¹ It has been noticed by Mr. Stubbs (*Memorials of St. Dunstan*) that in Archbishop Dunstan's own churches of Canterbury, London, and Worcester, no such measure was attempted as turning out the secular clerks from their monasteries.

might account for his Byzantine proclivities, whether in architecture or government, and his early residence in the palace of a king would incline his loyalty rather towards his temporal than his spiritual sovereign. Though the chroniclers speak of him as a devoted partizan of Rome, it seems from the tenor of his history, as well as the way in which his extraordinary talents have been criticised, and even his scientific knowledge of building and working in metals, attributed to a connection with the powers of darkness, that he was a man of independent thought and of no ordinary mould, and truly has Dr. Hook¹ said of him that "the hagiographers found it hard work to square the conduct of Dunstan to their own model".

Upon Edgar's death in 975, Edward the Martyr succeeded; he was raised to the throne by Dunstan, but opposed by Elfrida, second wife of the late king; the end of it was that he was stabbed in the back at Corfe Castle, and Ethelred, Elfrida's son, succeeded to the throne, but Dunstan's influence was sufficient to obtain the control of the youthful king, and Elfrida retired to a convent. Alfric, Duke of Mercia, succeeded his father in 983, and it appears that he treacherously encouraged the Danish invasion which occurred soon after, and the king revenged himself on Algar, his son, by putting out his eyes.² A naval and military armament was ordered against the invaders,³ but again the consequences of the native disaffection were apparent in the wilful delays interposed in resisting it.

A great impulse was, however, given towards Christian consolidation throughout Europe at this period, which extended to England. Wladimir, great grandson of Ruric the Norman, was the first grand duke of Russia who embraced Christianity, and was baptized on the occasion of his marriage, in 988, with Anna Romanowna, sister of Basil II, and of Constantine VIII, emperors of Constantinople.⁴ In 1010, England was divided between Ethelred and the Danes, as it had been before between Edwin and Edgar. Two kings, Olave of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark, had arrived in the Thames in 994, and, after a truce of three years, Sweyn sailed, in 998, from Southampton, where he had wintered, sailed up the Tamar in Devonshire, burning and plundering

¹ *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. i.

² Flor. Worc., *Sax. Chron.*, Matth. West.

³ Florence of Worcester.

⁴ Nestor, *Annales*.

as far as Lydeford ; they had also sailed round the Land's End into the Severn. In 1003, Sweyn landed at Exeter, and led his army through Salisbury to the sea-coast. In 1006 and 1010 two large sums of money bought off the enemy for a time.¹ The next invasion of Sweyn put him into possession of the whole kingdom ; the people fell away from Ethelred, and when Sweyn marched to Bath, the Duke Ethelmere and all the western thanes submitted to his sovereignty, which, however, he enjoyed only a year, having been cut off by death at Gainsborough, in 1014. Canute, the son of Sweyn, lost no time in claiming his father's crown. Wessex submitted to him, and gave hostages for its fidelity.

Edmund Ironside had skirmishes with Canute in different parts of the country ; from Essex to Mercia, and into Gloucestershire. In the islet of Olney near the bridge of Gloucester, Edmund agreed to a pacification by which England was divided between the two. In a year, however, Edmund was assassinated, and Canute was chosen king by general consent. In 1020, he held a great council, in the Easter festivity, at Cirencester, two years after he had married Emma, the widow of Ethelred.² This marriage was the death-blow both to paganism as well as to Orientalism, and the conqueror of Russia took his place as King of England among the sovereigns of Western Europe.

I have endeavoured to show how, from the time of the Romans, Warwickshire has been the great military centre of the kingdom, and Worcester and Gloucestershire the battle-field of contending parties. The continued intercourse between this country and the provinces of Denmark and Flanders in early times, is a subject of considerable interest, and it would not be difficult to show that the close intimacy between them continued long after the daughter of the great Alfred was married to Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and a sister of Athelstan to a son of Henry the Fowler, and long after the great Canute had been dead and buried.

¹ "Ut repellerentur argento qui non poterant ferro." (Will. Malmesb.)

² His activity in affairs of the state is stamped on his coinage. Ruding says "the first coin bearing the name of Bristol, which I have met with, is a penny of Cnut, of which there are four or five varieties." Mr. J. W. Henfrey exhibited others at the Bristol Congress. In the days of King Athelstan, says Roger Hoveden, it was directed there should be at Canterbury seven mone-taries, namely, four of the king, two of the bishop, one of the abbot ; at London, eight ; and at Bristow and other boroughs, one.

Our monastic sympathies with Denmark must not be forgotten. We have a record that the Monastery of Evesham had a cell or filial establishment at Odinseye, where the monks paid especial reverence to the mother church of Evesham.¹ This was in the reign of Waldemar, King of Denmark, in A.D. 1174. The family of William the Conqueror kept up the intimacy with the Counts of Flanders, their relatives ; but it began to grow cool when Matilda, the ex-Empress of Germany and daughter of Henry I of England, allied herself in second marriage with Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of the Earl of Anjou, which changed the course of events in these counties, and revolutionised the kingdom. The deed signed by Henry Fitz-Empress, dated 1152² (given in fac-simile in the Report of the Commissioners on Public Records, vol. ii, Pl. XLVII), is a good instance of this ; and I am induced to refer to it from the fact that a dispossessed noble of the time of Henry II long lived in the memory of the people as a type of a class, and has inspired the poets with the theme of Robin Hood's exploits, which to this day give an especial interest to the woods of Warwickshire and neighbourhood, and to the name of Loxley, where the paternal domain of this hero is fixed, with great appearance of probability, by J. R. Planché, Esq., Somerset Herald, who has critically discussed this subject in a paper read at Nottingham, in July 1864, before the Architectural Society (Dio. of Lincoln), and entitled "A Ramble with Robin Hood", and published in their *Transactions*. From the number of historical characters introduced into the plot, Mr. Planché's account of the matter is worthy of further attentive study.

The connexion of Worcestershire with the Flemings, by the traffic of the staple, was the principal source of our foreign commerce and wealth in mediæval times ; and the cities of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and other neighbouring cities, in the fourteenth century, introduced the principles of free trade into the Low Countries, of which we are now beginning to recognise the value.

From the marriage of Edward III with Philippa of Hainault sprang John of Gaunt, otherwise Ghent, his birth-place, the head of that house of Lancaster whose descendants took

¹ "Ex Registro de Evesham" in Bibl. Cotton., Vesp. B. xxiv, fol. 16.

² *Bibl. Cott. Cart. Antiq.*, xvii, 2.

part in those battles of Guelph and Ghibeline, fought on the soil of Britain, to the destruction, on both sides, of our bravest nobles of oldest race, and to the prejudice of these counties, perhaps, more than any others. Tewkesbury meadows witnessed the closing scene of that long war. The young scion of the house, Prince Edward, one victim of the battle, sleeps peaceably in the choir of the old church.

We pass to the last struggle of the seventeenth century, of which the first battle was at Edgehill in Warwickshire, and the last at Worcester. The courage, loyalty, and perseverance, which had been displayed on the same fields under different circumstances, were shewn in these latter days: never more, let us hope, to be called forth in civil strife,—the “*pila minantia pilis*”. May we see our military energy and skill developed only to preserve inviolate the lands where lie the bones of our ancestors, and for the purpose of defending our ancient island-home against foreign foes, no less than our distant possessions in India, Canada, Australia, and the isles. If a better knowledge of history tends to cement together the brotherhood of northern races who largely enter into the composition of this highly favoured community, shewing at the same time the influence which the southern races have had in the civilisation and consolidation of our nation, then we may boast that archæology, in handling the visible remains of the past, is history’s best witness, and is not a vain and purely æsthetical science, but one eminently practical and instructive.

Grant from Offa, King of the Mercians, to Æthelmund, of Land in Westbury, in the Province of the Wiccias, A.D. 791-796.

TEXT OF PLATE I.

“In nomine summi tonantis qui est deus benedictus in secula amen. Regibus potentibus et huius seculi divitibus cum fallacibus istius lugubri mundi substantiis quæ omnia sicut umbra euanescunt æternæ vitæ præmia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego offa rex a rege reguum constitutus terram lv cassatorum in provincia huuicciorum ubi nominatur uuestburg prope flumen qui dicitur aben æðel-mundo fideli meo ministro pro ereptione animæ meæ in libertatem perpetuam sub hac condicione libens concedo ita ut ab omni tributo paruo vel maiore publicalium rerum et a cunctis operibus uel regis uel principis sit in perpetuum libera preter expeditionalibus causis et pontium structionum et arcium munimentum quod omni populo



necesse est ab eo opere nullum excussatum esse. Scripta est autem hæc libertatis kartula ab universo concilio synodali in loco celeberrimo qui nuncupatur clobeshoas. Quorum signa et nomina infra tenentur

† Ego Offa rex dei dono propriam donationis libertatem signo sancte crucis confirmo † ego ecgferð filius regis consensi † signum hygeberhti archiepiscopi † signum æðelheardi archiepiscopi † signum ceolulfi episcopi † signum haðoredi episcopi † signum unuuonæ episcopi † signum cyneberhti episcopi † signum deneferði episcopi † signum ceolmundi episcopi † signum ceonwalh episcopi † signum uermundi episcopi † signum alhheardi episcopi † signum ælfhuni episcopi † signum uinohtuni episcopi † signum alhmund abbatis † signum beonnan abbatis † signum uuigmundi abbatis † signum utel abbatis."

On the back.—"† brorda † bynna † alhmund † esne † ædelmund † uuigberht † heardberht † uuynberht † ceolmund † ubba † lulling † eafing."

TRANSLATION.

† p. In the name of the supreme thunderer, who is God blessed for ever, amen. By potent kings and the rich men of this world the rewards of eternal life must be purchased with the deceitful things of this mournful world, which all vanish as a shadow. Wherefore I, Offa, made king by the King of Kings, for the rescue of my soul freely grant to Æthelmund, my faithful servant, fifty-five cassates of land in the province of the Huuicci [Wiccas], in the place which is named Uuestburg [Westbury], near the river which is called Aben [Avon], in perpetual freedom, on this condition, that it be for ever free from all tribute to the state, small or greater, and from all services, whether to king or prince, except military service and the making of bridges and the maintenance of defences, because it is necessary for all the people that none should be excused from this obligation. This charter of livery was written by the entire synodal council in that most famous place which is called Clobeshoas, whose signs and names are preserved below :

† I, Offa, by God's gift King, confirm my own livery of the grant with the sign of the holy cross. † I, Ecgferð, the King's son, have agreed. † the sign of Hygeberht, Archbishop. † the sign of Æðelheard, Archbishop. † the sign of Ceolulf, Bishop. † the sign of Haðored, Bishop. † the sign of Unuuona, Bishop. † the sign of Cyneberht, Bishop. † the sign of Deneferð, Bishop. † the sign of Ceolmund, Bishop. † the sign of Coenwalh, Bishop. † the sign of Uermund, Bishop. † the sign of Alhheard, Bishop. † the sign of Ælfhun, Bishop. † the sign of Uinohtun, Bishop. † the sign of Alhmund, Abbot. † the sign of Beonnan, Abbot. † the sign of Uuigmund, Abbot. † the sign of Utel, Abbot.

On the back.—† Brorda. † Bynna ; and so on, as above.

*Grant from Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, to Wulfsig, of Land
at Easton, co. Worcester, A.D. 904.*

TEXT OF PLATE II.

“Rixiendum on ecnisse ussum drihtne hælende criste seðe all
ðing gemetegað ge on heofenum ge on eorðan þæs inflæscnisse ðy
gere þe agen wæs DCCCC wintra and iiii winter and ðy uii gebon
gere. Ic uuerfrid biscop mid mines arweorðan heorodes geðafunga
and leafe on weogerna ceastre sylle wulfsige minum gerefan wið
his holdum mægene and eadmodre hernesne anes hides lond on
easttune swa herred hit hæfde on ðreora monna dæg and all
ðæt inn bond beligeð an dic utane and þonne ofer ðreora monna deg
agefe monn eft ðæt lond butan elcon wiðer ewide inn to weogerna
ceastre and ðis seondan ðara monna noman ðe ðæt geðafedon and
mid cristes rode tacne gefaestnedon † uuerfrið biscop † cynehelm
abb[as] † uuerfrið pr[e]s[byter] † eadmund pr[e]s[byter] † berht-
mund pr[e]s[byter] † tidbald pr[e]s[byter] † hildefrið pr[e]s[byter]
† ecfrið pr[e]s[byter] † eaduulf pr[e]s[byter] † wiglaf pr[e]s-
[byter] † oslac diacon[us] † cynað diacon[us] † berthelm
† wigheard † monn † earduulf † uullaf † berthelm † heah-
red † cynelaf † uulfred † cynehelm † uulfric † cenfrið
† hwituc † cynelaf † ceolhelm † uullaf † ealhmund † eard-
uulf † uulfgar.”

TRANSLATION.

Reigning in eternity, our Lord Saviour Christ, who governs all
things both in heaven and on earth, in the year 904 since his incar-
nation, and in the year 7 of the indiction, I, Werfrith, Bishop [of
Worcester], with the assent and leave of my reverend assembly at
Worcester, give to Wulfsig, my reeve, in return for his faithful
energy and humble obedience, one hide of land at Easttune [Easton,
co. Worc.], just as Herred held it, for three men's lives, and all
that lies therein, one dyke outwards; and then, after three men's
lives, the land shall again be given back, without any demur, to
Worcester. And these are the names of the men who assented
thereto, and with the sign of Christ's holy cross confirmed the same.
† Uuerfrið, Bishop. † Cynehelm, Abbot. † Uuerfrið, Priest. † Ead-
mund, Priest. † Berhtmund, Priest. † Tidbald, Priest. † Hilde-
frið, Priest. † Ecfrið, Priest. † Eaduulf, Priest. † Wiglaf, Priest.
† Oslac, Deacon. † Cynað, Deacon. † Berthelm. † Wigheard.
† Monn; and so on, as above.



Nixien dūm on ecnyre uyrum
dint te metegad te on heofenum te
te agen þær ðccc pintera qum pinter
mid minre arþeordan he ofoder te d
welle fulfyrte minum te ne fan f
nerre anes hider lond on easttūne
na dæc 7all sæt inn lond belized a
dæc agere monn eft sæt lond bura
re 7oþr reondan dapa monna n
pode tache te fæstnedon 7 uuen p
7ead mund þær 7 beht mund þær 7
7ead uulf þær 7 wylaf þær 7 orlac d
neaf 7 monn 7 ead uulf 7 uillaf 7
7 cnehelm 7 uulfne 7 cen fud 7 h
mund 7 ead uulf 7 uulfen

þihtne hælende cnytte feðeall
neofodan þær in fleescmyre ðe tene
7 ðu un-gebon tene. Ic uueſpīd biſcōp
mōta gleaſe on feoðerna ceapne
ſholdum mæte ne geadmōðe heu
lra heppes hiſ hæfde on ðreora mon
ic utane 7 þonne ofer ðreora monna
elcon giden cniht 7 in to feoðerna ceap
man ðe ðæt geðafedon 7 mid cnytte
biſcop 7 cnehtelm abb 7 uueſpīd dēp
ald pīp 7 hildeſpīd pīp 7 ecſpīd pīp
con 7 cneht diacon 7 beſiht helm 7 pī
pīhtelm 7 heahſeð 7 cneht 7 uueſpīd
7 cneht 7 ceolhelm 7 uueſpīd 7 ealh



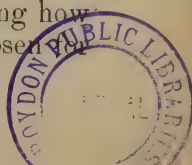
THE ABBEY OF EVESHAM, ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIVES OF A TRIAD OF ITS ABBOTS.

BY THE REV. N. G. BATT, VICAR OF NORTON AND LENCHWICK.

WHEN, a few years since, it was discussed in Parliament whether Evesham or Wells ought to be disfranchised, the champion of the Worcestershire borough patriotically pleaded, that "if Wells had its cathedral, Evesham had its fine old abbey". Some were inclined to smile at Lord Hampton's boast, recollecting how scanty are the remains of the once noble Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary and St. Egwin of Evesham. Still it must be admitted that the bare memory of so great and venerable a foundation lends a certain dignity to the little town which grew up under its protection, and that if its battle renders Evesham interesting to the historian, it is its Abbey which chiefly recommends it to the antiquary.

The Abbey of Evesham was founded in 701, only a century after the introduction of Christianity among our forefathers, while Mercia was yet a separate kingdom, and, as it lasted for more than eight hundred years, till the dissolution under Henry VIII, Evesham was a monastic town, the residence of powerful ecclesiastical barons, for thrice the period during which it has existed alone as a secular corporation since the fall of its monastery. As my limits forbid the slightest sketch of this long history, I will confine my remarks to the lives of three only out of the fifty abbots who have borne rule at Evesham, namely Egwin, Egelwin, and Lichfeld, who represent respectively the beginning, the highest prosperity, and the decline and fall of the institution.

The establishment of such an ancient and magnificent religious house was naturally attributed to the immediate interposition of Heaven. As the citizens of a Grecian or Roman republic delighted to trace its origin to gods and heroes, and to surround it with a halo of omens and prodigies, so every good monk would love to glorify the spiritual commonwealth with which he felt identified, by relating how divine beings had guided holy men to the spot chosen for



the future sanctuary. Even in the France of our own day, an apparition of the Blessed Virgin is believed to have pointed out the grotto at Lourdes as the site of a church to be erected in her honour ; so that it is no wonder the brethren of Evesham held it an undoubted article of faith that their heavenly patroness had appeared first to Eoves the swineherd, and then to his master the Bishop Egwin, the proprietor of the estate, and declared that she had selected the place for her own. This legend is to be decyphered on the seals of the abbot and convent of Evesham, and it is hardly necessary to explain it, as some rationalists have attempted to do, by a superstitious fancy of the herdsman, and a dream or politic invention of the bishop. The true miracle would have been if this commanding peninsula in the very centre of the fertile vale of the Avon, the holm or river island of Eoves, had remained untenanted by monks. Italian monachism was then as much the rage in England as American revivalism is now, and the choicest institutions in the county were attracting colonies of industrious Benedictines. Evesham was but one of a chain of monasteries, Pershore, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, following the course of our midland streams. Egwin, a man of noble birth, the third Bishop of the Wiccians (for Saxon, like Irish bishops, often took their titles from the clan or territory), had a natural predilection for the pleasant solitude. He discerned its capabilities, overgrown with thickets as it then was, and discovering, it is said, the remains of an ancient British church (as Augustine found the chapel of St. Pancras at Canterbury), he determined to establish in this retreat a home for men of prayer by the banks of Avon, even as Elisha and the sons of the prophets had of old built their wooden college on the shores of Jordan. The zeal of Egwin was contagious ; kings and chiefs helped with grants of land, doubtless then of small value, and two of them joined the infant society, and shared the founder's pilgrimage when he went to Rome to obtain privileges for it from Pope Constantine. It was either on this or some other voyage (for the chronology of legends is apt to be hazy) that St. Egwin experienced a special miracle, the memorial of which may be seen in the Abbey arms. His strictness of life and discipline had made so many enemies among a licentious people, or, according to other accounts, the remembrance of

the transgressions of his youth had affected him with so much remorse, that in penance for his own and his people's sins he fastened his feet together with a chain secured by a lock, and casting the key into our river at Evesham, declared that *then* only would he feel assured of pardon when his bonds should be opened by the self-same key. Thus fettered he made his way to Rome, greeted on his arrival by a spontaneous ringing of all the bells in the city. While the Bishop engages in prayer, his servants procure a fish for his repast, and, as may be supposed, recover from its stomach the missing key. "Thus what the English Avon had swallowed, the Roman Tiber restored." Similar stories are told of other saints; and it is also said of Egwin that the fish containing the key leaped on board as he was crossing to France; but the old chronicler gives us the true key to all these legends when he proceeds to moralise,—“Thus, instead of the *stater* of the fishing Peter, the key is given up to the servant of God, that he might know himself about to be loosed by authority of the keeper of the keys of heaven.” The thoughts of those ichthyophagi, the monks, would be apt to dwell on the fish stories in the Bible, as of Jonah, Tobit, and Peter, which have thus become the parents of piscatory legends innumerable.

Most of the tales about St. Egwin possess little interest or originality. The imagination of the Evesham brethren was less fertile than their lands, and seldom soared to the height of the weird and romantic dreams which have beguiled the half-starved ascetics of Egypt and Ireland. Indeed, even in their legends they display a truly English and practical anxiety about the security of their valuable estates and not less valuable corporate rights. According to them, Egwin, though duly credited with all proper saintly virtues, a lover of fasting and prayer, and alms and righteous deeds, was above all things careful to protect his flock from the usurpations of kings and bishops, and the intrusion of secular priests, always the especial aversion of the true monks. Thus in 709 he obtained from a council at Alcester the confirmation of all the privileges of the house of Evesham; and even after his death he did not cease to watch over its interests, if we may credit the following quaint history. Litigation, be it remembered, has been the favourite amusement of associations of so-called religious men both in ancient

and modern times, and many lawsuits are recorded in the chronicles of Evesham. "Now it came to pass in the days of King Ethelred, the son of Edgar, that a certain country fellow attempted to swear away land from the Abbey. On the day of the trial the monks hasten to the spot with the relics of St. Egwin. The judges ordain that the claimant should, with his own hand, remove the relics from the land, and gain it for himself by making oath that it belonged to him. He rose accordingly, and holding his beard in his hand (for he was an aged man with a fine long one), 'By this beard', quoth he, 'I will take away the saint, for the land is mine own inheritance.' Scarcely was the word uttered, when lo! the whole beard fell to the ground as though it had been artificially stuck on. Thus", as the chronicler, who is partial to antithesis, observes, "he who coveted another's land lost his own beard." Yet even this is less marvellous than the contrary miracle recorded of St. Wistan, whose relics were given by Canute to Evesham, for his hair did not cease to grow year by year in the place in Shropshire where he was slain, and on the day of his martyrdom; so that the messengers of Archbishop Baldwin found it then growing among the green grass, probably in the form of some pretty fern.

It is one of the things not generally known that St. Egwin was concerned in the removal of the iron and hardware trade from Alcester to a more northern town in the same county. It seems that Alcester, in this saint's time, abounded in smiths,—a race as obdurate as their own stock in trade. When, therefore, the saint came to preach in their town, they drowned his voice by striking loudly on their anvils, upon which he drove them all out of the old Roman settlement, and laid such an anathema on the place that no one, says the chronicler, has ever since been able to exercise the smith's craft there.

At length, "having attained the age of a swan", Egwin fell ill and died; but first he assembled his brethren, and gave them, it is said, some excellent and truly evangelical advice, which shews, at any rate, what just ideas the old monks of Evesham had of the language befitting a dying father in God. His memory was long cherished in the vale, and his festival celebrated by solemn services in the Abbey. At one of these a pilgrim monk from Coventry, named

Sperculf, watching by night in the crypt near St. Egwin's altar, beheld the saint himself coming in glory, with a white robed train of acolytes, to say mass pontifically. He is now almost forgotten, yet his likeness remains on the ancient lectern now preserved in my church at Abbot's Norton, which was dedicated to his honour by Abbot Brokehampton. His name gives a local and English character to that humble house of God which was annexed of old to the office of sacrist in the monastery, and I should be sorry to exchange his titular patronage for that of some of the less known apostles. I would fain hope that he was a really good man ; somewhat over-strict, perhaps, and not free from the superstition of his age ; but one who knew what that age and country required, and was an active worker on behalf of progress as it was then understood. He has certainly left his mark on this neighbourhood, which he found a lonely wilderness ; and if any of our archæologists are tempted to complain because they can detect no remains of his shrine among the market-gardens which have in their turn supplanted the minster of Evesham, I would say to them, "*Monumentum si quæritis, circumspicite.*"

After the death of Egwin, the Abbey, though occasionally disendowed by rapacious nobles, among whom Earl Godwin, Harold's father, has an evil pre-eminence, and sometimes converted for a while into a college of seculars, yet prospered on the whole during the three centuries up to the Norman conquest. That great revolution in church as well as state found our Abbey under the government of Egelwin, the last Saxon abbot, and the second of my triad. Egelwin and his Bishop, Wulstan, were almost the only Saxon ecclesiastics of rank who escaped disestablishment. The one was saved by the wisdom of the serpent, the other by the harmlessness of the dove. Egelwin must, indeed, have been gifted with no ordinary tact and prudence to continue to be in favour with three such different kings as Edward, Harold, and William, and his elevation does credit to the discernment of his predecessor, the aged Mannius, who chose him to supply his place when disabled by sickness.

The grateful chroniclers of the Abbey are profuse in commendation of this most skilful lawyer and consummate politician, who was, no doubt, the ablest Abbot that ever presided at Evesham, and who not only defended the possessions

of the monks against the armed spoiler, but added to them considerably by his influence with the Conqueror, who made him his lieutenant in the Mercian counties, and entrusted him with the great Abbey of Winchcomb, when its abbot was deposed, so that it is recorded that no Saxon noble was so much in favour with William. The French historian, Thierry, is greatly scandalised at Egelwin's want of patriotism ; but so shrewd an observer was probably impressed by the character of William, so different from the feebleness of the last Saxon princes ; and if he thought he could better serve his country by accepting office under the new government than by aiding to prolong a hopeless struggle, he might plead the authority of the prophet Jeremiah, who advised the peaceable submission of the Jews to the Chaldeans. Yet Egelwin was no mere renegade. He did not join the Normans in their harsh treatment of his countrymen, but used all his wealth and influence to alleviate their misfortunes.

"King William", says the chronicler, "in the first period of his reign, caused to be laid waste certain shires in these parts on account of the exiles and brigands (we would say *patriots*) who lurked in the woods, namely, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, whence a multitude of old and young men, with women and children, flying from the miseries of famine, came hither in most piteous plight, all of whom this man compassionated and nourished to the utmost of his power. Many of them died of hunger while too eagerly snatching at food. The wretches crowded the whole town, and even the cemetery, so worn with want that they had not strength to eat. A great mortality ensued ; five or six, and sometimes more, were daily buried by the Prior, a Saxon, named Alfric, who was young and active, and remarkably diligent in helping the poor strangers. And forasmuch as there were numerous little children left orphans, the Lord Abbot used to commend one little boy to the care of each of the brethren and the servants of the church ; divers of which children grew up to be honest men, and useful to the fraternity." No wonder that, as we next read, many pilgrims used to come to Evesham, in those days, from Aquitaine and Ireland, who all received a hospitable welcome from Abbot Egelwin. Such real charity seldom makes men poor, and it is gratify-

ing to know that, after all he had given away, Egelwin died rich, and of the gout, as became a wealthy prelate, leaving, like David, five chests full of money for his more architectural successor to employ in building a new church in the Norman fashion.

We are told that Walter, the first French Abbot, when he came to Evesham and beheld the invaluable collection of relics accumulated by his predecessors, who had given as much as £100 for a single saint, could not imagine how the English, being possessed of such spiritual treasures, came to be so completely subdued by another nation. The relics must, he thought, be spurious, and he resolved to submit them to the ordeal of fire ; so prayers and litanies having been said, the fire was lighted, and the experiment tried on the bones of St. Wistan, the favourite saint of Canute and his Danes. It need hardly be said that the sacred remains came forth victorious from this posthumous martyrdom, and all were convinced that the Norman conquest was due to the sins of the English, and not to the inefficacy of their saintly talismans.

We return to Egelwin, whose mixed character has been hardly dealt with in later times. Tindale makes him a mere legal pettifogger whose virtue did not extend beyond formal observances, and gifts of crosses and vestments. He was, in truth, an excellent example of a type of churchman which has always flourished in this country, and generally commanded the enthusiastic praises of its contemporaries, though after times have rarely held it entitled to extraordinary reverence. Such men, useful, clever, versatile, and pliant, unencumbered by earnest zeal or fixed principles, are sure to rise under all changes of religion and government ; and though unfriendly critics may hold them ambitious and worldly minded, they not unfrequently make a generous use of power and wealth acquired by questionable arts. Probably, could Evesham Monastery have always had such abbots as Egelwin, it would have continued to this day, transformed into some institution better suited to our age ; but the heads of the house who followed were not possessed of genius like his. Many of them were men of taste and liberality, who added to the splendour of the new buildings and the comfort of the monks. None were scandalous except Roger Norreys, "who loved gowns and hated frocks", *i.e.*, preferred the society of women to that of monks, and

gave his household beer little better than water,—ever an unpardonable offence in Worcestershire. Still, under all external prosperity, the life of the ancient monachism was ebbing away. We read too much of gratifications to the brethren in wine and venison and other delicacies. Bleeding is often mentioned,—an indulgence rendered needful by good living and indolence. In the age of Colet and Erasmus the monks had hopelessly fallen behind the intellect of the nation, and keen observers could perceive that the end of the English monasteries was not far off. Nothing remained but to perish with dignity, and this melancholy privilege our third Abbot, Clement Lichfeld, secured for Evesham.

Clement Wych (called in religion Lichfeld or Tichfeld, from his birth-place) is chiefly interesting as the last representative of an ancient order of things. In the solitary and brief register which has come down to us from his time, his heavy expenses in payments to the King and Mr. Almoner, afterwards Cardinal, Wolsey, are chiefly noticed. The increased value of its lands, as the country became settled and civilised, had evidently drawn down on the Abbey the undesirable attention of a jealous government, and soldiers and their horses were quartered on the poor monks to assist them in consuming their ample revenues. Yet these revenues were sufficient, in spite of all, to enable Abbot Lichfeld to erect those monuments of his taste and munificence which still impress and delight the lover of architecture. The stately though unfinished bell-tower, the beautiful chantries in the two parish churches, were but a part of the works he was carrying out in his Abbey when, as he scrupled to surrender it to the King, he was obliged to give place to a more compliant successor. Philip Hawford was only an Abbot in name, elected merely to give the King legal possession ; nevertheless he alone, of all the superiors of Evesham, rests in a tomb adorned with the mitre and staff,—insignia of his short-lived dignity. He died in Queen Mary's reign, Dean of Worcester, where his monument may be seen in the south-east transept of the Cathedral. The more respectable Lichfeld was rewarded, for resigning his office, by a handsome pension, and a portion of his former mansion was reserved for his use. He survived the destruction of his holy and beautiful house a few years, and dying probably at Littleton or Offenham, was buried in All Saints'

Church, under the vaulted roof of rich fan-tracery, marked with his initials as Prior ; but his sepulchral brass has been long rifled. His name, with a brief prayer for his soul's repose, may be read over the door of the old Grammar School, which, secure in its poverty, has out-lastcd the rich Abbey, and preserves the memory of his liberality and regard for learning.

I shall most fittingly conclude with a few words as to the fate of the Abbey itself. Some persons imagine that in England, as in Scotland, the monasteries were overthrown in a tumultuous manner by the popular violence of the partizans of the Reformation ; but this is a great mistake. All was done with perfect order and regularity, in the most business-like manner, and with the attention to the *forms* of law characteristic of the despotism of Henry VIII. The buildings of the "*late*" Abbey, as it is henceforth always called, are divided into necessary, and to be preserved ; and unnecessary, to be pulled down. The town of Evesham was unfortunately provided with a sufficiency of churches (the Abbey Church had never been even partly parochial), and as Sir Philip Hoby had bought the land, and wanted it cleared, and materials for building in this populous neighbourhood were of value, the splendid church and cloister were taken down so speedily and completely that Leland, visiting the town shortly afterwards, found only a great heap of rubbish in the churchyard. The stones gathered by the builders of eight hundred years had been dispersed where we now often find them, used up in all the mansions, cottages, and stables, of the town and neighbourhood. In all this ruthless destruction there was as little of reforming or Puritanical zeal on the one hand, as of respect for art, regard for religion, or reverence for the dead, on the other. The Abbey was removed as calmly and with as little concern as we should pull down a useless factory or storehouse. Evesham Monastery, in its palmy days, must have been one of the finest groups of building in the midland counties, resembling probably the sister houses of Pershore, Tewkesbury, and Gloucester, with their Romanesque naves and elaborate towers and choirs,—here most likely of late Perpendicular architecture. The crypts are often mentioned ; and the chroniclers describe the Lady Chapel as of wonderful beauty. It looked down on the river, like the Galilee of Durham, and the whole

must have been seen to great advantage from the opposite bank. The interior, about the size of Chester Cathedral, was full of tombs of abbots and nobles, particularly those who fell in the battle. How often the warriors in our civil conflicts contrived to get killed near some great abbey, where they might hope for honourable burial, St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, Lewes, and Evesham, are all instances. There were numerous painted windows of which we have long descriptions, and one hundred and sixty-four pillars adorned with gilding and elegant sculpture. The Chapter House arch still shews the graceful style of the beginning of the fourteenth century. We can trace where the great gateway, with its double arch, opened on Merstowe Green, and where the lofty western front of the church rose, surmounted by the central spire, as represented on the Abbey seal. All is vanished; and better so, perhaps, than to have remained degraded to profane uses like so many once splendid churches in continental lands.

ELMLEY CASTLE.

BY THE REV. HUGH BENNETT, VICAR OF ELMLEY.

THE Castle of Elmley, from which the parish takes its name (Elmley under the Castle), was built by Robert D'Abitot, Steward of William the Conqueror, on a spur of Bredon Hill. From him it passed to his brother, Urso D'Abitot, who held the office of High Sheriff of Worcestershire, and was answerable for keeping this part of the country in subjection. Such was the awe in which people stood of his power and will to chastise, that it became a common saying, if any one committed a crime, "Tradatur Urso" (let him be given to Urso, or to the bear). A bear is said to have been his badge. Emmeline, the daughter and heiress of Urso D'Abitot, married Walter Beauchamp, and from this marriage the wealth and power of the Beauchamps in Worcestershire took their rise. They became hereditary high sheriffs of the county, an office which they held for three hundred years. Their principal seat was at first at the Castle of Worcester; but this suffered much in the course of the civil wars in the time of Stephen and in the time of King John. As the Castle of Worcester fell into decay, the Castle of Elmley rose in importance and grandeur, and became the chief seat of the Lords Beauchamp, the lords paramount in the county. It is said in an old book of tenures that "the barony of Beauchamp, with all the services thereunto belonging, attended the Castle of Elmley"; *i. e.*, whoever was owner of Elmley Castle must necessarily have the title of Lord Beauchamp with all the offices annexed to that title.

At the time of the battle of Evesham (A.D. 1265), in the reign of Henry III, there was an old Lord Beauchamp living at Elmley who took the side of Prince Edward; and there is this honourable mention made by Leland of his sons and their Elmley band: "The old Lord Beauchamp of Helmsley sent three or four of his sunnes to Evesham to help King Henry III and Prince Edward again Simon Monteforte and the barons; and these brothers, with their band, did a great feate in vanquishing the host of Monteforte; whereupon the eldest had Bellomont's heir (heiress of the earldom of War-

wick), and the residue wear highly preferred. The Beauchamps afterwards kept the name of Earl of Warwick to King Edward the Fourth's time."¹ Dugdale says that Leland's account is true so far that William Beauchamp had the title of Earl for his services in the battle of Evesham, and that he also obtained the title and lands of Warwick by a marriage; but that he did not marry the immediate heiress of Bellomont.

During the reign of Henry III the Castle of Elmley was once destroyed, whether in the course of the war, or in what other way, I do not know; but it was very soon rebuilt, probably with more strength and grandeur than before. From the time of this marriage, and, it would seem, partly in consequence of services rendered at the battle of Evesham, the Beauchamps of Elmley became Beauchamps of Warwick,—a name which, during several generations, was famous in the history of their country. Among the greatest was the "Good Earl", as he was called; one of the glorious few who fought at Agincourt, and who was left by Henry V guardian to his young son, Henry VI. He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and travelled afterwards through the north of Europe as far as Russia. He married, for his second wife, Isabel Despencer, the heiress of the Clares and Despensers, the patrons of Tewkesbury. Their son was created, by Henry VI, Duke of Warwick and King of the Isle of Wight and of Guernsey and Jersey; but these great titles soon died out, and the old earldom of Warwick, together with the Castle of Elmley and other large estates attached to it, passed to Anne Beauchamp, sister of the Duke. She married Richard Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, who thereupon became Earl of Warwick in right of his wife. This owner of Elmley Castle is known in English history as the "king-maker", the foremost man of his time. "The greatest and last of the old Norman chivalry; kinglier in pride, in state, in possessions, and in renown, than the King himself."

When this great Earl of Warwick was killed in battle, fighting against Edward IV (1471), the office of high sheriff for the county of Worcester was detached from the Castle

¹ Leland's *Itin.*, from an old chronicle of the *Gests* of England, written in French; quoted in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, vol. i, p. 390; also in Nash's account of the battle of Evesham.

of Elmley. The connexion had been just coincident with the tenure of the Castle by the family of Beauchamp. They received it by marriage from Urso D'Abitot. During nearly three hundred years it remained hereditary in their family; then by marriage it passed to the great "king-maker", Richard Neville; and at his death Edward IV declared the office forfeited, and it has never since been attached to any one family. The widow of the great Earl, the Countess Anne Beauchamp, who brought these fair possessions to her husband, had the misery of seeing all her ancestral property confiscated, while she herself lived on for thirty years in widowhood and poverty. She had two daughters, Isabelle and Anne, who during the time of their father's life had been heiresses probably of the largest estates as well as of the most honoured name in England. I sometimes think of them as, perhaps, occasionally gracing the Castle of Elmley in their day; gaily riding on their palfreys along one of the two paths which may still be traced winding up to the site of the old Castle, and attended by some of the bravest and noblest knights in England. Princes of the royal family, both of the Red Rose and of the White Rose, sought a marriage with a daughter of the great Warwick. But, alas! their great inheritance only entailed upon them a greater fall and greater misery. Isabella, the eldest, married the Duke of Clarence, next brother to Edward IV,—“false, fleeting, perjured Clarence”,—who betrayed his brother and father-in-law in succession, and was at last put to death by his own brother; drowned, as the old story says, in a butt of Malmsey wine. His wife, the Lady Isabella, had died a few weeks before his execution, not without strong suspicions of having been poisoned. She is buried at Tewkesbury. The younger sister, Anne, was first betrothed, if not married, to Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI; but unfortunately she had another suitor on the other side, who was no less a person than Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III. These two lovers of the Lady Anne Neville met at the great battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471, and when Prince Edward was brought a prisoner into the presence of his conquerors, and his spirited demeanour caused the brutal King, Edward IV, to strike him on the mouth, it was, perhaps, the hate arising from jealousy and rivalry in love which stirred Richard to seize the opportunity to stab

him to the heart. With this blood of her betrothed husband on his hands, Richard pressed his own suit on the Lady Anne. For a time she escaped him by hiding herself, it is said, as a cook in London ; but was at length compelled to marry him. After he had become King, he wanted to get rid of her in order the better to secure his crown by a marriage with his niece. Anne died according to his wishes ; but whether he hastened her death by poison, or only broke her heart by cruelty and neglect, is uncertain. Such was the lot which our two great heiresses obtained by their inheritance.

After the confiscation of the possessions of the great Earl, Edward IV divided the Warwick lands between his two brothers, who had married Warwick's two daughters, and Elmley Castle fell to the share of the Duchess of Clarence. She left a son, on whom the great title of Earl of Warwick descended ; but the very greatness of the name caused the poor boy to be kept a prisoner in the Tower as long as he lived. Even as it was, his name was used afterwards as a means of gathering a party for an attempt on the kingdom in the time of Henry VII. Lambert Simnel personated him ; and the young Earl was at last put to death, by order of King Henry VII, for the sole crime of trying to escape from prison. Thus ended the whole line of the Earls of Warwick so long connected with Elmley, and with them the glory of the Castle departed. The estates for a time became the property of the crown, and then passed to the family of Savage. A Sir John Savage, of Rock Savage in Cheshire, was amongst the chief supporters of Henry VII, and commanded the left wing of his army at Bosworth Field. To his son, Henry VII granted the Earl of Warwick's lands in Worcestershire. In the next generation they again fell to the crown, another John Savage having been convicted of killing a gentleman named Pawlet ; and then Henry VIII sold the Elmley estate to another member of the same family, a Mr. Christopher Savage, who was esquire of the body to the King. From him the property descended by inheritance to the Mr. Savages of our own day. The old Castle and the more modern mansion, Elmley Park, now belong to Lady Hampton.

It seems clear that the Castle was destroyed somewhere about the time of Henry VII or Henry VIII. I have not

been able to find any record of the exact date or manner of its destruction ; but my own idea is that Henry VII, in pursuance of his policy of diminishing the power of the great barons, probably dismantled the Castle before he parted with the estate, and that the present house, Elmley Park, was built soon after the coming of the family of Savage. It is on record that Queen Elizabeth came to Elmley on her way from Worcester to Sudeley Castle, and spent Saturday and Sunday there, August 20th and 21st, 1575.

Before quitting the history of the Castle, I ought to make some mention of the Chantry attached to it, "the famous Chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Elmley", as it was called. It was founded by Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the year 1309. He robbed the parish church for the sake of making better provision for his chantry. He first endowed the chantry with £20 a year, to be paid out of lands at Childswickham. But this not being sufficient for its maintenance in that state in which he wished to see it, he annexed the parish church as a kind of perquisite to the chantry. As patron of the parish, he obtained the sanction of the Bishop of Worcester to an arrangement, wherein the master or warden of the chantry should always be rector, and then that he, the master, should appoint a vicar (*i.e.*, a substitute or deputy) for the charge of the parish and parish church. It was arranged, also, what portion of the old endowments each of them should have. The master of the chantry was to have the rectory house, with all buildings, gardens, lawns, cloisters, and other appurtenances, also all the lands belonging to the rectory, the great tithes, and certain payments besides, from persons holding lands in Elmley. The vicar was to have the small tithes, and the fees, the herbage of the churchyard, and a certain area or space, situated near the churchyard, 160 feet by 80 feet, on which the masters and chaplains were to build at their own expense, without delay, "a competent and honourable edifice" for the residence of the vicar, and as this provision for the vicar altogether was only valued at forty shillings a year, the master of the chantry was further to pay to the vicar, out of the rectorial property, sixteen bushels of wheat, sixteen bushels of barley, a load of hay (as much as two horses or oxen could draw) and £1 16s. 4d. in money, at three several times in the year. These provisions made by an

old Latin deed, signed by the Bishop of Worcester at Breton, have been of singular vitality. When I became vicar of the parish, the charges upon the rectorial property had not been paid for twenty years, and neither I nor any one else knew anything about them. While collecting materials for a lecture on the history of Elmley, for the entertainment of my parishioners, an old paper was accidentally put into my hands, which proved to be a lease for forty years, from the year 1800, of all the vicar's property in Elmley to the Mr. Savage of that day, in return for a fixed sum. In this lease I found included these old payments, and with this clue I was able to trace their history through all the successive changes in the parish, from the foundation of the chantry by Guy Beauchamp, in 1309, to our own time. After some little trouble, through the help of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, my claim was allowed, and a new deed was given to me, running in the very words of the old deed of 1309, confirming to me and to all future vicars our right to receive from the holders of the rectorial property sixteen bushels of wheat, sixteen bushels of barley, a load of hay, and £1 16s. 4d. in money, to be paid at the three several times of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, and the Feast of St. Andrew.

By subsequent grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, I have obtained possession of the College orchard, the probable site of the old rectory house and other College buildings, a grant of £1,400 towards the erection of a new house, and an augmentation to the living out of the proceeds of the sale of their portion of the old rectorial property, and I am now engaged in building as near as may be on the old site marked out for it, what I hope may prove that "competent and honourable edifice" for the future residence of the vicars of Elmley, which was so long ago designed for them. In this instance, our own times enjoy the honour of repairing an injury done to the church and parish more than five hundred years ago.

The inscriptions on the church bells of the parish, and the tradition relating to the monument of the first Earl of Coventry, which was put in the church because it was refused a place in Croome D'Abitot Church on the ground that it contained a false pedigree of the Earl's second wife, must not be forgotten. The old market cross is dated 1148,

and the question arises whether this is the real date of its erection. On this point it may be remarked in passing, that Mr. Roberts, F.S.A., is of opinion that the cross was of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, as such crosses were not erected before that time, and that the date was inserted on it much later, on the strength of some ill-founded tradition that it was put up in 1148.

There is just one tradition in the parish of Elmley which I should like to put on record. At the battle of Worcester the defeated Royalists fled into the city by the gate at Sidbury. They were closely pursued by Cromwell's cavalry, and Charles himself was very nearly taken prisoner there, but just at the time some one drew a load of hay into the gateway and blocked up the entrance so that horsemen could not enter. The king, who was a very short distance before his pursuers, rode up to the gateway, dismounted, and crept under the hay into the city, leaving his horse outside. A loyal gentleman of Sidbury found him another horse, and he fled away through St. Martin's gate, and so made his way to Boscobel. All this is matter of history, but the point of special interest to the people of Elmley is this, that according to the common belief, handed down from father to son there, the man who so promptly blocked up the gateway with his load of hay, was an ancestor of one of the principal farmers now residing there, Mr. Moore, and that certain lands at Kersoe, in Elmley Castle, which have long been in his family, were given to his ancestors as a reward for this very service. Whether they were given by the king himself after the restoration, or by that old loyal Mr. Savage, who had fought and suffered so much in the king's behalf, is not known. A fire some years ago destroyed many of Mr. Moore's old family papers, and he cannot find any document referring to this, but he says that from a child he heard it stated as a matter of family history—and other old inhabitants of Elmley testify to the fact that the story has not been invented in modern days, but was the common belief in the parish, at all events, in the last generation.

ON SOME OF THE
DOCUMENTS LATELY RESTORED TO THE DEAN
AND CHAPTER OF WORCESTER.

BY JOHN H. HOOPER, M.A.

THERE have been restored to the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, within the last three months, by Mr. E. S. Cayley, several ancient MSS. and documents, of various dates, from the reign of William Rufus to that of Charles II, of considerable local interest. Some of them may be found transcribed by Dr. Thomas, in his *History of the Cathedral Church of Worcester*, published in 1736, when Dr. James Stillingfleet was Dean, and it is therefore probable that at that period these documents were removed from Worcester with the private papers of the Stillingfleet family, by whose representative they have now been restored to the custody of the present Dean and Chapter, who have willingly consented to their being produced for inspection at this Congress.

Of these documents the most ancient is the charter of Saint Wulstan, the noble-hearted Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Worcester, of whom it has been said, that next to Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he stood highest in public estimation. He it was who co-operated with the Archbishop to carry into effect the last wishes of the Conqueror, in respect to the succession to the crown. Of his great work, the cathedral church, various portions remain, and notably the crypt, which is one of the four apsidal crypts in England, and in point of date ranks next only to Winchester.

The charter is dated A.D. 1089, the third year of William Rufus, and is very remarkable for the clearness of its writing, and the excellent state of preservation in which it now is, after the lapse of so many centuries. The seal of Bishop Wulstan is still appended to it, much in the same state as when Dr. Thomas engraved it in the last century.

By this deed, Bishop Wulstan—after setting forth that being desirous of increasing with greater honour and dignity the monastery which had been erected by his predecessor,

Saint Oswald, he had not only built and ornamented the church of Worcester, but had augmented the number of monks from little more than twelve to fifty, whom he describes as "bound to the service of God"—gives to them fifteen hides of land in Alfeston, in Warwickshire (a hide of land containing, it is computed, about 100 acres), which, belonging to the bishopric, had for a long time been withheld by men in power, but which with great toil and cost he had acquired from King William.

The bishop offers this deed on the altar of Saint Mary, for the good of his soul, and of those of the king and his father, William the Conqueror, in the year 1089, being the twenty-seventh of his episcopate, having in the previous year moved the monks into the new monastery, which, with the church, he had built and completed. He adjures his successors to keep inviolate his statutes and decrees, and not to diminish this his free gift. "But", he adds, "if anyone instigated by an evil spirit shall assist in taking from the monks this gift, let such an one be anathematised, and consigned to everlasting punishment with Julian the Apostate, the ravisher and destroyer of the churches of God."

The tomb beneath the chantry chapel of Prince Arthur in Worcester Cathedral, is said by Dr. Thomas to be that of Bishop Wulstan, but it is more probable that his effigy is one of those two that lie before the great east window on the floor of the Lady Chapel.

The will of King John is in itself a small document, but one that cannot fail to be of interest, especially in Worcestershire, to which the king showed so many marks of favour when living, and in whose cathedral, according to his desire, he was buried. By his will he constituted what may be termed a council of regency, consisting of the bishops of Winchester, Chichester, and Worcester, who was then Silvester de Evesham, Aimeric de Saint Maur, the Earls of Pembroke and Chester, and others, with the Legate Gualo at their head.

Its contents relate chiefly to the king's desire to purchase pardon by alms to the poor, and to religious houses, by "aid to the land of Jerusalem", and by making satisfaction to God and Holy Church for the damage and injury he had done them. The actual will commences with the words, "First of all, therefore, I desire that my body may be buried

in the Church of S. Mary and S. Wulstan of Worcester", and this is confirmed by a note in a manuscript book of the Priory of Worcester, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, which states that "John, King of England, died at Newark on the eve of S. Luke the Evangelist, and was buried in the cathedral church of Worcester, before the great altar, between SS. Oswald and Wulstan, so that which was said by Merlin was fulfilled, 'He shall be placed among the saints.'" The same book records that weekly masses for the soul of the king were celebrated at the altar in the crypts.

Another deed is a charter of Henry de Trochemerton, relating to a demand made from Bishop Mauger of Worcester, in A.D. 1200, of half a hyde of land in Fladbury, half a hyde in the hamlet of Hull, in the same manor, and one yard of land in Northwyk, and half a hyde in Upton in the manor of Blockley. And also relating to Fladbury is a charter by King John, concerning the assart of the wood there, giving leave to Walter de Grey, Bishop of Worcester, to clear and plough up and cultivate $29\frac{1}{2}$ acres of his wood at Fladbury, without view or opposition of the foresters.

Of the reign of Henry III are two deeds which are of special interest in this town of Evesham, for they are the confirmation by the king, and an agreement by the abbot and convent of Evesham, on a decree which secured to the monastery of Evesham, and the churches in the vale subordinate to it, exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

The confirmation, which is dated at Evesham on S. Katherine's Day, A.D. 1249, was the sequence of a dispute between Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester from 1236 to 1266, and the abbot and convent of Evesham, which had arisen thus: Bishop Mauger, who died in 1212, had claimed a right of visitation and jurisdiction over the Abbey of Evesham and its subordinate churches. The convent would not allow the claim, and went so far as to refuse admission to the bishop when he appeared at the abbey. The case was referred to Rome, and a papal commission was obtained to the Bishop and Prior of Coventry, and the Archdeacon of Northampton, who decided that, pending the sentence of the Pope (Innocent III), the Bishop of Worcester should have jurisdiction over the abbey, but that the abbey should retain its exempt peculiars in the vale. Finally the Pope declared the abbey free from the control of the bishop, but

the question of the churches was yet to be decided, and this was referred to commissioners in England. Meanwhile, Bishop Mauger died, and the suit was in abeyance until Bishop Cantilupe revived it, and the case having been referred by the Pope to the Roman Bishop of Porto, and by him to Commissioners, they decided that the churches of the vale, with the exception of Abbot's Moreton, where the Abbot was allowed to have his own private chapel, should be exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. To compensate for any detriment that might arise to the cathedral church from the exemption, it was ordered that the abbey should resign to the bishop the advowsons of the churches of Hillindon in Middlesex, Weston in Gloucestershire, and Kinwarton in Warwickshire; and that the pensions of one marc which had been annually paid from Hillindon, and of half a marc from Weston, were in future to be paid out of the church of Stow. There are still attached to this deed the seal of Thomas de Gloucester, Abbot of Evesham, who, dying in 1255, was buried in the middle of the abbey church; and another which is probably the seal of the monastery. The deed of confirmation by the king also bears his royal seal.

Four other deeds relate to a dispute between Godfrey Giffard, Lord Chancellor of England, and Bishop of Worcester from 1268 to 1301, and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who, from the colour of his hair, was surnamed "The Red Earl", and his wife, Joanna, the daughter of Edward I. Matthew of Westminster describes the earl as "*post regem potentissimus regni in opere et sermone*". At the enthronisation of Robert Winchelsey as Archbishop of Canterbury, he claimed the offices of high steward and high butler to the archbishop, and a dispute arose, by the earl demanding as a perquisite the empty hogsheads of wine which had been drunk on the day of the feast; and it was agreed that if, at the feast and the day after, six tuns of wine were consumed, all the empty hogsheads should belong to the earl, but if more, that only those which contained the six tuns should fall to his share, the rest remaining with the archbishop. And we find that the earl was allowed to remain for three days after the feast, at one of the manors of the archbishop, for the purpose of blood-letting, which in those, as in later, days was considered necessary, and ex-

tended even to the monasteries, where certain days in the year were set apart for that purpose, and special rooms and food provided for the "minuti".

The matter of the dispute was a trench which had been made by the earl on the summit of Malvern Hill, to the detriment of the bishop. The forest or chace of Malvern, which had been given to the earl by the king on his daughter's marriage, extended from the Teme, on the north, to Cors Forest, on the south; and from the Severn on the east, to the top of Malvern Hill on the west. One of these deeds is the composition between these disputants, by which it was agreed that the earl should pay yearly, at certain seasons, a brace of bucks and a brace of does out of his chace of Malvern, to the bishop and his successors at their manor house of Kempsey; and that if, when these should be due, the see were vacant, the deer should be given to the Prior and convent of Worcester, on demand by their attorney at the earl's castle of Hanlegh. The settlement of the dispute seems to have been brought about by the mediation of Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the chancellor of Prince Edward, and one of the greatest and most popular statesmen of the age.

The deed is dated in the 19th year of King Edward, the son of King Henry, and the seals of the Bishop of Worcester, the Priory of Worcester, and of the Earl of Gloucester and the countess are appended, though that of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, which is expressly mentioned, has disappeared.

The arms of the Earl of Gloucester shown on his seal are similar to those which are still depicted on one of the walls of the crypt at Worcester.

The other three deeds are confirmations, in *fac-simile*, by King Edward I of the composition.

Bishop Giffard, who died in 1301, was buried in his cathedral church, and the tomb beneath the chapel of Prince Arthur may most probably be assigned to him, agreeing as it does in the character of the work with the period of his death.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EVESHAM AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

ILLUSTRATED BY ENTRIES IN THE CHURCHWARDENS'
ACCOUNT BOOKS OF BADSEY AND SOUTH LITTLETON.

BY THE REV. CANON A. H. W. INGRAM.

OF the two records which I intend to employ this evening to illustrate the ecclesiastical history of Evesham and its neighbourhood in the sixteenth century, the Badsey volume commences from the year 1529, and the South Littleton book begins in 1548. We will, therefore, take the account-book of Badsey first as our guide; and turning over its early pages, I propose to show you the picture which they present of the interior of a church in the pre-Reformation period. Its features are graphically described by items such as these: "For the light of our Lady of the chancel, *xixd.*" "For the making of the taper that is set afore Saint Nycolas, *xiiijd.*" "For the gilding of the crucifix, *ijs. vjd.*" "For mending Mary and John, *xvjd.*" From these items we are reminded that among the internal arrangements of a church in this neighbourhood, at that time, was a rood-loft which rose between the nave and chancel, and bore a wooden image of Christ on the cross, gilded; and figures of the Virgin and the apostle John painted, or carved in wood, one on either side of the crucifix; and that candles stood lighted on altars before the statues of saints, then erect, in niches. The kind of ceremonies conducted amid these religious emblems is indicated by entries of sums paid for torches which were carried in procession, and flowered tapers which were blessed and distributed among the congregation on Candlemas Day or the Feast of the Purification, in remembrance of Him who came to be a light to lighten the Gentiles. Payments for candles called "Judases", lights against Easter, painting the sepulchre-cloth, and making the four sentinels, refer to the dramatic representation of the entombment on Good Friday, and the watching till Easter Eve the sepulchre which (where there was not a stone arch already

made to represent it) was extemporised of brick or wood, with a curtain hanging before it, on the north side of the chancel.

Both records which we are examining are communicative as to the method in which the funds were raised to defray the cost of the ritual. Items in the Badsey book: "Received of the gathering of the young maids this year, ix*d.*; of the little maids, viij*d.*; of the great maids, ijs. iij*d.*"; and in the Littleton volume an item, "Received that the maydens did gather this year, ijs. iij*d.*", relate to the practice that young girls and lesser maidens going round the parish on St. Barnabas Day, June 11th, in happy companies, and gathering, sometimes by the sale of bouquets of roses, money which they handed to the churchwardens. There prevailed also, in the century whose history we are elucidating, another practice which brought in revenue to defray the church expenses. The churchwardens were accustomed to institute a feast styled a "church ale" at Whitsuntide, in a house called the "Church House". A tenement so named remains to this day at Bretforton. That the proceeds of the sale of ale at such a feast increased the church fund of the parishes in this neighbourhood, this item in the Badsey book, "Received of the church ale, xxij*d.*", and numerous entries of a similar nature in both books, testify.

Mention should be made of a memorandum which points to a custom peculiar to this neighbourhood. Tuesday in Whitsun Week was especially a gala time in this vicinity, for on that day the inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes in which the Monastery of Evesham had land, marched in procession (each parochial band with a cross and banner carried before it) to the Abbey, where they were regaled with cakes, and paid "Pentecostals", or Whitsun farthings, viz., a farthing for each householder, to the Monastery. These festive processions were, however, sometimes unhappily marred by fierce disputes as to which parochial company should take precedence. In the middle of the fifteenth century the inhabitants of Honeybourne so violently asserted their claim to that honour, that the Abbots of Winchcombe, Gloucester, and Hales were charged by the Pope to prohibit the processions, which had led to mutilations and murders. That the processions, however, continued till the suppression of the Abbey is evident from this memorandum in the Littleton

account-book, 1551 : "Received of Robert Taylor, sumner, for certain cakes that the sumner did use to give the parishioners when they come to Evesham in procession upon the Tuesday in Whitsun week." But while these records which we are consulting afford evidence of cheerful customs in connection with the Church, they supply also convincing proof that there existed a deep under-current of faith in the mysteries of another world. In these account-books there is frequent mention of sums varying from 6s. 8*d.* to 2*d.* left as bequests to the church fund, and the church land, which the churchwardens managed and stocked, was probably derived through the same channel.

The first indication of the approaching Reformation that appears in the accounts is this short entry in the Badsey book, 1539, the year of the surrender of the monastery of Evesham, by Abbot Hawford : "For the expense of y^e Bybyll, iij*d.*" This was, doubtless, a contribution toward the cost of printing the large Bible translated into English by the martyrs Tyndal and Rogers, and revised by Miles Coverdale. In accordance with a proclamation of Henry VIII, in 1540, this Bible, of the largest volume, was provided by the curates and parishioners of every parish, and set up in the churches ; and in consequence of its costliness and rarity, which might tempt persons to steal it, it was chained to the desk on which it lay open for the edifying instruction of the priest or any other parishioner who chose to search into its holy pages. Though every month's delay in providing this volume imposed the liability to a fine of 40*s.* on the churchwardens and curates, we may infer from the item in the Badsey book, "Paid, 1542, v*j*s. viij*d.* for y^e Bybyll," that, for some reason, it was not set up in this church till nearly two years after the order in the proclamation came in force. From the date of this publication of the English version of the Scriptures the progress of the Reformation is distinctly marked in the parochial memorandum books which we are consulting. The next step in the revolution of the ecclesiastical system was the appointment of the royal visitation for the better reformation of religion by Edward VI, who succeeded to the throne of his father in 1547. The visitors were composed of the most eminent clergy and laity, and divided into six sets. An item in the Littleton book "Of a payment in expense when we were before the

kynges comysssheners at Evesham, *xxd.*," fixes 1548 as the year when the important visitation of the king's commissioners for the circuit of Worcester, Hereford, and Wales, took place at Evesham. The clergy assembled from the surrounding parishes here, and were sworn to renounce the Bishop of Rome and to uphold the king's supremacy. Thus was consummated with little disturbance the rupture of the clergy of these parts with the Romish See. But another vital change in the form of religious worship is indicated by this short and quaint entry in the Littleton accounts, 1549 : "Paid for a book in Englys to say prayers on, and for christening, wedding, and burying, *vjs. viijd.*" This points to the introduction into the religious service of what is called the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. The corresponding item in the Badsey record is "Paid for a new book, *vs.*" But the same determined zeal in extirpating the evils of the old religious system which led the promoters of the Reformation to encourage the destruction of the monasteries, induced them also to require the books of Romish ritual to be delivered up and burnt ; an entry in the Littleton record testifies to this injunction being carried out in 1549. "In expense when we went to carry our Church book of Laten to Worcester *xijd.*," and in the same book another memorandum in 1554, and which to my ear seems to indicate in the writer a mingled feeling of regret and satisfaction, informs us that "in the sixth year (a mistake for the second year) of King Edward VI, all our church books of Laten were taken away and carried to Worcester, and then we had all our prayers in Englys". We must not, however, suppose that with the destruction of the breviary and similar books the whole paraphernalia of the Romish ritual were abandoned. In 1549, sums were paid for frankincense in Lent, and tapers at Whitsuntide, at Littleton. But the rulers of the Church did not relax their zeal in taking measures for the instruction and edification of both clergy and laity.

The king's commissioners required a book of homilies, which was to be delivered free of charge, and Erasmus's paraphrases to be kept in the churches. The following refers to the execution of this injunction, in the Badsey book, 1549 : "Paid for paraphrazes of Erasmus, *xijs.*," "for riding to Oxford for bokys, *ijs. iiijd.*," and in the Littleton record, 1550, "Received of the king's new Colledge, *viz.*,

Christ Church, built by Cardinal Wolsey, whose dean and canons were the patrons of the living, toward the book called the paraphrases of Erasmus"—sum defaced. But the next blow which the English reformers aimed at the Romish Church was directed against the key-stone of that religious system, the doctrine of the corporeal presence in the Mass. The communion book was reviewed, and the Romish Mass ordered to be discontinued. In consequence, we gather from the parochial accounts that, in 1550, the churchwardens of Badsey sold two tabernacles or coverings for the sacred elements, and parted, at a great sacrifice, with their stock of Judas candles, selling four, valued 4s. 8d., for 4d., and in 1533 received for their rood loft 6s. 8d. The churchwardens of Littleton provided, 1550, a communion table and forms for the chancel, and, 1552, no doubt having been duly admonished by Bishop Hooper, an austere prelate of puritanical views, who held *in commendam* the see of Worcester, vacated by Bishop Heath, who was deprived and imprisoned for disobeying the order for the discontinuance of the mass, they received "for our rood loft, xxvjs.," and sold "the staff and head of our cross in the churchyard," and paid a sum for "making clean, and paving the chancel and our lady chapel," doubtless after the high altar was removed. But the progress of the Reformation was suddenly arrested, 1553, by the death of Edward VI, which transferred the crown of England to the head of a Roman Catholic sovereign. In two months after Queen Mary's accession, the convocation of clergy renounced the oaths which they had sworn, and began to undo the work of Protestantising the nation. They declared the book of Common Prayer abominable, and the Parliament enacted that after December 20th, 1553, it should be exchanged for the prayer book in use at King Henry's death. Soon all the churches in this neighbourhood blazed again with the gorgeous decorations incident to the restored ritual. The faithful records which we are taking as our guides, tell us how at South Littleton a cloth was painted to hang down before the high altar. "Our own sacring bell was bought back from one John Brigge, who had purchased it from a Mr. Cooksey. A holy water pot was made for our great basin that longed to our church." A new censer was bought at Worcester, and holy oil was procured on Good Friday

from the same city, for the rites of confirmation and extreme unction ; and one John Finch, of Evesham, was commissioned to paint "our rood with the picture of Mary and John," and a banner cloth was painted with the picture of St. George. The parishioners of Badsey were not behind those of Littleton in taking measures for the revival of the old ritual. A saunse or sanctus bell was purchased, the rood was recovered and repainted ; the cross in the churchyard was repaired or newly erected ; the holy water stock was mended ; and in order that all the imposing ceremonials of the Romish system should be fully carried out, Judas tapers and a processional book were purchased, and a streamer or banner was made and painted with a suitable device. But amid these preparations, for what doubtless was hoped to be a permanent restoration of the Romish rites, occurred a most interesting and solemn ceremony. The authority of the Bishop of Rome had been renounced, and nothing but a complete humiliation of the people of these realms in a grand ceremony of reconciliation, could re-unite them to the Church of which the Pope was the spiritual ruler. Cardinal Pole, the papal legate, had come to England for the purpose of restoring harmony between the two Churches. On St. Andrew's day, 1554, in the palace of Whitehall, the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament, representing the penitent nation, on their knees were re-admitted by the cardinal into the unity of the Holy Church.

On December 2nd the reconciliation was consummated by high mass at St. Paul's. A similar ceremony had to be gone through in every diocese and parish. The clergy were first summoned before their bishop and admonished, and on a subsequent day, after petitioning for pardon, were absolved. Then at a solemn festival in their parochial church the inhabitants of every parish were invited to confess their errors and return into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and those who obeyed were absolved, and their names written in a book. This parochial visitation was appointed to take place on the octaves of Easter, but that in this neighbourhood the season of the ceremony, probably through the zeal of Nicholas Heath, whom Mary's accession had restored to the Bishopric of Worcester, was forestalled, is apparent from this most interesting memorandum in the

Littleton account book, "paid for bredde iij*d.*, and iii quartes of Malmsey, ye quart vj*d.*," for the whole parish upon Midlent Sunday, 1555, when they were reconciled to the Holy Church again by our Holy Father, the Pope. The act of reconciliation received confirmation in mass on Easter day, when the same record tells us that again three quarts of Malmsey wine were provided for the whole parish for the Hosoll or sacrament. But in consequence of the relapse to the old religious worship the churchwardens of our parishes had to overcome a great difficulty in purchasing new Latin prayer books in the place of those which were burnt. The short supply of such volumes rendered them dear, and the parishioners of South Littelton, who were not rich in church funds, at first paid their priest, who had been a monk in earlier days, for the use of a mass book, manual, and processional book, 3*s.*, but afterwards, in order to save further money payments on that score, they entered into the following very astute agreement with their vicar. The quaint memorandum runs thus: "All our books gone that should serve our church. The whole parish agreed with Sir Humphrey Acton, our vicar, that he should find his books as long as he is vicar, and for his gentleness, and because our church had but little money in store, and lacked many things in our church, we were all content that the said vicar should have all the profit of the pigeons that use the steeple of our church, for all the time he shall be vicar here, finding his books; and, further, he has promised that he will be good to our church at his death. This agreement was made upon Wednesday in the Whitsun week, the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Philip, our King, and second year of our Sovereign Lady Mary, our Queen." It may seem strange to some that pigeons were allowed to breed in the tower of Littleton church; but those who have read the memorandum book of Moore, the last prior of the Monastery of Worcester, will recollect that he received on New Year's Day pigeons from the Priory-gate or Edgar's Tower, the loftier part of which served as a dove-cot. Those who visit Birlingham church will observe evident marks of its having once served a similar purpose. But, to resume our illustration of Church History:—the Popish party, which had secured the restoration of England to their Church, went on to inflict a stern retribution on those who had encouraged

the defection of the nation from Rome. Latimer and Ridley, refusing to recant their opinions, were burnt at the stake at Oxford, and Hooper suffered the same miserable fate in his own episcopal city of Gloucester. But the burning of Cranmer, the conductor of the cause of the Reformation in England, and Archbishop of the Protestant Church, struck the greatest terror into all who had refused the reconciliation. Cardinal Pole, with indecent haste, on the very day of Cranmer's death, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and soon commenced a visitation of his province to enforce the complete restoration of the ritual of his Church. The visitation of the Cardinal Legate (whether in person or by proxy is not certain) took place at Evesham on June 8, 1556. This old borough, perhaps, never witnessed a larger gathering of parochial priests and people for an ecclesiastical purpose than met on that memorable occasion.

No doubt every vicar, curate, and church officer would be anxious to display his zeal for the Church which possessed such power and determination to punish by the most terrible death those who defaulted or hesitated in their allegiance to her. The vestments of the clergy, as well as the church of the parish, were all put in order to satisfy the most rigid scrutiny of the strict upholder of the Romish form of worship. The Littleton accounts, which record the payment of 4s. at my Lord Cardinal's visitation at Evesham, and so fix the time of this interesting ordinance, also testify that the priest of that parish went in spick and span new and gorgeous vestments to join in the sacred ceremonies. The entry which indicates this is "Paid iij*l*. xii*s*. vii*d*." (a sum equal to about £50 now) for a cope of red velvet, and a cross cloth and streamer of green silk," no doubt to head the procession from Littleton to Evesham. In 1557 the parishioners of Littleton, little thinking of changes in the religious views of the nation which would render the expense useless, paid to the carver of Didbrooke, who must have been well acquainted with the sculptured forms of Hales Abbey, the sum of one mark for making two images, one of Saint Michael and another of St. Catherine. But all purchases for adjuncts to the Romish ceremonial were soon to cease. Queen Mary died November 17th, 1558, and her sister, Elizabeth, ascended the throne. The Protestant exiles, who had avoided in Geneva and other places abroad

the hotness of the Marian persecution in England, hastened to return. Another commission was appointed for ecclesiastical reform. Contrary to the desire of Elizabeth, who had really at heart Romish tendencies, the second and more Protestant prayer book of Edward VI, was selected, and with a few alterations, ordered in the Act of Uniformity to be used in all churches on the festival of John the Baptist, June 24th, 1559. Up to that day, since the accession of Elizabeth, mass continued to be performed at the parish altars. But when the Act for the use of the revised prayer book came in force, the strange spectacle appeared of the instantaneous conversion of a whole Church and nation from the religion which they had during the five years of Mary's reign professed. Out of 9,400 parochial clergy, not more than 100 refused to conform to the new style of worship. We may smile at men who, like the Vicar of Bray, had been Roman Catholics in Henry's reign, Protestants in Edward's, Romanists again in Mary's, and became Protestant once more under the rule of Elizabeth; but we must not blame the clergy too hastily for this sudden abandonment of a system which they had so lately espoused. Causes for this change had prevailed which will ever produce the same result. Disgust at the cruel intolerance and persecution in Mary's time occasioned a general reaction towards Protestant views in Elizabeth's reign, and so an alteration in the national religion, the third within the short space of about ten years, was, in this neighbourhood, peaceably and speedily effected. Again, our faithful parochial records exhibit sums paid for carrying out of the church once more the high altar which had been within such a brief period restored. English Communion and Prayer Books and Table of the Ten Commandments were provided. But the Pope could not see this glorious kingdom fall, as the brightest jewel from his tiara, without making a strenuous effort to ward off the calamity. He determined to try whether the thunders of the Vatican would frighten Englishmen into compliance with his system. In February, 1570, Pope Pius V issued a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and her adherents, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance to her. But the lion-hearted Queen had provided a defensive weapon against this fierce attack of the Romish Pontiff. An item in the South Littleton book, which informs us that Thomas Pyrrye,

April 16, 1569, "paid for an homilie against disobedience and wilful rebellion, xvjd.," demonstrates that the loyalty of Englishmen to the Queen's supremacy had been fortified by the reading of such a treatise in our parish churches. An item in the Badsey volume, 1571, when "the chalys was changed for a cup, received of overplusse, xs. vjd.," points to the growing influence of the Puritan party.

But with this extract I must close my researches into these ancient account-books which throw such sudden and vivid flashes of light on the ecclesiastical events which happened during the sixteenth century in Evesham and its neighbourhood. The perusal of the items in those records enables us to perceive, as if with the very eyes of those who wrote them without the intention of their serving such a purpose, the state of things which they saw, and in which they took a part, under the changes of religion to which the nation was subject in that age of awakened thought. I abandon my researches into these parochial records with regret, and feel sure that all who study such simple and undesigned testimonies to historic truth, will learn to entertain a higher appreciation of the value of archæology, which is sometimes considered a dry and uninteresting science; but which, if properly studied, can be made to add, as it were, sinews and flesh to the bare skeleton of historic fact.

REMARKS ON AN OLD BELL IN THE CHURCH OF CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO, SOMERSET.

WITH A

LIST OF PRE-REFORMATION BELLS IN SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY THE REV. H. M. SCARTH, M.A., RECTOR OF WRINGTON
AND PREBENDARY OF WELLS.

WHEN the Archæological Association visited the interesting little church of Clapton-in-Gordano, in the autumn of 1874, an inscription, copied from one of the bells, was exhibited, and an explanation of it asked from some of the members of the Association. The bell is placed in a small bellcot or turret, above the chancel arch, where it joins the nave, and in recent times used to be rung five minutes before the service commenced, or before the clergyman entered the reading-desk. Some time since the bell was displaced by the masonry of the bellcot giving way, but this has been repaired, and the bell replaced, but it is not rung at present for want of a rope. The bell is pre-reformation, and the legend¹ running round it is as follows :

“SIGNIS CESSANDIS ET SERVIS CLAMO CIBANDIS.”

Upon the first sight of this legend it appeared that the simplest explanation was “I sound at morn and eve,” “Signa” relating to the “Signa cœlorum”, the heavenly bodies, “the moon and the stars”, and “servis cibandis” relating to the evening service which would be at *supper time*, or near about. Some correspondence afterwards appeared, offering different explanations, in the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, but it did not seem satisfactory in the interpretation. I deemed it advisable, therefore, to consult Mr. Ellacombe, the great oracle on bells, not having his newly published work at hand, and to ask him for an explanation. This he kindly granted, and I then discovered what was the true meaning.

The bell was a well-known *pet* of Mr. Ellacombe, and had received due notice in his work on church bells,² and

¹ See *Journal*, 1875, p. 234, for a popular but erroneous reading of this legend.

² Chap. viii, No. 70. Since this was written, Mr. Ellacombe's book on the church bells of Somerset has been published. For an account, see p. 39. The book is a great acquisition to campanology.

had also been noticed by him in *Notes and Queries*.¹ He kindly informed me that the word *signa* was used for the *great bells*, and, therefore, “*signis cessandis*” would mean the stopping of the great bells, and, in proof of this, quoted the Excerptions of St. Egbert, A.D. 750;² and “*servis cibandis*” related to the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. Hence the purpose of this bell, called the *sanctus bell*,³ was to be rung when the peal bells were stopped, and when the *mass* in mediæval times was celebrated. Mr. Ellacombe quotes a very apt example of the use of such a bell from the *Rites of Durham*, published by the Surtees Society. It seems that the ancient custom still prevails in those churches where the “*sanctus bell*” remains in its original place, as it does at Wrington, where there is a very beautiful perpendicular bellcot in which it is hung. The first ringing was on the “*signa*” or large bells, the last quarter of an hour’s ringing was on the small bell. It seems also that this bell was rung in the afternoon, before sermon time, when a sermon used to be preached, and this took place in ancient times between the hours of one and three P.M., which was the time when the servants had eaten their principal meal.

It may be curious to trace how the Latin word “*signum*” came to be applied to a bell.⁴ We all know its obvious

¹ See vol. x, pp. 332, 434, and xi, p. 150.

² In the *Excerptions* of St. Egbert, A.D. 750, it is decreed “*Ut omnes sacerdotes horis competentibus diei et noctis suarum sonent ecclesiarum signa, & sacra tunc Deo celebrant officia, et populos erudiant, quomodo aut quibus Deus adorandus est horis.*” (Wilkins, *Concilia*.) “*Signum minimum quam skillam vocant.*” (Ducange.) Quoted in Parker’s *Glossary*, sub verbo *Bell*.

³ The *Sancte bell* was so called because it was rung out when the priest came to the part of the service, “*Sancte, Sancte, Sancte, Domine Deus Sabbaoth*”, that those who could not come to church might understand what a solemn office the congregation were then engaged in, and so be moved to lift up their hearts. For this reason the *Sancte bell* was generally hung where it could be heard farthest, and so placed that the rope might come down into the choir; and so being near the altar, the bell might be more readily rung out as soon as the priest came to the words. (See Peck’s *Annals of Stanford*.) The *Angelus* or mid-day bell came into use early in the sixteenth century. The *Ave bell*, morning and evening, was instituted by the Constitutions of 1347. The *Ave bell* was also called the *Pardon bell* (see Rock, vol. iii, p. 336), and was silenced in England in 1536. The small bell over the church porch, or between the church and the nave, was called the *Tantone bell*. (See Baker’s *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases*.) The term is also applied to a small hand-bell. It means the St. Anthony bell, the emblem of that saint being a bell at his tau-staff, or round the neck of the pig which accompanies him. In the churchwarden’s accounts of Lamport, Northamptonshire, is the entry, 22 March, 1747, “*a Tantony bell-rope, 9d.*”

⁴ “*Dicta sunt signa, tracto a malitiâ vocabulo, quod uti milites cantu signorum nimirum taburum, buccinarum, aut cornuum, ad pugnam, ita Christiani*

meaning—a sign, a standard, a mark—but it is specially applied to a bronze or metal casting. We know from Pliny that the statues and statuettes of Greek workmanship were called “signa corinthia”. Numbers of them have been discovered at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae. We know how fond the Romans were of collecting these bronze statuettes; Cicero describes this in his fourth oration against Verres, which is entitled *De Signis*. Greece was completely drained of its beautiful works of art to satisfy Roman amateurs. “By Hadrian’s time, everything worth a collector’s notice, and that was portable, had found its way to the palaces and villas of the Roman nobles; and still the dry bones of Greece were sucked by successive curiosity-hunters for the little marrow left.”

A very interesting account of this may be read in a recent number of the *Archæological Journal*, on the bronze statuette recently brought to London, being the figure of an athlete, found at Annecy in Upper Savoy.¹ The term “signum” seems to have been applied generally to a bronze casting, and hence, probably, it passed to a bell, being a casting of a peculiar metal, resembling bronze; and indeed we have numerous instances of bronze bells.²

When the use of bells first appeared in the world it is difficult to say. A small bell, which might be hung in a room, was lately discovered among the Roman remains dug up at Charterhouse-in-Mendip, and such small bells are not uncommon.³ But bells were known before the

sono signorum ad ecclesiam convocarentur.” (Hoffman, *Lex*.) See also Hittorius, *De Divinis Officiis*: “Campanæ loco tubarum introductæ in ecclesia.” (1215, d.) “Campanas per signa dantur, quæ olim per tubas.” (1218, c.) “Campanæ signa vocantur.” (665, c. d.) “Campanæ nunc, quod in Veteri Testamento tubæ.” “In ecclesia beati Cuthberti plura sunt signa ad divini operis ministeria pro officioso diversitatis immutatione pernecessaria. Nam pro immutatione diversitatem distinguendo discernunt alternantium tempora vicissitudinem. Unde ex signo pulsante dignoscitur ejus horæ terminus tam nocturnis quam diurnis momentis, ex ipsorum variata immutatione celebrata.” (Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virtut*.)

¹ See *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 108.

² English bell-metal consists of copper . . . 80
 ” ” tin . . . 10.1
 ” ” zinc . . . 5.6
 ” ” lead . . . 4.3

100

Bell-metal consists principally of copper and tin in certain proportions; but each bell-founder has his secret method of amalgamating his metals. See *Wills Arch. Journal*, vol. ii, p. 34.

³ See Ellacombe on *Bells of the Church*, p. 302.

Roman era, and have been found in Egypt, and supposed to belong to the Ptolemean period, 200 B.C.¹ Bells have been found in opening cairns or barrows in India. But those interested in campanology may consult Mr. Ellacombe's book, and the authorities contained in it; or Montfaucon, *Antiquités Expliquées*, vol. iii. The most ancient bells are very small, and called "tinnabula". It was not until mediæval times that we find bells of a large size came into use, and to have been placed in church towers. The earliest bellfoundry appears to have been at Gloucester, and dates about the year A.D. 1310.² The Irish ecclesiastical bells, some of which exist at present, and are remarkable for the beauty of their workmanship, are small, and date back to the seventh and eighth centuries. A bell of the date A.D. 1209 hangs with another in the bellcot of St. Chad's Church, Cloughton in Lonsdale. The diameter is $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the inscription

ANNO . DNI . CAI . MCC NONO.³

The inscriptions upon church bells often cause much perplexity, though the solution is generally simple. Thus in the proceedings of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society for the year 1849, p. 31, it is stated that the rector of Staple Fitzpaine exhibited a rubbing of an inscription on one of the bells of his church. This he had forwarded to the British Museum, but had not been able to obtain an explanation of the *second* word. This turned out to be only the word MIHI reversed and written MICH I. The legend is given in Mr. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Somerset*, p. 79, "Est *michi* collatum *ihs* istud nomen beatum." The word *michi* is reversed and turned upside down, and must be read backwards. The same inscription, rightly lettered, is found on a bell in St. Michael's Church, Angersleigh. These bells were cast by Robert Norton, who lived in Exeter in the reign of Henry VI. The above is one of the six Latin legends common to his bells. These are given in the *Church Bells of Somerset*, pp. 5 and 7. The legend

¹ For an account of a Burmese bell now in the Museum at Liverpool, and a translation of the inscription, see *Church Bells of Somerset*, *Olla Podrida*, p. 103.

² See *Wills Mag.*, vol. i, p. 54.

³ See *Olla Podrida*, or supplement to Rev. H. F. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Somerset*, p. 118.

is preceded by a cross, and at the end his trade mark, with the initials R. N.

Some of the legends on bells are curious and instructive. The church bells of Somerset, with their legends, have been well arranged by Mr. Ellacombe, as well as those of Devonshire; and the bells of Wilts, by the Rev. W. C. Lukis.¹ I append a list of Somersetshire pre-reformation bells which have legends. It would be a desirable work to collect into one volume all the church bells of England with their legends.

The post-reformation bells have sometimes legends upon them which are in bad taste, and savour of anything but a religious spirit,² but for the most part only contain the name of the donors, or of the churchwardens under whose care they were re-cast or placed. Their lettering is generally quite plain, while that of the pre-reformation period is ornamental.

Though bells in church towers have been renewed from time to time, as we see by their legends and by the entries in church accounts, and the church towers of England are for the most part well furnished, yet the same religious care does not seem to have been bestowed on them as formerly, and they have lost much of their sacred character; but of late years, with the care for the fabric of the church, the care for the bells seems to have revived, and much improvement has been made in supplying fine bells and suitably inscribing

¹ See *Wilts Archæol. Journal*, vol. ii, p. 333.

² Chewstoke, St. Andrew, second bell:

“My sound is good, well understood,
As plainly doth appare.
It was owld Bilbie and his friends
As caste me to be heare. 1718.”

Third bell:

“Thoff my voice it is but small
I am a come against you all.
“Hallalujah. Ed. Bilbie.”

Compton Martin, St. Michael, third bell:

“My sound is good, which once was bad;
Letts sing my sisters, and be glad.
“Bilbie cast me, 1719.”

Dunkerton, All Saints’:

“Before I was a broke I was as good as any,
But when that Cokey casted I near was worth a penny. 1732.”

“Hark how the chiriping treable sounds so clear,
While rowleing Tom com tumbling in the rear. 1732.”

them. Thus, in the year 1872, the Bishop of Lincoln presented a bell for St. Andrew's Church, Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire, "As a thank offering to Almighty God for His goodness in enabling the parochial clergy of Great Grimsby to labour faithfully and zealously among their flocks during the severe visitation of small-pox, and for preserving their lives in the peril to which they were exposed." The bell bears this inscription :

"Voce mea Laudo Deum pro peste fugata :
Hic Ægris Animis, Christe, medere preco.

"DD. Chr. Ep. Linc., 1871."

A bell was placed in the tower of St. John Baptist, Bathwick, with the following legend : "In honorem Dei et in piam memoriam viri admodum delecti Leveson Russell Hamilton, hujusce Ædis Sacræ conditoris. Me posuit Philippus Edvardus George. A. S., 1871."

Such inscriptions are fitting memorials of departed worth, or of devoted acts, and such dedications impart a religious character well suited to the place, and to the use for which the bell is erected.

I cannot close this notice of the sanctus bell at Clapton-in-Gordano better than by giving an account of the presentation of a bell to the church of All Saints at Clevedon, as a memorial to the late Lady Elton. This church is at the opposite extremity of the same valley in which Clapton is situated. It appears to be a most suitable manner of commemorating departed worth. The bell is the gift of the family of the late lamented lady. See extract from *Times and Mirror*, 22nd December, 1874.

"*Lady Elton's Memorial Bell.*—An interesting service took place on Monday evening, at All Saints' Church, East Clevedon, on the occasion of the dedication of Lady Elton's memorial bell. Hitherto there have been only three bells in the steeple of this sacred edifice, which owes its construction to the late Lady Elton. There was a tolerably large congregation assembled at seven o'clock (the hour named for the service), but through delay occasioned on the railway the bell only arrived at the station shortly before that time, and it was not till an hour had transpired that the service of dedication commenced. The work consequent upon the placing of it in its position in the tower was carried out most methodically and with surprising celerity under the direction of the vicar, the Rev. S. H. Saxby, who afterwards conducted the service, which was full choral. Standing on the chancel-step he first gave a short address suitable to the occasion. He said that as the sound of the church bells could be heard far away above those of the surround-

ing din and enjoyment, so the voice of God, before which all other sounds are as nothing, should be heard above all other sounds. He then in feeling terms alluded to the departed, of whom the bell would so often, and for years perhaps to come, remind its hearers. He stated that the bell would be placed there to the honour and glory of God, yet the circumstances were different from ordinary dedications, in being a memorial of one who was endeared to all who had the happiness of knowing her. She who had raised, under God, that church, would still to some be heard speaking by that bell, and calling them to public worship. The inscription on the bell, which was covered by a floral chaplet, was then read: "Christmas, 1874. In loving memory of the founder of this church, Dame Rhoda Susan Elton, who departed on All Saints' day, 1873." The 29th and 150th Psalms having been sung by the congregation, led by the surpliced choir, and suitable responses sung, special prayers were offered, and then the bell, being raised a few feet from the floor, was inspected by Sir A. H. Elton (who gives the memorial), Mr. Edmund Elton and friends, after which several persons who had been in the service of Lady Elton were invited to read the inscription. The sound of the bell was then made known to the congregation, and whilst it was being slowly raised to its place in the steeple, a hymn was sung, commencing:—

"Lift it gently to the steeple,
Let our bell be set on high,
There fulfil its daily mission
Midway 'twixt the earth and sky."

The bell is the largest of the peal, and was cast by Mears and Stainbrook, London. The name of Lady Elton will not only be always associated with this pretty little church, but her memory will long live in the hearts of the poor, who have just cause to remember her unbounded benevolence, especially at this period of the year."

"More than 240 of the Somersetshire bells are mediæval or consecrated bells, the very bells which in days gone by daily sounded at *mane*, *meridie*, and *vespere*, and still call parishioners to worship. These ancient bells are beautiful in their design and lettering."¹ Many of the legends are in Leonine or monkish Latin hexameters, invented in the twelfth century. Fifty-seven bells are dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Some have the sacred monogram, I.H.S. Some are dedicated to our Blessed Lord as "King of the Jews." Besides the Archangels Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, there are many of the saints whose names occur with the invocation, "Ora pro nobis", as Augustine, Anna, Andrew, Barbara, Katarina, Margareta, Gregory, Clement, Peter, Paul, Johannes Baptista, Georgius, Stephanus, Thomas, Lucas.

¹ See Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Somerset*, p. 2.

The early bellfounders are known by their initials, devices, or mottoes. An early founder has the initial *t. g.*; another *W. H.*, probably William Henshaw, who was a bellfounder at Gloucester, and died A.D. 1500. Robert Norton, who flourished in Exeter in the time of Henry VI, has the following Latin legends on his bells:

"Est michi collatum IHS. istud nomen amatum."

"Protege virgo pia quos convoco Sancta Maria."

"Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva."

"Plebs o'is plaudit ut me tam sæpius audit."

"Me melior vere non est campana sub ere."

"Misteriis sacris repleat nos di'a Joannis."

PRE-REFORMATION BELLS, WITH LEGENDS, SOMERSET.

CHURCH.—DEDICATION.—LEGEND.

Temple Abbas. "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."

Angersleigh (St. Michael). "Est michi collatum Jesus istud nomen amatum."

" " "Sit nomen Domini benedictum."

" " "Intonat de cœlis vox campana Michaelis."

Ansford. "Sancta Katherina".....

Babcarey (Holy Cross). "In honore Trinitatis."

Backwell (St. Andrew). "Se'e Luca ora pro nobis."

Badgworth (S. Congar). "Sancta Rafael ora pro nobis."

" " "Sit nomen Domini benedictum."

Barrow Gurney. "Sancta Catherina ora pro nobis."

Barrow, North (St. Michael's). "Jesus."

" " "Joannes vocatur."

" " "Sit nomen domini benedictum."

Barwick (St. Mary Magdalen). "Wox¹ (*sic*) Augustini sonet in aure Dei."

" " "Sancta Katherina ora pro nobis."

Bathampton (St. Michael). "Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis."

" " "Sancta Luci ora pro nobis."

Batheaston (St. John Baptist). "Virginis egregie vocor campana Marie."

Bawdrip (St. Michael). "Sancte Thoma or"... (rest wanting)

" " "Sit nomen Domini benedictum."

Bicknoller. "Est mihi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."

Bradford (St. Giles). The same as above.

" " "Ave Maria gracia plena. R. S."

" " "Omnes sancti confessores orate p' nobis."

Bream (St. Bridget). "Quos convoco Virgo Maria."²

" " "Sancte Dionisi ora pro nobis."

¹ See similar use of *w* for *v* on the bell at Trent.

² Compare the second bell at Elworthy, lower down in this list.

- Brent, East (St. Mary). "S'ta Anna ora pro nobis."
 " " "Nomen Magdalena campana geret melodie."
 " South (St. Michael). "Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis."
 Bratton (St. Maur). "S P F N N P R N M P T X O Y I N T L S."
 A confusion. Some of the letters are upside down.
 Brokley (St. Nicholas). "Se'a Anna ora pro nobis."
 Brompton Ralph (St. Mary). "Misteriis sacris repleat nos de'a¹ Jo-
 hannis."
 " " "Gabriel is my name."
 " " "In me shall find no blame."
 Bruton (St. Mary). "Sancta Maria ora p' nobis."
 " " "Est Stephanus primus lapidatus Gracia plenus."
 " " "Sancte Clemen ora pro nobis."
 Burrington (Holy Trin.). "Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis."
 Butcombe (St. Michael). "Andreas vocatur."
 " " "Sancta Anna."
 " " "Sancte Andrea ora pro nobis hi."
 Cameley (St. James). "Sancte Tome ora pr. nobis."
 " " "Sac' Andria ora pro nobis."
 Chaffcombe (St. Michael). "Sancte Petre ora pro nobis."
 Charlton Canfield. (SS. Peter and Paul.) "Sancte Petre adjua nos.
 R. W."
 " " "Ave gracia plena."
 Charlton Musgrove (St. Stephen). "Regina celi letare alla alla."
 " " "Maria."
 Charlton Queen (S. Margaret). "Maria ora pro nobis."
 " " "Mater Maria plena gracia."
 Charlinch (St. Mary). "Christe pie flos Marie."
 " " "Sancta Margareta ora pro nobis. t. g."
 Charterhouse Hinton (St. John Baptist). "Johannes Christi care."
 Chedzoy (St. Mary). "Maria ave orate pro nobis plena gracia."
 Chilton (H. Trinity). "Sancte Peter, Paule, orate p' nobis."
 " " "Sit nomen domini benedictum. i. w. r."
 Chinnock, East (St. Marg.) "Sancte Petre ora pro nobis."
 " " West (St. Mary). "Sancte Katerina de monte acuto."
 Chiselborough (St. Michael). "Sit nomen Domini benedictum."
 " " "Sancta Katerina ora pro nobis."
 " " "Carmine Letatur Paulus Campana Vocatur."²
 Churchill (St. John Baptist). "Sancta Maria t. g."
 Clapton in Gordano (St. Michael). Sancte bell in a cot. "Signis ces-
 sandis et servis clamo cibandis." This is on the sound bow.³
 Old Cleeve (St. Andrew). "Sancte."
 Closworth (All Saints). "Hac Campanella colitur Katerina puella."
 Combe Florey (SS. Peter and Paul). "Misteriis Sacris repleat nos de'a
 Johannis."
 Combe St. Nicholas (St. Nicholas). "Ave Maria gracia plena. A. R. S."
 Compton Dando (St. Mary). "Jesus Nazarenus Rex."

¹ Probably contraction for *dicta* or *doctrina*.

² This was founded by Stephen Norton of Kent. His name is on the waist of the bell. He lived at Maidstone.

³ "This is a small Sancte bell of which Somerset may well be proud, and it is probably unique." See Ellacombe's *Bells of Somerset*, p. 16.

- Compton Paunceford (St. Mary). "S'te Maria Magdalene."
 " " "Sunt mea spes hii¹ res, X'te, Maria, Johannes."
 Corfe. "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 " " "Sancte Petre ora pro nobis."
 " " "Plebs omnis plaudit ut me tam sepius audit."
 Cossington (St. Mary). "Ih's Nazarenus rex Judeorum."
 Crowcombe (Holy Ghost). "Sante Gorge ora pro nobis."
 " " "Me melior vere non campana sub ere."
 Curry Mallet (St. James). "In multis annis resonat campana Johannis."
 Curry Rivel (St. Andrew). "Sancte Gorgei ora pro nobis. Thomas Pyper."
 St. Decumans (St. Peter). "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
 Dinder (All Saints). "Sancta ora pro nobis."
 Ditcheat (St. Mary Magdalene). "Sancta Maria ora pro nob'."
 " " "Ave gracia plena Dominus tecum."
 Donyatt (St. Mary). "In the bekining God be mi good spede. Amen. 1584."
 Doultling (St. Aldhelm). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 Dowlsh Wake (St. Andrew). "Sancta Maria t. g."
 " " "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
 Dulverton (All Saints). "Protege Virgo pia quos convoco Sancta Maria."
 Durligh. "Sancta Hora pro nobis."
 " " "Ave Maria gracia plena. Roger Walrond, gentleman."
 Elm (St. Mary). "Sancte Toma O."
 " " "Sc'a Anna ora pro nobis O."
 " " "Sc'a Maria ora pro nobis."
 Elworthy (St. Martin). "Sancte Peter. R. S. Sancte Paule."
 " " "Protege Virgo pia quos convoco Sancta Maria."
 Emborough (St. Mary). "Ave Maria gracia plena."
 Evercreech (St. Peter). "Sancta Trinitas unus Deus."
 Farrington Gurney (St. John Baptist). "Virgo Maria."
 Fivehead (St. Martin). "Sancte Petre ora pro nobis."
 " " "Sancta Johannes ora pro nobis."
 " " "Gaude virgo mater."
 Greinton (St. Michael). "Sancte Paule ora pro nobis. t. g."
 Halse (St. James). "Est michi collatum Jh's istud nomen amatum."
 " " "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 Ham Nether or Low (St. Andrew). "Sancta Maria hora pro nobis."
 " " "Angelus Michael, Maria, Gabriel."
 Harptree East (St. Laurence). "Jesus Nazarenus Rex."
 Hatch Beauchamp (St. John Baptist). "Voce mea viva depello cun'ta nociva."
 Hatch West (St. Andrew). "Sancta. t. g."
 " " "Sancta Maria. t. g."
 Hawkridge (St. Giles). "Sancta Katerina. t. g."
 " " "Sancte Thoma. t. g."
 Hemington (St. Mary). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 Hill Farrance (Holy Cross). "Misteriis sacris repleat nos dc'a Johannis."

¹ Perhaps an error for *hi tres*. There are two bells with this legend at Tarrant Hinton, Dorset.

- Holcombe (St. Andrew). "Stella Maria maris."
 " " "Sancta Anna ora pro nobis. t. g."
 Holton (St. Nicholas). "Aegriaca." Letters misplaced, for "Ave gracia."
 " " "Ave gracia plena."
 " " "Ave gracia."
 Hornblotton (St. Peter). "Sancta Katerina ora pro nobis."
 Horsington (St. John Baptist). "Ave gracia plena dominus tecum."
 Huish Champflower (St. Peter). "Misteriis sacris repleat de'a
 Johannis. r. n."
 Ile Abbots (St. Mary). "Sancta Johannes hora pro nobis."
 " " "Sancte Paule ora pro nobis."
 Ile Brewers (All Saints). "Maria vocatur."
 " " "Protege virgo pia quos convoco Sancta Maria."
 Inlishcombe. "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 " " "Ihu filii Dei miserere mei."
 Kingsbury Episcopi (St. Martin). "Maria virgo."
 Kilton (St. Nicholas). "Sac. Ricardi ora pro nobis."
 Kilve (St. Mary). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 Kingsdon (All Saints). "Johannes Christi care dignare pro nobis orare."
 " " "Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis."
 Kingston (St. Mary). "Sancta Michael hora pro nobis."
 " " "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 Kittesford (St. Nicholas). "Voce mea viva depello cun'ta nociva."
 " " "Est michi collatum Ihs. istud nomen amatum."
 " " Same inscription on another mediæval bell in this church.
 Lamyatt (SS. Mary and John). "Sancte Micael ora pro nobis."
 " " "Sancte Nicola ora pro nobis."
 Langridge (St. Mary Magdalene). "Laudem resona Michaeli."
 Laverton (St. Bartholomew). "Sancte Georgij."
 " " "Clangor sum vite X servire venite."
 Littleton High (Holy Trinity). "Sancta Anna ora pro nobis."
 Limington (St. James). "Sancta Anna ora pro nobis."
 Litton (St. Mary). "Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis."
 " " "Sancte Michael ora pro nobis."
 Locking (St. Augustine). "Iste est Johannes."
 Long Ashton (All Saints). "Sancte Johannes Baptiste ora pro nobis."
 Loxton (St. Andrew). "Sancte Nicholaie."
 " " "Beata virgo Kateria."
 Maperton (St. Peter and St. Paul). "Sancte Peter Paule."
 Martock (All Saints). "Sancte Gabrie ora pro nobis."
 Milton Clevedon (St. James). "Ave mater Dei."
 " " "Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis."
 Monksilver (All Saints). "Sancte Peter Paule orate pro nobis."
 Monkton West (St. Augustine). "Hæc fit sanctorum campana Laude
 Bonorum."
 Nettlecombe (St. Mary). "Sancte Paule ora pro nobis."
 Ninehead (All Saints). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis. T. C. G."
 Northover (St. Andrew). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
 Norton Sub Hamdon (St. Mary). "Ave Maria gracia plena. R. S."
 Norton Malreward. "Michael Archangelis."
 Norton (St. Philips). "St. Philip and all Saints. Sancta Anna ora
 pro nobis. h. i."
 Nunney (St. Peter). "Ave Maria gracia plena Dominus tecum."

- Otterford (St. Leonard). "Est michi collatum Ih's. istud nomen amatum."
- " " "Protege virgo pia quos convoco Sancta Maria."
- " " The same.
- Otterhampton (All Saints). "Sca. Katerina ora pro nobis."
- Pen Selwood (St. Michael). "In nomine Domine. Amen. R."
- Pille or Pylle (St. Thomas a Becket). "Sancta Maria Magdalena."
- " " "Sancta Margareta ora pro nobis."
- Pitcombe (St. Leonard). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis. N.I."
- Pitney (St. John Baptist). "Sancta Katerina de monte acuto."
- " " "Pou John help." (? "John help now.")
- Poyntington (All Saints). "Maria."
- Priddy (St. Laurence). "Campana Sante Johannes Baptiste."
- Priston (St. Luke). "Help ous Andru we biddi thye evre byfore ye Trinite."¹
- Puckington (St. Andrew). "Sancte Andrea."
- Puriton (St. Michael). "Sancta Andria ora pro nobis."
- " " "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
- Puxton (St. Saviour). "Johannes vocabitur."
- Quantoxhead East (St. Mary). "Est michi collatum Ihs. istud nomen amatum."
- " " "Me melior vere non est campana sub ere."
- Quantoxhead West (St. Ethelred alia Andries). "Plebs oi's plaudit ut me tam sepius audit."
- " " "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- Raddington (St. Michael). "Johannes vocatur."
- " " "Protege virgo pia quos convoca Sancta Maria."
- Rimpton (St. Mary). "Sit nomen Domine benedictum."
- Sampford Arundel, (Holy Cross). "Me melior vere non est campana sub ere."
- " " "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- Sandford Orcas (St. Nicholas). "Ave Maria Sac' Marou."
- Shapwick (St. Mary). "Sancte Maria ora pro nobis. t. g."
- Shepton Montague (St. Peter). "Sit nomen Domine benedictum."
- Skilgate (St. John). "Sancte Peter Paule."
- Sparkford. "Sancta Katarina ora pro nobis."
- Staple Fitzpaine (St. Peter). "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- Stawley (St. Michael). "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- " " "Protege virgo pia quos convoco Sancta Maria."
- Stocklinch Magdalen. "Sancta Maria Magdalene."
- " " "Sancte Phelype."
- Stocklinch Ottersay (St. Mary). "Sancte Georgi ora pro nobis."
- Stoke-sub-Hamden (St. Andrew). "Ave Maria gracia plena."
- Stoke Pero (Sancta Barbara). "t. g."
- Stoke Rodney (St. Andrew). "S. Maria ora pro nobis."
- " " "Sc'a Katherina ora pro nobis."
- " " "be al prais to God."
- " " "Sancte Luca ora pro nobis."

¹ A very uncommon legend, but undoubtedly pre-Reformation. It is one of Robert Norton's bells. See *Church Bells of Somerset*, p. 14.

- Stowey Over (S. Mary Magdalene). "Est michi collatum, Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- " " "Voce mea depello nociva lebs o'is plaudit." This latter is a jumble of two legends.
- Stringston. "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
- Sutton Long (Holy Trin.). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
- Sutton Montis (Holy Trin.). "Sc'a Margareta ora pro nobis."
- Swell (St. Catherine). "Se' Anna."
- Tellisford (All Saints). "Sancte Petre ora pro nobis."
- Thorne St. Margaret (St. Margaret). "Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva."
- Thurlbeer¹ (St. Thomas). "Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva."
- " " "lebs o'is plaudit ut me tam sepius audit."
- " " "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- " " "Protege Virgo pia quos convoco Maria."
- Thurloxton (S. Giles). "Sc'a Maria ora pro nobis."
- " " "Est michi collatum Ih's istud nomen amatum."
- Timberscombe (St. Michael). "Misteriis sacris repleat nos de'a Johannis."
- Tollard (St. John Baptist). "Sc'a Maria Virgo."
- Trent (S. Andrew). "Augustine² tuam campanam protege sanam."
- " " "Campana Sancti Andree de Trente."
- " " "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
- Trull (All Saints). "Sancte Peter, Paule."
- Ubley (St. Bartholomew). "Sancte Anna."
- Upton (St. James). "Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva."
- " " "Ave Maria ora."
- Weare (St. Gregory). "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis."
- Wilton (St. George). "[P]lebs o'is plaudit ut me tam sepius audit."
- Wookey (St. Matthew). "Iu' nazareus rex Juder'm."
- Woollavington (St. Mary). "Ave Maria."
- " " "Ave Maria gracia plena orate p' nobis."
- Woolverton (S. Laurence). "Sancta Anna ora."
- " " "Sancta Luca ora pro nobis."
- Wrington (All Saints). Sancte bell, "Sancta Maria."
- Yatton (St. Mary). "Misericordias Dominis in eternum cantabo."
- Yeovilton (St. Bartholomew). "Protege Virgo pia quos convoco Santa Maria."

Note.—Mr. Ellacombe has omitted from his list of Somerset bells the Sancte bell at Wrington, in a beautiful Perpendicular bell-cot, the legend of which is "Sancta Maria", and is therefore pre-Reformation.

¹ This is the most perfect ring of ancient bells in Somerset, and in the original bell-cage. All these are by Robert Norton.

² The *w* is here used for the *u* in the spelling AWGWSTINE in beautifully figured capitals. Elsewhere we have *vox* for *vox*.

CLOPTON AND THE CLOPTONS.

BY ARTHUR HODGSON.

IN reading this paper on Clopton and the Cloptons, I feel that I lay myself open to the charge of some presumption. I cannot aspire to be an archæologist ; my knowledge of the subject is of a very limited description. In Australia—where I have spent the best years of my life—we cannot boast of time-honoured monuments ; everything there has been built up within a century. I shall read this brief paper with the hope of eliciting, rather than of giving, information. Samuel Ireland, writing in 1795, says : “Of this venerable house, with the church of Stratford in the distance, I have annexed a faithful sketch. It presents an irregular front, built in the time of Henry VII ; the grand aspect has been modernised, and is in so indifferent a style as to be unworthy of notice.” This house, independent of its family associations, has, in fact, little interest ; it has no claim to fine architecture ; the north and west sides are said to have been built in Henry VII’s time ; and, happily, one morsel of the original house has been spared. It stands at the back, and was a porchway entrance across the ancient moat, and Shakespere and his friends must have passed scores of times under its portal. The moat ran directly in front of it, and was, some years back, disturbed, in order to lay some modern foundation. Various relics of by-gone days were on that occasion discovered ; among them three sack bottles, of stunted form, made of the coarsest glass, bearing the crest of John à Combe, which I purchased at the sale.

The south and east part was reconstructed by Sir Edward Walker, in the time of Charles II, probably about the year 1665. Walker died in this house in 1677. He, in 1649, went over to Holland and direct to Charles II, to convey to him the news of the painful tragedy of January 30th (the execution of his father). Some forty years ago, it was fast falling into decay, when it was resuscitated by the wealth of my predecessor, who added the drawing-room and orangery, altered and pulled down a large number of small rooms, and modernised, with questionable taste, much of the

original building. The attic story of this house was formerly used as a chapel, and on its walls, in Samuel Ireland's time, were several scriptural inscriptions in black letter, and paintings on religious subjects, some of which my venerable friend Mr. Fisher Tomes can well remember to have seen when he was a resident here in 1821. These paintings and inscriptions are now unfortunately effaced by white-washing and papering, but I have serious thoughts of pulling down the paper, and bringing these rude and quaint frescoes to light. In this attic a number of goods and chattels, the property of one Ambrose Rokewood, one of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, who lived here at the time (1606), were seized and forfeited to the crown, an inventory of which is exhibited at the museum, Shakespere's birth-place. Pope Sixtus IV, A.D. 1474, granted to John Clopton and his heirs, leave to have divine service celebrated in a private chapel.

William Howitt gives a sketch of Clopton House from the pen of a lady who was at school at Stratford in 1820, and, writing about the chapel, she says—"I went in on my hands and knees, for the entrance was very low," and she goes on to say, "every here and there as I wandered, I came upon a fresh branch of a staircase, and so numerous were the crooked, half-lighted passages, that I wondered if I could find my way back again." This description would do for Compton Wynyates. On the floor in the room adjoining the chapel are some large blood stains, where a horrible murder is supposed to have been committed, and the legend is that the victim has "walked" ever since. My predecessor introduced gas all over the house and into the attic, which has had the desired effect, as I have been told that ghosts don't care about being lighted up. At the rear of the gardens is a succession of small fish-ponds, and beyond is a spring, in which Margaret Clopton is supposed to have drowned herself. It is now arched over nearly level with the ground, being only open at one end. This never failing spring supplies the house with water. On a stone laid at the back, but which was probably laid at its mouth, are inscribed the initials S. J. C., 1686, no doubt those of Sir John Clopton, who died in 1692, and who most probably first inclosed this well. This Sir John Clopton new-fronted Clopton House, and decorated the north bow-window of the dining-

room with the armorial bearings of his family, in stained glass, for *four* generations.

It may not be uninteresting to glance at the pedigree of the Clopton family, who took their surname from this manor, and resided here for upwards of five hundred years. Clopton was granted by Peter de Montfort to John de Clopton in the reign of Henry III. Dugdale gives the date as 1236. Passing rapidly over the members of the family we come to Walter Clopton, who in the time of Edward I assumed the surname of Cockfield from an Essex property ; but his grandson, John, reassumed the name. He was the father of Hugh, a celebrated mercer, who, having made a very considerable fortune in London, became Lord Mayor of London in 1492. This knight may be said to have refounded the family, and was a special munificent benefactor to Stratford. He spanned the Avon with a substantial bridge ; built Clopton House, where on more than one occasion he received King Henry VII ; built New Place, where Shakespeare lived and died ; bequeathed large sums of money for the support of many excellent charities ; glazed the chancel of the parish church ; raised a monument to the glory of God by the erection of the Guild Chapel close to his own house, known as New Place ; and in the year 1496, in London, at the advanced age of seventy-eight (a bachelor), he meekly and honourably died.

We come next to Joyce Clopton, daughter of William Clopton, born in 1558 ; married, in 1580, to George Carew, created Earl of Totness, the very celebrated Master of the Ordnance. She died in 1636, and is buried with her husband in Clopton Chapel. There was no issue from this marriage.

One more of the name remains to be mentioned,—Sir Hugh Clopton, who committed a gross act of vandalism by the demolition, in 1700, of the house erected in 1490 by his ancestor Sir Hugh Clopton, and built on the same spot another house which the ruthless Gastrel razed to the ground.

The Clopton family had been decaying ever since the civil war. The last of them married Mr. Partheische. She died towards the end of the last century, and left the estate to Mr. Schrimsten, her nearest of kin, who took the name of Clopton. He died, without issue, in 1815. The estate then passed into the hands of others, who all (five in number)

died without issue, when it was purchased by Mr. Fisher Tomes, who sold it to Mr. George Lloyd. He left it to his nephew the late Mr. Charles Warde, from whose executors I purchased it at auction in 1873.

I was fortunate enough to secure at the sale several of the old pictures in the house of historical value, notably those of the Earl of Totness, Countess of Totness, Sir Edward Walker, Cromwell's mother, General Ireton, Shakespeare (painted by Wright in 1688), many portraits of the Clopton family, and last, though not least, "The Ghost Lady", or Charlotte Clopton, about whom there is so fearful a legend in Stratford Church. There is much uncertainty as to the authenticity of this portrait, and it is more probably the portrait of Lady Arabella Stuart, by Van Somer. She was the only child of the fifth Earl of Lennox, and was sacrificed to the jealousy of James I and the cruelty of his ministers, sinking from the effects of persecution into a state of helpless idiocy in the Tower, where she expired in September 1615. The portrait of the Earl of Totness, by Zuccherò, is undoubted, and is almost as fresh and in as fine preservation as on the day it was painted; and there is a strong likeness between the canvas and the marble, as you may have noticed this day in the Clopton pew. The Government, through my friend Mr. Graves of Pall Mall, have offered me a large sum for this portrait; but it is not my intention to part with it. In this house, where he lived and died, is its proper resting-place, and here it shall remain. There is another portrait extant of Lord Totness, at Gorbamby (Lord Verulam's), which is also in good preservation, and by Zuccherò; but it is the portrait of a much older man. The portrait of Lady Totness, on the staircase, also resembles the marble. I need scarcely remind my kind listeners that Lord Totness married the daughter and sole heir of William Clopton, by whom he acquired large estates. He was a son of a Dean of Exeter, and born in 1557. At one time he was commander-in-chief in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and wrote *Hibernia Pacata*. Charles I raised him to the dignity of Earl of Totness and Baron of Clopton in 1625, the first year of his reign. The other portraits of the Clopton family hanging in the dining-room can be all authenticated, the history of some of them being endorsed on the canvas. During the life of my predecessor

they were locked up in a room in the attic, or back gallery, where they remained during my three years' tenancy, and when brought under the hammer by the auctioneer, I disputed the fact that they were Clopton portraits, but had to succumb to his superior knowledge. The portrait of the last of the Cloptons, Mrs. Partheische, and of her husband, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, have been transported from this house, subsequent to the sale of the estate, but previous to the sale of the pictures, against my will and without my knowledge, to a sister kingdom, where, I am credibly informed, they are now doing duty as ancestors of an illustrious Irish family. My efforts to regain possession of these two portraits have been, hitherto, unsuccessful. In drawing up this brief and imperfect sketch of Clopton and its former possessors, the thought very naturally occurred to me, what would be the feelings of the magnificent old Sir Hugh Clopton if he could be permitted to watch this day's proceedings, and listen to a stranger addressing this learned assemblage on the site of his ancestral hall? Yes, listen to one who had no Clopton blood running in his veins, no Clopton proclivities, no Clopton associations; but who had been successful in life, and by his own exertions put together a fortune in a distant English colony, one which during the good Sir Hugh's lifetime was undiscovered and unknown.



The
SACRIFICE
of
ISAAC



From an
OAK PANNEL
in the possession of
the Rev.
S. M. MAYHEW

Proceedings of the Association.

ASH WEDNESDAY, 1 MARCH, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associate was elected: J. Price, 36, Great Russell Street.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned for the following presents:

To the Cambrian Archæological Association, for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, No. 25. January, 1876.

To the Royal Archæological Institute, for the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, No. 128. 1875.

Mr. Wentworth Huyshe exhibited the following Roman antiquities found on the site of the premises of the National Safe Deposit Company,—three keys, one knife, one unknown object. In *Roman Antiquities recently discovered on the Site of the National Safe Deposit Company's Premises, Mansion House, London*, 1873, by J. H. Puleston, Esq., and John E. Price, Esq., similar objects are figured and described. For the keys, see p. 71; for the knife, p. 70; for the unknown object, p. 73, where it is described as an “object which requires explanation”, of iron, and with a loop for suspension at the girdle. It has been termed “a *spatula*”; but this is not satisfactory, the small ring in the flat portion being against such an application.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited the *os frontis*, with base of the horns attached, of the red deer (*cervus elephas*), exhumed from the same spot that yielded the hippopotamus jaw, boar's tusk, and horns of the roebuck, produced at the last meeting. The bone has been hacked away at back, apparently to permit its being placed against a flat surface; and the horns are cut off just above the brow-antlers, the points of which have a more downward inclination than is usually the case with the stag.

Mr. Mayhew also exhibited a carved oaken panel, and described it as a carving of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. xxii). This piece of realism was found in the City in December last. It was in three pieces, thickly covered with paint and dirt. It is now judiciously cleaned and joined.

The date assigned is the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its purpose is not so manifest. A similar panel of the same subject and style used to hang in the old Cock Tavern, Tothill Street (now removed), a pledge for an unpaid score. Can we have before us the Tothill carving? The size is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $14\frac{1}{2}$, and the projection of principal figures, 2 inches.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited a vase-shaped pipe-head from Port Natal, boldly carved out of a block of steatite. On the two opposite sides is an upright panel, and between them a slanting bar, one having above it four, the other five pellets. At the bottom of the bowl is a round aperture, to permit its being fixed on the top of the tube in the manner shewn in Dr. Sparrman's *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (ed. 1789, vol. i, p. 164), and still practised in the opium pipes of China. There is in the Cuming collection a heavy cylindrical pipe-head of steatite from Port Natal, the sides of which are carved with sixteen perpendicular bands of prominent knobs, and one upright bar with a knob above it. The tobacco-pipe heads here described are of primitive type, and becoming of great rarity. Their successors are made of the same kind of stone, but after the European fashion, to fix in the end of the tube. There is, indeed, in the Cuming collection a South African pipe in which both bowl and stem are wrought of a single piece of steatite.

Mr. S. Pratt exhibited a fine solleret of the fifteenth century, and Mr. Planché, V.P., described this handsome relic of our national armour at some length, expressing his opinion that it had formed part of the left-leg-armour of Prince Edward, the unfortunate son of King Henry VI. The relic comes from Tewkesbury Abbey, where the young Prince was murdered. Mr. Planché promised to collect some interesting facts relating to the exhibition, and to submit them to the Association hereafter. The members were unanimous in recording their thanks to Mr. Pratt for the opportunity he had afforded them of inspecting so interesting a piece of historic archæology.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition an exceedingly rare example of a sword with pistol attached, once contained in a walking-staff, of the early part of the seventeenth century. The stout tang is upwards of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; the broad-backed sharp-edged blade is $\frac{7}{12}$ inch wide, and now measures but 16 inches in length, but was probably originally longer. On its back, and in a line with the tang, is fixed the pistol, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and $\frac{5}{12}$ inch bore. The muzzle of the barrel, and frame of the snap-haunce trigger-lock, are mounted with brass. The latter member of the piece is tastefully engraved, as is also the barrel near the touch-hole. The screw of the hammer is surmounted by a ring. This curious specimen may be compared with one of the sixteenth century, given in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour* (Pl. 103, fig. 9), which is thus described: "The walking-staff, containing a sword and

pistol, of the Doge of Venice. The blade bears on it the arms of Jerusalem with elegant scrolls, and, in compliment to the Emperor Charles V, the Austrian eagle."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that it was a curious circumstance that no sooner had portable firearms come into general use at the close of the fifteenth century, than frequent and continuous efforts were made to combine them with other weapons, a fact which is apparent from examples preserved in both home and continental collections. In Meyrick's *Ancient Armour* (Pl. 114, fig. 2) is delineated a small battle-axe of the latter part of the reign of Henry VI (1420-61), which has a gun at the end of the haft; the touch-hole being at the side, with a little pan beneath it to stay the powder from dropping off, or being blown away. And Demmin, in his *Weapons of War* (p. 449, fig. 28), gives a German battle-axe of the end of the fifteenth century, the blade of which constitutes the butt of a wheel-lock pistol contained in the haft of the implement. Meyrick (Pl. 83, fig. 13) furnishes another instance of a combined battle-axe and wheel-lock pistol, in which the blade serves as the butt of the piece; it is of the time of James I. And Demmin (p. 442, fig. 29) has engraved a battle-axe with a flint-lock pistol attached to the haft, but the blade and butt are at opposite ends of the stem. This weapon is of the close of the seventeenth century.

In Meyrick (pl. 92, fig. 2) will be seen a demi-holywater-sprinkle or morning star, of the time of Edward IV (1461-83), the cylindric head of which contains four short barrels, each of which was fired by a match, the touch-hole being protected by a sliding piece of wood. The muzzles of the guns are concealed by a hinged cap, which has a spear-like spike projecting from its centre. There is a hook fixed to the haft so that the weapon could be carried at the saddle-bow, in lieu of the mace. But the mazuelle, or mace itself, was occasionally united with firearms. Meyrick (Pl. 82, fig. 13) gives an instance, of the time of Henry VII (1485-1509), in which the haft of the weapon is made to unscrew, and originally contained a gun. And there was formerly in the Brocas, and now in the Tower of London collection, a mace of the time of Henry VIII (1509-47), with a head composed of six perforated sharp-pointed projecting plates or blades, and the stem fashioned into a wheel-lock pistol, the hollow haft of which is closed by a hinged boss.

Meyrick (Pl. 91, figs. 11, 14) has engraved two examples of martels-de-fer to which pistols are attached. The earliest is of the time of Elizabeth (1558-1603), with a hook to hold it at the saddle-bow. The latest is of William III's reign (1689-1702), and in addition to the fire-lock it contains a sword.

Demmin (p. 418, fig. 26) represents a hunting spear of the sixteenth century, formerly in the Soltikoff collection, which has three wheel-lock pistols arranged round the base of the long blade, and beneath them are

two hooks, like those accompanying the halbard. And the same author (p. 521, fig. 41) also gives a mongrel sort of weapon of the sixteenth century, 5 feet 2 inches in length, one end of which is a musket-rest, the other a three-sided dart of steel damascened with gold, and having fastened to it a wheel-lock pistol whose muzzle is in the direction of the cusp of the implement.

At the sale of the Bernal collection, lot 2371 is described as "a long steel fork with a wheel-lock pistol, the stock inlaid with ivory."

It seems strange that two distinct kinds of projectiles should have been united in the same piece, but of this there is an example in the Munich Museum. The weapon referred to bears the name and arms of Ferdinand I (1503-64), and is a cross-bow with a gun fixed on the upper side of the wooden stock. There is a print of this rare contrivance in Demmin (p. 482); and in Meyrick (Pl. 98, fig. 5) is a prodd or cross-bow and wheel lock petronel of the time of Charles I.

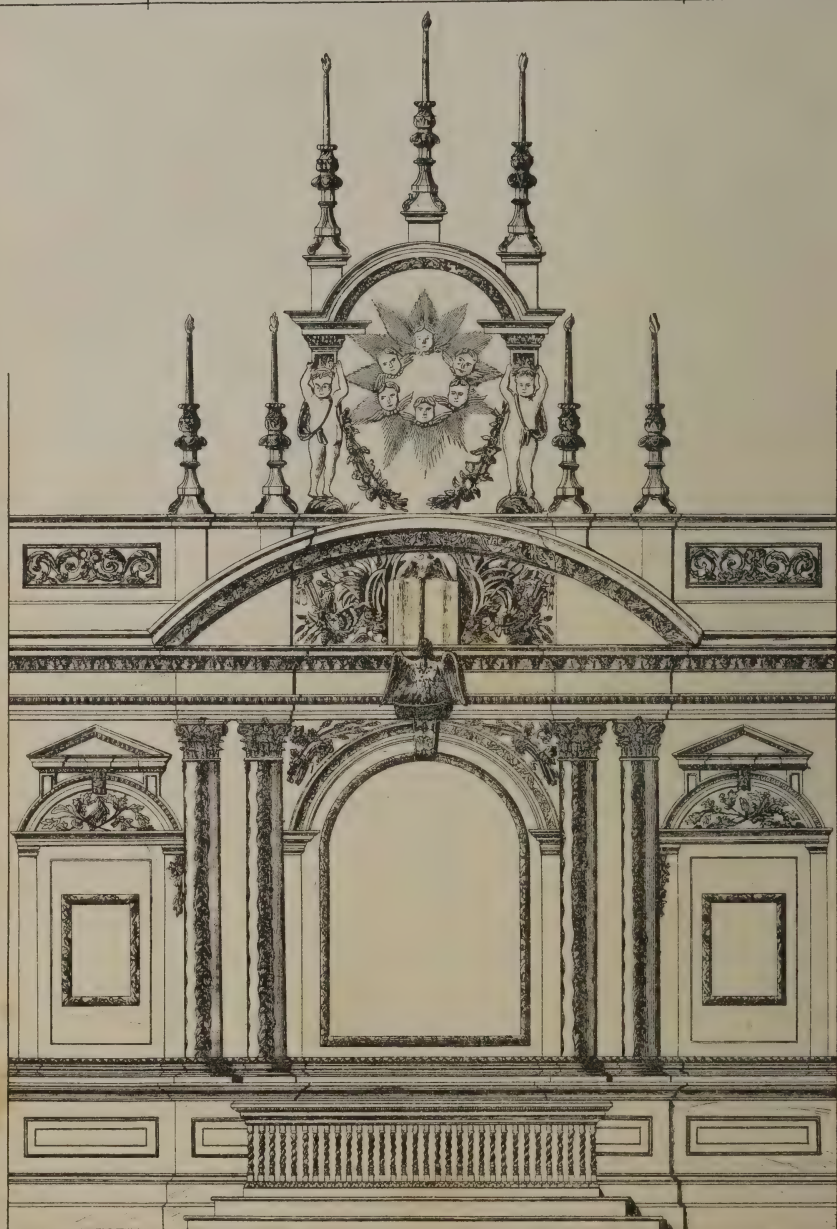
The choice example of the union of a sword-blade and pistol exhibited by Mrs. Baily, reminds us not only of the Venetian walking-staff, but also of a richly engraved sword and wheel-lock pistol of the time of Elizabeth, delineated by Meyrick (Pl. 103, fig. 16), and of a German dagger with wheel-lock pistol, of the same era, and given by the same author (Pl. 110, fig. 14). In the latter instance, the blade is convex in the centre so as to form the barrel of the piece, the end of which is contrived to take off when about to be fired. It is not alone in Europe that the weapon-smith strove to blend together arms of different natures, and this fact is proven by a combined sword and pistol of Indian manufacture, presented to the Tower collection by Sir Thomas Hastings.

Firearms have not only been coupled with other offensive weapons, but been affixed to articles of defence, as may be seen in the Tower of London, where there are several English targets of the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the centre of each of which is fixed a small hand-cannon, with a sliding chamber and match. The convex fronts of these curious wooden targets are strengthened with iron, and they have a lining of well-stuffed woollen cloth. A rude representation of one of the Tower targets may be seen in Boswell's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, London, 1787, where it is called, "A Spanish shield with a pistol fixed in it." There is also in the Tower collection an Indian shield to which is attached four small percussion pistols, a curious evidence of the retention of an olden fashion down to the nineteenth century.

These random recollections are enough to show that firearms have, from an early period, been combined with swords and daggers, battle-axes, morning-stars, maces, martels-de-fer, spears, forks, and cross-bows; and masked in objects of defence. Now that special attention



— REREDOS OF THE HAMBURG — LUTHERAN — CHURCH — DALSTON —



is called to this curious feature in the history of weapons we may hope to have further examples produced, and the details of the subject more fully illustrated.

Mr. Brock exhibited a large quantity of carved oak work from the Hamburg Lutheran church in Little Trinity Lane, and read the sub-joined paper :

ON THE REREDOS OF THE HAMBURG LUTHERAN CHURCH, LITTLE TRINITY LANE, SAID TO BE THE WORK OF GRINLING GIBBONS.

For many years there has been hidden in a building in Little Trinity Lane a magnificent specimen of oak carving, which for beauty of design as well as for the extreme delicacy of its execution is surpassed by few examples of the carver's art in London. The building in question was the Hamburg Lutheran Church, standing on a site interesting to City antiquaries as being that of the old parish church of Little Trinity,—the diminutive being to distinguish it from the Priory of Holy Trinity at Aldgate. This church being very ruinous, as we learn from Stowe, was pulled down in 1606, and rebuilt in the two following years. It was enlarged in 1629, but only to suffer the fate of so many other of the City churches in the great fire of 1666. The church was not rebuilt, and the parish was united to that of St. Michael, Queenhithe. The site was purchased by Theodore Jacobson and five others, to whom, and their heirs and assigns, license was given (Sept. 13, 24th Car. II) to build thereon a temple for the free exercise of the Augustan confession in the German tongue, and with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Mayor. This was rebuilt towards the end of the last century, and the plain building erected which so many of us may have passed so frequently. The reredos of the former building, the capital organ, the pulpit, and the font, were replaced, and continued until the formation of the Metropolitan Railway, when the ancient site was purchased, and the buildings demolished and entirely swept away; but when the sale was effected it was arranged to retain the reredos and the other fittings by the present trustees, Baron Schroeder, Richard Brandt, Esq., and others. The commendable zeal of these gentlemen in thus preserving some memorials of the old building and of the worship of their predecessors, enables me now to submit some particulars of the reredos.

The design is of great beauty, and it will be observed that it consists of a centre panel formed by a semicircular arch and pilasters, with imposts and keystone, flanked on each side by two composite columns, the capitals and the two broad-waved flutes being carved in an admirable manner. Right and left two panels are enclosed within characteristic arches of lesser width, and these, with the central panel, are filled in with Bible sentences of the usual flowing German writing. Below



the columns is a panelled dado, and above is an entablature with carved mouldings, and a boldly designed cornice also richly carved. Over the large central arch the cornice is segmental, and broken around the projection of the columns, and the pediment is filled in with very exquisite carving. Palm-branches and a profusion of flowers and fruit, indicative of peace and abundance, surround an open book, over which a dove spreads its wings. Below the book, and occupying the depth of the frieze, is a pelican feeding its young from its bleeding side, and this rests skilfully on the keystone of the central arch. The composition is completed by a sort of panelled parapet above the main cornice, while the central portion has a bold, semicircular arch sustained by two caryatidæ formed by the figures of boys, and this supports three tall candlesticks, while the mystic number of seven is completed by two more being on each side of the figures. The arch encloses the Hebrew name of the Deity surrounded by a choir of cherubim. The carving of the panels of the parapet, the spandrels over the main arch, and in the centre, already referred to, is of very great beauty. The flowers and leaves are entirely separated, and present almost all the light appearance of nature.

The interest attached to the carving is much enhanced from the tradition that it is the work of Grinling Gibbons. Dr. Walbaum, the present minister of the congregation, has kindly inspected the documents belonging to them, to ascertain if there remains any record of its erection, but unfortunately none appears to be in existence. We are bound, therefore, to take various circumstances into consideration to aid our judgment.

The date of the work would favour the supposition, for it cannot be much more than twenty years later than the foundation of the church, and we know that it was early in 1671 that Evelyn discovered Gibbons at work in his "poor, solitary, thatched house at Deptford". The style of the architectural composition and the workmanship is that of the same period; but we know that there are numberless examples of somewhat similar works, and the City churches present many specimens. The rood-screen of All Hallows the Great, we are told,¹ was made at Hamburg, and brought to London, and it may not be considered improbable that a community such as was Theodore Jacobson's would have received some gift for their new temple from their wealthy friends in North Germany. None is more likely than a gift of carving from a district possessing artists of celebrity, and at a time when many admirable works were produced.

The architectural design of the seven candlesticks is more English in its character than we might suppose at first sight. There are examples of it in English churches, and one of these was in the church of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, the gift of Mr. Clark in 1705.

¹ Godwin's *Churches of London*.

The material seems to decide that it is at least the workmanship of this country, for it is formed almost entirely of English oak. To confirm my own supposition as to this, I asked Mr. Julius Jacoby of Regent Street (than whom there can be no better authority) to examine the work piece by piece. He reports: "On close inspection of the reredos I am confirmed in my first opinion, that it is made of the best English oak. You receive herewith a specimen of it planed down for you to see its natural colour and grain. Some of the *flowers* seem to be of cherry-wood, or perhaps willow. No hard wood would have done for those sculptured flowers in full relief." There are examples of the employment of foreign oak in English buildings. Allhallows, Bread Street, is stated to be wainscoted with Norway oak; but it seems scarcely probable that English oak would be sent abroad to be returned again. The comparison with Gibbons' known works decides almost to a certainty that the flowers and fruit were carved by him. The stalls and the organ-screen of St. Paul's bear a close resemblance, and the reredos of St. James', Piccadilly, is equally similar, although both these works are of more elaborate workmanship. In this latter, the group of the pelican and her young is repeated; and the date and the authorship of this work are unquestionably settled by Evelyn, who saw it on the 7th Dec. 1684, shortly after its completion. The pelican here and her young are much more detailed; but the grouping of the composition is very similar. The general similarity of these two works is so great that our assent cannot be withheld from ascribing the design of both, and much of the execution of this, to the same hands. There is in the work before us, as well as in Gibbons' known productions, alike the grace and beauty of his handicraft, so well described by Walpole as "giving to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chaining together the various productions of the elements with the free disorder natural to each species."

The reredos was badly dilapidated; but it has been carefully restored under my advice, and re-gilded in accordance with the original design, by Mr. Jacoby. It will speedily be re-erected in the new church at Dalston, which I have designed for the trustees; and where, I hope, thanks to the energy of Mr. R. Brandt and his co-partners, it will be very many years visible in its complete proportions, and be classed as not the least unworthy of the productions of Grinling Gibbons. I may add that although the style of the new church is altogether different, it has required no pressure on my part with the trustees to preserve it; and I trust that when it is erected we shall be satisfied with an effect not inharmonious, while we all have the gratification of preserving a work of art of great beauty, which we could not have done had we given heed to the prevalent notion that nothing can be made to harmonise with a new building unless it is in the same style.

Mr. Cuming read a paper "On Roman Vessels popularly called Amphoræ", and exhibited a variety of objects and illustrations in support of his remarks. The paper will be printed in a future place.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH MARCH, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Richard Howlett, 37, Freeland Road, Bromley, Kent, was elected an Associate.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be expressed to the donors of the following presents :

Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., for a treatise on "The Etruscan Language," 8vo.

Paul Schumacher, of San Francisco, California ; for an interesting tract on the kitchen-middens of South California, entitled, "Etwas über kjökken Möddinge und die Funde in alten Gräbern in Süd-Californien." 4to.

The Editor, for "Rivista Internazionale," vol. i, No. 1.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell Phillips, F.R.S., presented a wood block of New Place, Clopton, for illustration of the visit of the Congress to the site. The impression of this fine cut will be found at page 90, with some further information concerning the building.

Mr. T. Blashill placed on the table a large collection of Roman relics from a villa in Herefordshire, recently found in the foundation of the north wall of the church of Putley. These had probably been removed from the original site when the church was being built. The remains consisted of a lump of burned clay, marked bricks, one having the print of a sandal, others with the impressions of a cat's feet, woven cloths, and thumb-markings ; several flue-, roof-, and flange-tiles, and other evidences of Roman use.

The mark of the cloth, seen distinctly on one specimen, gave rise to an interesting discussion. Mr. Grover instanced other examples of a similar nature which he had seen at York, and spoke of a custom, which appears to have been sometimes employed, of wrapping a corpse in cloth and pouring plaster of Paris around it, portions of plaster with the marks of the strands of the linen having been occasionally found in Roman sites. Mr. Cuming and Mr. Thairlwall corroborated Mr. Grover's remarks.

Mrs. Baily transmitted for inspection two fine examples of the anelace, found in London, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the subjoined remarks ; "The last volume of our *Journal* (xxxi, 283) contains an engraving of an exceedingly rare type of anelace of the com-

mencement of the sixteenth century, accompanied by such a general account of the weapons bearing this denomination, that it will be needless, on the present occasion, to dwell on the history of these ancient sword-daggers, as they have not been inaptly termed. The specimens now submitted differ greatly in contour from the one previously exhibited, and possess but slight resemblance to each other. The earliest is of English fabric of the time of Edward III, and may be compared with the anelace hanging at the side of John Corpe on his sepulchral brass in Stoke Fleming church, Devonshire, which is dated 1361. The grip, broad pomel, and spreading guard are formed of a single piece of boxwood, capped and based with iron. The double-edged blade is thick in the centre, so that a transverse section would present the figure of a fusil. It is close on $18\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{5}{12}$ inch wide next the quillons, which are $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, the points having an upward turn. This very perfect and choice example was brought to light in excavating for the river wall at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street, February 1868, a locality which yielded a number of other swords and daggers, as well as portions of armour. The second specimen is an Italian anelace of the end of the fifteenth century, of the type sometimes designated *langue de bœuf*. The blade closely resembles that of the Maharatta *katar*; it is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and full 2 inches wide next the flat-sided tang. There is a broad and tolerably deep channel on either face, extending from the top to almost the cusp of the weapon; and the upper part of the blade has been tastefully inlaid with gold, or *damasquiné en or*, as it was called. This fine anelace was exhumed opposite the City Gas Works, when the Thames Embankment was constructed in March 1869. Although the anelace was a very favourite weapon from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and must have been worn by hundreds of noble and wealthy persons, the two specimens now before us are the only ones which have yet been noticed as London finds."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a back-scratcher or "surprise", of bone, exhumed in Knighttrider Street, about the middle of February 1876.

In reference to this object, Mr. H. Syer Cuming said we were at present in utter ignorance as to the antiquity and history of the toy of which a rare example is now shown. This kind of playful machine has long been in vogue in England, and those who have ever visited a fair must well remember how the toyman was wont to invite customers by such eloquent exclamations as—"Here's your back-scratchers, the finest fun of the fair. All sorts and sizes, a penny, twopence, and threepence a-piece. Come, buy, buy, buy. Warranted to run up and down as fast as a race-horse, and make your sweethearts scream like good uns." The "all sorts and [sizes]" implied that the vendor had

machines with one, two, and three wheels, and, consequently, differing considerably in width; and some had their flat bodies gaily painted with roses and other flowers. Certainly, for the last hundred years the workshops of Sonnenberg in Saxony have supplied this country with most of its scratch-backs, back-scrappers, back-racks, or clapper-claws, as they are indifferently called, but the specimen discovered in Knight-rider Street is in all probability of English fabric of about the year 1600. It seems to be formed out of the divided shaft of the *os femoris* of a small horse, and measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length; the narrow slit in which the cog-wheel revolved being full $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The side edges of the head of the instrument, in which the wheel was fixed, are boldly notched out, and the convex front of the handle is neatly carved with a panel with pearly border, enclosing a sun-flower, with five leaves on either side of its straight stalk. Immediately above this panel is riveted the tongue or spring of thin bone, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches long by nearly 1 inch wide, and on which the wheel acted on the principle of the watchman's rattle. Though this back-scratcher is the earliest example which has yet attracted attention, it is probable that the instrument is a very old invention, for there is reason to believe that many of our most common toys had their origin in the East long before they appeared in Europe.

Mr. Kettel exhibited, by permission of a friend, a few articles exhumed in the Inner Temple, and a knife from St. Mildred's Church, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations: "The relics comprised in the little group of objects from the Temple are all of a domestic character, and range in date from the very beginning of the sixteenth, down to the close of the seventeenth, century. The earliest object is a somewhat skittle-shaped jug of cream-coloured paste, the neck, upper part of the body, and loop handle being covered with plumbiferous glaze, of a mottled-green hue, imparted by silicate of protoxide of iron and copper. It is curious to note that a jug resembling the present one in every respect was exhumed near the Temple Church in 1847, and which, for the sake of comparison, I now place before the meeting. Next in point of antiquity, but a century younger in age, is a flat candle-stick of earthenware, the paste of which is somewhat like that of the jug, but the nozzle and upper side of the saucer are both coated with a yellow glaze, such as was extensively employed during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Proceeding from the first to the second half of the seventeenth century, the next articles arresting attention are two little implements of pipe-clay, much like pestles in shape, but really designed for dressing the huge perukes rendered familiar to us in the portraits of gentlemen limned by such artists as Lely, Kneller, and Murray. An old song says—"I saw by their wigs that so gracefully curled, that the lawyers were wanting

their fees," and, considering that these little rollers were discovered in the very midst of a legal domain, it is not at all improbable that they may have been employed in curling the wigs of some of the great luminaries of Bench and Bar in the days of the later Stuarts. Passing from Law to Physic, we have the latter profession represented in a pretty little pharmaceutical pot of delft-ware, covered inside and out with white stanniferous enamel, possibly a product of the Lambeth Pottery in the reign of William III. Pots of similar form to this one, and of various sizes, have been found in different parts of London, and, in some instances, containing traces of unguents.

"Besides these relics from the Temple, we must not fail to notice a clasp-knife with a broad sharp-pointed sabre-shaped blade, and horn haft, discovered under the cap of a pillar supporting the tower of the belfrey of St. Mildred's Church, Poultry, on its demolition a few years since. The church was built by Wren in 1676, but the knife is of the time of James I, and it would be interesting to know why it was hid during the erection of the structure."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, Honorary Secretary, exhibited a collection of five polychromatic tiles for walls; they were of Dutch art, two coming from Malines, and three from London; the date of the sixteenth century was assigned to them.

Mr. T. Blashill read a most interesting paper, laid before the Association by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester, entitled "Ground Plans, Regular and Secular." The text of this important contribution towards the elucidation of much that is obscure in Church archæology, will be printed in a future place.

Mr. Blashill, Mr. Birch, and Mr. Brock took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. T. Morgan, Hon. Treasurer, said: "We have heard, with much pleasure and benefit, the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott's descriptive account of the Abbey churches of different monastic orders, which follows well upon the discussions we have had during our visits to many abbeys and churches at our late Congress. The specimens of the Gothic pointed style of architecture existing in our northern latitudes, and particularly in England, are so perfectly distinct from the ancient Greek and Roman forms, popularly known as the classic style, that there seems to be no affinity between them. The English architects of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries adhered so rigidly to the style of the period in which they lived, that they have formed a school of which our country may indeed justly be proud, and which differs in many respects from the pointed Gothic of other countries; but, on the other hand, it is interesting for us to study the development of Gothic architecture and its intermixture with the old Roman forms in

other countries, and particularly in Italy. I would instance the Cathedral of Siena as a combination of styles, where we see the Gothic columns clustered in piers and rising to a great height, crowned with Corinthian capitals. The arches of the piers are circular, while the clerestory arches and windows are pointed; yet the effect on the whole is not inharmonious. In England, ancient specimens of Greek or Roman forms are rare; they must be sought for in the earliest Anglo-Saxon buildings of the eighth century, and may be dimly traced through the round-arched architecture up to the end of the twelfth century, a period of 500 years. The primitive and poor forms of what is called Saxon architecture are seen depicted on MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries; and in existing examples, many of which are well known, such as the church at Bradford-on-Avon, visited at the Bristol Congress. These early examples are followed, after an interval of time not known to us with certainty, by the massive pillars of buildings with even less of sculpture about them than those of the previous age. Their arches are of bold masonry, but with few mouldings, and finished by a sub-arch recessed within the outer, the face of which is flush with the wall it tends to support. The capitals of the pillars, beneath a plain abacus, are only huge cubes of stone, rounded off below or chiselled into escallops. In succession, the architecture becomes more ornate, both as to the arches, the mouldings, and the bases and capitals of the columns, till we reach the twelfth century with its elaborate mouldings and carvings. It seems at this latter period to have been much the custom to chisel the old heavy masonry *in situ*, and thus convert the old building into a new one without the necessity of rebuilding. It is important to bear this fact in mind in comparing and putting to the test of criticism the dates and descriptions given by the historians of the twelfth century for the foundation of their favourite monasteries. A careful study, by our architects, of the transition in the arches, mouldings, size of stones, and particularly in cases where these are displayed in the crypts, which often are the remains of the most ancient building, would, I think, lead to a better chronological knowledge than we now have of this long period of 500 years.

“Another fact for comparison, in connexion with the churches of Italy, has been pointed out by Mr. H. Gally Knight, in his admirable work *On the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy from the time of Constantine to the Fifteenth Century* (London, folio, 1842), which was recommended for our study by Mr. G. Godwin, in his paper on ‘Early Christian Churches’ (*Journal*, vol. xv, p. 131). I refer to the belfries or church towers in Ravenna, the capital of the Gothic Empire of Theodoric, who died in A.D. 526, as well as the head-quarters of the Exarchs who governed Italy for the Emperors of the East, in the fifth and two following centuries. The lofty belfry of brick, with small divided windows,

may be mentioned, attached to the magnificent church of St. Apollinaris ad Classem, at Ravenna, a work of Julianus, the treasurer of Justinian, which was consecrated in A.D. 549. This is a round tower, and 'it is singular', says Mr. Gally Knight, 'that whilst the belfries of all other towers in Italy are invariably square, those of Ravenna are as invariably round.' I leave to our architects to explain this, as we have many instances in our own country both of round and square towers of ancient date attached to churches; amongst the latter, Deerhurst, lately visited, furnishes an example. Mr. Haigh (*Journal*, vol. i) likens the triangular arch at Deerhurst Church to the arcade in the convent of Lorsch in Germany, which, he says, is known to have been founded in 764, and consecrated ten years afterwards. These are data, not without use in appropriating portions of existing buildings to the periods to which they belong, and thus verify both the accounts handed down of the ancient foundation and subsequent changes in the buildings.

"Leaving mediæval times, I have an observation to make on the revival of the classical style in England, after the example had been set in Italy by Palladio, first at Vicenza, his native place, and then throughout the country till Bramante, Michael Angelo, and the other great lights of Leo the Tenth's pontificate brought the movement to its acme, in erecting the stupendous fabric of St. Peter's.

"The revival in England of classical architecture by Inigo Jones, Vanbrugh, Sir Christopher Wren, and others, marks a period peculiarly characteristic of our national history, and we have had attention called to it at our last meeting by Mr. Loftus Brock. He did not bring the church and steeple, but he did exhibit a very large specimen of the entablature and columns in oak, as well as carvings of fruit and birds, which, whether the work of Gibbons or not, are good specimens of interior fittings of the style so prevalent in England, and particularly in London, in the church-building times of good Queen Anne. We are much indebted to Mr. Brock for his trouble in producing such fine specimens of work, and his observations at the last meeting have called forth these few remarks from me, which I make as one interested in architecture illustrative of history and of human progress."

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., V.P., *apropos* of a fine example of filigree work exhibited by Mr. H. Kettel, read the following paper :

ON BOUQUETIERS.

The love of flowers is as ancient as it is universal, and in no country of the old world was it more distinctly manifested than in Egypt, where the ladies, at their evening assemblies, were not content to dress their dark and lustrous hair and swelling bosoms with the blossoms of the nufar or lotus and other admired plants, but bore one or more such

blossoms in their delicate hands, which they ever and anon raised to enjoy the perfume, each circumstance being vividly set forth on the pictured walls of the sepulchral chamber. When the nosegay appeared at the dress-party, the stalks of the flowers were not unfrequently sheathed in a case, such as is now known as a bouquet-holder, and which a good deal resembled a strawberry-pottle in contour, and judging by pictorial representations was wrought of basket-work, the material being stained of divers colours. Among the mural paintings obtained from the grottoes in the western hills of Thebes, and now preserved in the British Museum, are two in which bouquetiers are very conspicuous. In the sporting scene stands a richly attired lady with a large and elegantly made bouquetier in her right hand, the lower part of which is blue, the upper alternate bands of blue and white, with two rows of red discs. And in another subject, apparently a portion of a banquet, are shown a line of bouquet-holders prepared as presentations to the guests, one being green with a red band towards the top; another white with transverse red lines. Both these curious paintings were executed during the rule of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and somewhere between the years 1500 and 1400 B.C.

Conical bouquetiers of fine basketwork, much like those of the ancient Egyptians, but considerably smaller in size, have long been in vogue in China. There were several examples of such articles in Dunn's Chinese collection, and are entered in the Catalogue (p. 99) as "Small cases of coloured horse-hair, intended to hold sweet-scented flowers, and carried in the hand." Chief among these "sweet-scented flowers" is the *moo-le-hua* (*jasminum grandiflorum*), the white blossoms of which form so frequent an adornment to the eastern head. The artificers of the celestial empire not only construct flower-holders of plaited horse-hair, but likewise of the precious metals. Our associate Mr. H. Kettel enables me to shew an antique and most elegant example of a bouquetier from China; and which we may roughly describe as consisting of a cup formed of six broad petals with invected edges, their junctions being covered by narrow leaf-shaped petals. Beneath the cup is a boss, decorated with four projecting flowers or rosettes, followed by the stem or handle, which terminates in another boss, adorned in like way to the first mentioned one, and to the base of which is attached a fine chain with a ring at the end to pass over the finger. To the cup is also fixed a fine chain with a long needle, which passed transversely through the receptacle, and thus secured the nosegay in its place. The vessel and its haft measure together $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and both are wrought of the finest and most exquisite silver filigree that can well be conceived, and it is difficult to imagine how any fingers, save those of fairies, could have interwoven and united such delicate filaments. Altogether it is a rare work of high finish and surpassing beauty.

In many points, a strong resemblance may be traced between the modes of ancient Egypt, China, and India. In all these countries a fervid passion for the sacred lotus and other flowers prevailed, and in all were bouquet-holders adopted at an early period.

We are not without evidence of the employment of the bouquetier in ancient Mexico. Humboldt, in his *Atlas Pittoresque*, has given, from a native drawing, the effigy of the ill-fated sovereign, Montezuma II, in his court dress, holding in his right hand his smelling-bottle, consisting of a reed charged with odoriferous resin, and in his left a large bouquetier, filled with yellow blossoms. The blue vase-shaped receptacle is provided with a long white stem or handle, gradually widening as it descends towards the yellow base, the whole being probably composed of basketwork.

Flowers have ever been highly esteemed by us, and from the commencement of the sixteenth century downwards we occasionally see the fair sex depicted with a rose or lily in the hand, and sometimes, though rarely, holding a bunch of blossoms, but in no instance do I find the slightest indication of a bouquetier previous to the reign of King William IV. This remark applies solely to the hand-receptacle, for there is good proof that about the year 1771-2 the ladies began to adorn their bosoms with tall nosegays, which were preserved fresh during the evening assembly by the stalks being kept in water, contained in a flattish vessel or flask, of tin or glass, placed within the stomacher, and secured in position by a hook which passed over the edge of the corset. I exhibit one of these pectoral bouquetiers, an object of the utmost rarity and the only example of the kind that I have ever met with. It is close on $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length; 2 inches wide at the mouth, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. Of colourless glass, the whole surface spirally fluted, and, in form, somewhat like a broad scissors-case. The hook at back is unfortunately broken off, but the flask is rendered useful by being sewed up in a sort of purse of white linen with lateral ribbons of blue silk, which were pinned to the corset, and so fixed the vessel securely in position.

"Two Ladies in the newest Dress, from Drawings taken at Ranelagh, May 1775," illustrate *The Lady's Magazine* for that year, one of these fair creatures having a lofty nosegay rising up from the edge of her stomacher, just in front of her left breast. And a bouquet is worn in a similar manner in front of the right breast of a lady in a group representing "The most fashionable Dress and Undresses" of the year 1782. The flask is, of course, invisible in these engravings, but its presence may be fairly surmised.

After a most careful scrutiny of scores of prints of female fashions, I have failed in discovering the slightest trace of the hand-bouquetier previous to the commencement of the second quarter of the present

century. In a quarto plate, superscribed "The Beau Monde," and subscribed "Fashions for January, 1835", there are delineations of two bouquet-holders, one being of cornucopiæ-shape, the other of more Gothic character, the receptacle for the flowers being quadrangular, the perforated sides narrowing from the indented edges to the union with the handle. And in a second plate there are two ladies with bouquetiers in their hands. Just about this period the strawberry-pottle-shaped bouquetier of fine basketwork was imported from France, and with it the elegant holder of perforated paper, almost rivalling lace in delicacy of design and texture.

One of the most famous and costly, if not the most graceful, bouquetiers, which the present age has produced, was presented to the Princess of Wales by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh on the occasion of her marriage. Wrought of rock crystal with the shaft sheathed in gold, and resplendent with diamonds and rubies, emeralds, pearls, and pink coral, and provided with a golden chain, and ring set with pearls, it is worthy of a place amid the richest regalia in the universe, and no history of bouquet-holders would be complete without some allusion to it.

We have now traced the bouquetier from Egypt to China, from India to America, and witnessed its development among us in the year 1835, from which time its career is plain enough. Wrought of delicate basketwork, of bone and ivory, gold and silver, and of imitative metals, and set with real and fictitious gems, it has become a *sine quâ non* in the equipment of the fair sex on every state occasion and fashionable assembly, and plays as important a part in the game of flirtation as ever did the fan in its most palmy days.

Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Rochester, sent two fine impressions, in gutta percha, of the city seal, kindly acquired for him by Lewis Levy, Esq., late Mayor of Rochester, to whom the Association desired to acknowledge their thanks for the exhibition. Mr. Irvine also sent sketches of two shields of arms: 1, on a chevron, between three lozenges, as many fusils; 2, a cross saltire between four leaves slipped. Over this shield an interlaced ribbon, in shape of four hearts in cross, is placed. The note respecting these unusual armorials is as follows:

"In the south transept of Rochester Cathedral there are the remains of two recessed arches of Decorated date in the west wall. Through these, at a much later time, a wide four-centred arch has been inserted, leading into the nave of the Lady Chapel, the transept thus forming its chancel. Last month part of the rough stonework was cut away on purpose to open out the jambs of these old arches, and on the hollow splay being uncovered there were found the two shields scratched on it. I shall be obliged if you can inform me whose arms they were. Another existed, but had been destroyed when the Perpendicular masonry was built."

Mr. Irvine sent also a copy of "the oath taken by the Mayors of Rochester", transcribed from the commencing leaf of the *Custumale*, now in the possession of that Corporation. Of this curious composition, the text of which is here printed for the first time, Mr. Irvine says:—
 "From the wording one might be led to suppose that here in Kent the custom had also been retained, which was common in the islands of Orkney and Shetland (so long as the ancient volume of their laws was preserved), of swearing the lawmen and witnesses on the Book of the Law, and not on the Scriptures."

OATH OF THE MAYORS OF ROCHESTER.

"Ye shalle laye your hande upon thys Boke and ye shalle swere that ye shalle treue feyth and harti bere to our soðaign lorde Kyng Edwarde the iiijth now kyng of englond and to hys heires kynges also. ye shalle truly and faythfully occupie the mairalte of thys cite for the yere ensuyng worshipfully to the worship of the seyde cite ye shalle occupie and kepe the kynges lawes as rithfully as ye can with all your power and will that god hathe sent you And ye shalle not for no love ne favor be more partial to oon than to an other that ys to say that ye shalle not be more favorabil to the riche man than to the pou man nr's to the pou man then to the riche man but bee as ryal and as upprith to all parties as per forth as god will geve you grace. Also ye shalle not in your iugment geving be hasty for love nor for haterede but in geving of your iugement ye shall be as rightfull as ye can or may for bothe parties evenly as well for the pou as for the riche with the avice of iij or iiij of your brethern openly uppon the courtdaye in audiens of all pepill. Also ye shall kepe and upholde as perforth as godde will give you grace all ffraunchises of the seide cite so that in your defawte and nealigens no shirreve unde' shirreve shirevsbaile eschetor coron' admiral ner noon other officers contrary to the libertees and ffraunchises conteyned [content] in chartors olde and newe to the maier and citizeuns graunted and conformed in no wise enter to areste any man sese any goodes or cattell to enpanel any citezen in ony forenqweste in the shire to cessions or other place to apeere or to take any office with in the cite or ffraunchise or els to doo or execute any thing that longeth to there offices but that to your power ye be at all tymes redy to lette them and put them of in preservation [savation] of the ffraunchise. Also ye shall kepe trwly and dwly all mañ of correccions with in the cite and ffraunchise that ys to say of assawtes affraies blode shedes chideres incouenient langage gebers and all other offenders and trespasours to your power. Also ye shall kepe trwly correccion upon all vitulers with in the cite and ffraunchise that ys to say of all bakens in weying of their brede Bruwers in makyng of there ale Botchers in sellying of there fleche (flesch) fyshers in sellying of there fisshe Cokes in sciseyng of there mete ostelers tavenars huksters reysators tann' drapers hosyers grosers mersers and millers and of all other artificeres and vitulers within the cite and ffraunchise in corectyng of all mesuers and weigthes as oft tyme as nede ys to your power. Also ye shall kepe and stand by to your power all olde custumes rewles and statutes of olde tyme used and occupied. And also kepe and occupie all statutes and rewles made or to be made for the welfare of the cite and entred in the

register of the cite. Also ye shall to your power supporte helpe and strenght all officers w'in the cite and ffraunchise in there offices doying. Also ye shall see that the co'stables of the cite kepe all wacches and wardes of olde tyme accustomed and used and all other poyntes touchyng there office. Also ye shall kepe the pease in your owne parsons. And also ye shall see that all inhabitantes within the cite and ffraunchise and all straungers kepe the pease and as nye as ye can or may where the pease ys broken so do due correccion as belongeth theretoo. Also ye shall dwly and trwly gader up or cause to be gadered up all the Kynges dwty that ys used and hathe ben gadered of olde tyme past that ys to say all the kynges rente that ys with in the cite or the castle diche all am'cimentes all fynes all law dayes and all other thyngs that owgtht of ryght to be gadered or lever[c]d levcied. Also ye shall dwly and truly occupie your office as ferre as ye can or maye. And that ye shall kepe and observe all the poyntes and articles as they ben above rehersed unto you as ney as ye can or maye so helpe your Godde & halidam and be thys boke & be the iiij Evungelistes and all the seyntes in heven."

Mr. Irvine also forwarded rubbings of a curious sepulchral slab found built into the sill of a window in Overross Church, Herefordshire, with the hope that some member of the Association might be able to decipher the inscription around the great circle of the ornament at the head of the stone; but it was so much worn away by weather or attrition of the feet that nothing could be satisfactorily read. These rubbings were kindly placed at the disposal of the Association by Miss Margaret Bernard, daughter of Canon Bernard of Wells. From these it appears that the slab is 5 feet 8 inches in length, and the annexed illustration gives a representation of the unusual beauty of its deeply cut floral design. The loss of the inscription is very much to be regretted, because by aid of it the date of the work might have been more definitely established, whereas all that can be said of it under existing circumstances is that it is of late thirteenth century workmanship.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH APRIL, 1876.

R. N. PHILIPPS, D.C.L., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

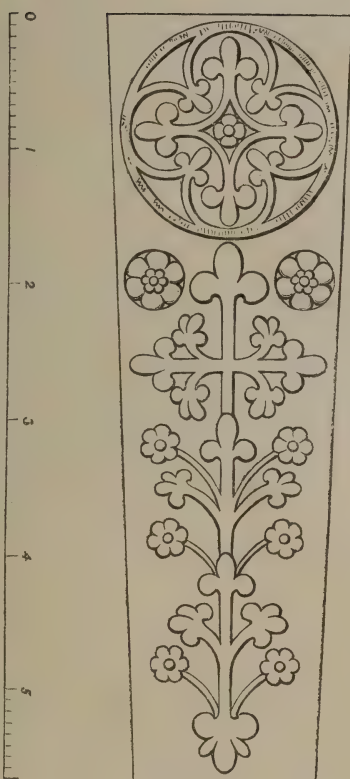
The Rev. Alexander Taylor, M.A., Chaplain of Gray's Inn, was elected an associate.

Thanks were returned

To the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for A Catalogue of the Fifteenth Century Printed Books in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. By Robert Sinker, M.A. 1876.

To the Society, for Powys-land Collections, vol. ix, Part I.

„ „ for *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, tome xiv, 1875.*



FLORIATED SLAB OF A TOMB IN OVERROSS CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.



The welcome announcement that the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe had signified his acceptance of the important office of President of the British Archæological Association for the ensuing session of 1876-7, and for the Congress shortly to take place in the Duchy of Cornwall, was received with great demonstration of delight by the meeting.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, Hon. Sec., exhibited two interesting photographs of Bristol city, shewing the tower of St. Werburgh's Church, lately threatened with destruction in order to give way to the increased traffic of the neighbourhood. It was hoped that the exertions of the Association might be fortunately able to avert the total destruction of the church tower.

Mrs. Bailly sent for inspection two small daggers or stilettos of singular character. The earliest is of the close of the fifteenth century. The short quillons are formed of a strip of iron curving towards the blade, both ends being voluted. The double-edged blade is $\frac{7}{12}$ inch wide next the hilt, and $6\frac{1}{12}$ inches in length; but its point is broken off. This weapon was exhumed at Gun Wharf, Wapping, Oct. 1869.

The second stiletto is of the early part of the sixteenth century. The pomel is either of silver or white metal, and is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in width, with convex top, and embellished on each side with five pyriformed drops divided by a thin ridge. It has a double guard, consisting of a ring projecting on either side of the base of the hilt, and decorated with a cable-pattern. The two-edged blade is half an inch wide next the guard, and $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and ending in a rounded point. It was discovered in Liverpool Street, January 1872.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming called attention to the small size of the hilts of these weapons, neither of which would admit of a grip of more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, consequently they must have been designed for persons with diminutive hands, and were intended, in all probability, to be worn merely for show by youthful pages; and this idea receives support from the fact that the blades of both specimens are blunt edged. It is a well known circumstance that in past times weapons were made conformable to the size of the little wearers. The cast brass hilt of a page's sword, of *circa* 1700, is described in our *Journal*, xvi, p. 296; and about the middle of the eighteenth century some very beautiful porcelain grips of pages' swords were produced at Dresden. The Lilliputian band formed by Napoleon I to attend on his son were armed with miniature broadswords, on the blades of which were inscribed "*Garde Imperiale du Roi de Rome.*"

Mr. Cuming exhibited a miniature sword, too serious an affair for a plaything, but just suited for the equipment of a page or a dwarf; for that the latter did sport a weapon at their sides is proved by the portraits of Jeffrey Hudson and Simon Paap. The wooden grip of

this sword measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and is covered with leather bound round with a spiral of twisted brass wire, and capped with a flat brass pomel. The blunt edged, curved iron blade is nearly $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and has a uniform width of about half an inch. This tiny weapon is of late seventeenth century date, and was exhumed in St. Martin's le Grand in 1869.

Mr. S. I. Tucker, Rouge Croix, exhibited a very singular dagger of late sixteenth century work, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming has furnished the subjoined memorandum :

"The remarkable stiletto brought to our notice by Mr. Tucker belongs to a class of *memento mori* weapons of which examples are now of exceeding rarity, and it is questionable if they were ever very numerous. Though the taste for such things did not originate with Hans Holbein, the great artist aided its development, for among his drawings preserved in the Public Library at Basle is one of a dagger-sheath on which is represented the famous 'Dance of Death'. Here are introduced a sumptuously attired king and queen, a soldier with a flag, a buxom peasant girl, a jolly monk, and a little curly-headed child, each accompanied by a skeleton in various attitudes, and all designed with equal spirit. The upper rim of the sheath has a human skull in the middle, with a thigh-bone on either side; and the chape, crampet, or boteroll, is decorated with elegant foliage in scrolls. This masterly conception was engraved in 1780 by Christian de Mechel, and a wood-cut of it forms one of the illustrations to Francis Douce's 'Dance of Death', published in 1833. Though we have no proof that such was the case, we can scarcely doubt that there was a dagger-hilt designed in a like style as this really graceful sheath.

"We have tangible evidence that in the sixteenth century daggers were mounted with hafts which spoke to the mind's eye of grim mortality, and of which a beautiful example was forwarded for exhibition by Mr. Greenshields in 1865. The Florentine poniard or stiletto here alluded to has a silver-gilt hilt of a highly emblematic and significant character. The grip of the weapon represents the gigantic crane, a bird noted for its habit of destroying noxious animals, and clearing the earth of carrion of all description; and it stands on a death's head, across the front of which is a broad band, and on one side an hour-glass, and on the other a bunch of *cicuta* or hemlock, the three objects together constituting the cross-guard of the weapon. The two-edged blade, rather over $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, is provided with a silver-gilt sheath richly chased on either side with various devices; among others, a mask of the petrifying Gorgon, and an oval cartouche charged with a serpent, who seems to lower its jaws into a chalice to evenenom its contents. Hilt and sheath are alike symbolic of death by assassination.

"Less elegant and elaborate in the conception of its haft, but equally

curious in general character with the foregoing, is the stiletto which Mr. Tucker has kindly submitted to us. The motive of the grip is a human skeleton in kneeling posture, the thigh and leg-bones so extended as to measure $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches from one patella to the other, and thus forming quillons. The bony fingers are clasped on the sternum, and winding in and out among the osseous frame is a long serpent whose head rests on the left shoulder of the ghastly effigy. This skeleton appears to kneel on the stump of a withered tree, the base of which spreads slightly over the mouth of the sheath, which latter is most tastefully ornamented with similar devices on either side. The first and most important embellishment to mention is that upon the portion which may be termed the locket. Here are incised the arms of France ensigned by the royal crown, and flanked by drapery, the sinister folds having a ring through them to suspend the weapon to the waist-girdle. These arms have led my good friend Mr. Planché to believe that this extraordinary dagger once belonged to Henry IV, who reigned from 1589 to 1610,—an epoch that well agrees with the age of the weapon, which was evidently wrought at the close of the sixteenth century. Below the shield is a group of fruit and flowers, a satyric mask with protruding tongue, and then a line of three cartouches, each charged with a bold fleur-de-lys, the chape being a simple round knob. Both hilt and sheath are of gilt metal; and so heavy is the skull that the weapon might on occasion be employed as a *mazuelle*. The pointed steel blade is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, a transverse section of which would produce a rhombic figure, each edge being of much the same degree of sharpness. I have seen a German poniard of the sixteenth century, with its ivory pomel in the form of a human skull, and a serpent twining around the grip; but it cannot be compared, for quaintness of design, with the foregoing specimens.

“The rare and valuable stilettos upon which we have been treating would be fit equipments for the chiefs of the secret societies with which Italy and Germany once, and perhaps still abound; and they forcibly remind us of the iron dagger of the Holy Vehm, of which description is given in our *Journal* (xiv, p. 281), but which differs considerably in character from the arms of the *Fehmgerichte*, or free tribunals, delineated by Demmin in his *Weapons of War*, p. 580.”

Mr. Brock exhibited a variety of objects recently found in London excavations, some of which were evidently of recent manufacture or imported from foreign places. The exhibition was useful as it illustrated the attempts of dishonest diggers to deceive and entrap unwary visitors to the sites of the excavations into purchasing relics which could not possibly have been found in the locality.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew sent for exhibition a group of antiquities lately exhumed in Colchester and London. Those from the first named

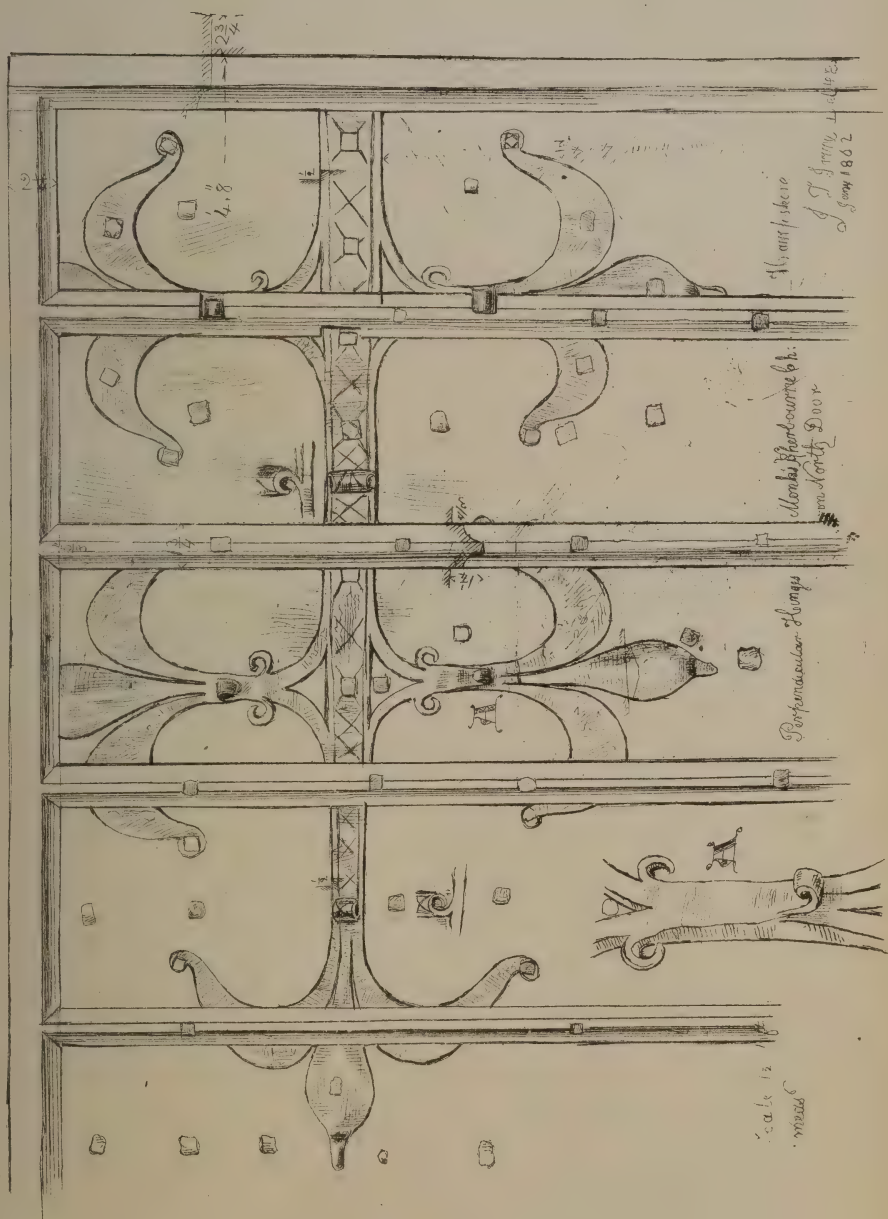
locality comprise two Roman objects. 1st, A pretty little *poculum* or drinking-cup, of the type given in this *Journal*, ii, 73; xx, 85, fig. 6. It is of red terra-cotta, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter at the mouth. 2nd, A stout *ansa* or handle of a large *seria*, of buff-coloured terra-cotta, on which is impressed the potter's sigil, reading (when the monogram is disentangled) P. MANV. L. SV. This stamp is an addition to those from Colchester mentioned in our *Journal*, ii, 45.

The following are the London specimens: Ancient (Roman?) bottle of glass, $7\frac{1}{8}$ ins. high; body square, about 4 ins. in circumference, with short cylindric neck. From Knightrider Street.—Chain bracelet composed of a double line of intertwined pyriformed links of golden-coloured, bronze, hammered wire, so arranged as to produce a four-sided band, with a round loop at either end. This is a beautiful piece of Teutonic workmanship, somewhat resembling the chain in the Baily collection, described in this *Journal*, xxix, 426; and the delicate purse-chain found with Merovingian gold coins on Bagshot Heath, in 1828. From Fenchurch Street.—Bottle-shaped object of red terra-cotta, rather over $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference; the sides so deeply fluted as to produce a cluster of eight columns. It is perforated through its length, one end being flat, the other provided with a sort of neck. It is difficult to decide either the age or purpose of this singular object. From Fenchurch Street.—Standing draped figure of cast brass strongly gilt, about 3 inches high, possibly intended for Our Lord. The right hand is raised in the act of benediction, the left holds a closed book. Apparently the haft of a knife, or some sacred utensil, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. From Knightrider Street.—Costrel, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, of red earthenware; all but the round base covered with a reddish brown glaze curdled with white; evidently an imitation of the early Schmelz glass, of which other instances are recorded in our *Journal*, xxx, p. 432. On the two opposite sides of the body of the bottle are a pair of lion-head loops, one above the other, through which a cord passed to suspend the vessel about the person of the pilgrim or traveller. Date, sixteenth century. From Houndsditch, Feb. 1876.

Mr. Birch, Hon. Sec., read the following paper by J. T. Irvine :

ON WROUGHT METAL-WORK AT MONK'S SHERBOURN, HAMPSHIRE.

The scarceness of any very ornamental metal-work during the Perpendicular period is remarkable when we consider the expenditure of labour and the elaboration of ornament on almost all the other materials used (only excepting marble). Ornamental hinges of any character above the most simple design in this style may have their catalogue exhausted in a score of lines. A well known example is given by



23 1/2
4 1/2

4, and 1, there

J. J. Smith
Jan 1862

Monks' Portico
on North Door

Perpetual Lamp

scale 1/2
made



Lysons from Devonshire, and until the late "*restoration*" of Poorstock Church in Dorset, an example even more elaborate existed on the door to the staircase in the tower of that church, the greater portion of the surface of the wood being covered with most beautiful scroll-work in imitation of branches of oak-leaves. After the "*restoration*", on making a voyage to sketch it, to my intense disappointment I found it had been utterly destroyed, and replaced by some modern strap-hinges; while some much plainer, but still unusually good, old ones had been removed from the south door, and thrown into the woodyard of the Rectory. I am able to lay before you an etching of some not so rich, but still very fine, remaining on the north door of the church of Monk's Sherbourn in Hampshire, no great distance from Basingstoke, from whence it can easily be reached by way of Sherbourn St. John, where another interesting church remains.

Monk's Sherbourn Church, though small, is of considerable interest, and had fallen into the hands of some one who, with his architect, richly deserves to be elected a member of our Society. I am grieved I know not either of their names, for I doubt if ever, among all my antiquarian wanderings, I have come across a more admirable or faithful restoration, where every slight object of interest, from the Norman period down to the 1600 stalls, and even the bits of old tiles in the floor, had been preserved with the greatest care and attention.

My visit led from Sherbourn St. John, by footpaths between rich fields of golden grain, the wild-flowers still glittering with the dew not yet in the early morning evaporated. The view, on approaching the church, was peculiarly fine, seen, as it was, over the swell of the wheat field forming the foreground, beyond which it arose backed by dark, lofty elms; a farmhouse and buildings on the slope above continuing the picture to left, while to right the line of dark wood shut in the view. The footpath fell into the road below the church, past which a short, deep lane ran up, over whose steep sides hung in wild profusion festoons of ivy and convolvulus in flower.

The chancel, originally Norman, seems to have had an apse cut off at a later date; a fragment of its arch is seen under east wall. The present east window is a three-light Decorated one, and the chancel is otherwise lighted by two two-light windows (with trefoil over) on each side. Between those on the south side is a single-light Early English window now built up; and between those on the north side, a Norman light, also closed. An aumbry remains on south side. There were remains of frescoes on the jambs of two windows. The old tiles had been laid square in nave, anglewise in chancel. Curious stalls (of, I think, Charles the Second's time) remained in chancel, on north side. The chancel-arch was Norman (probably after 1130), of two orders. The caps retained part of the original painting. A slab containing indents

of two figures with labels proceeding from the mouths, and an inscription round margin, lay in the floor of the chancel. There was also a brass plate with inscription in memory of William Dobson, once rector, who in 1653 "exchanged earth for heaven"; and in floor of nave, two indents, one of a man and his wife, the other nearly erased. There was an indent of a single figure and inscription near porch door. The pulpit is dated 1651. It stood on the north side, and next to it was a two-light Decorated window, under the sill of which is built a curious fragment, perhaps part of a holy water stoup.

The north door is Norman (square-headed), opening with an arched order supported on shafts over it, and a very good late Decorated wooden porch; but instead of a sloping drip-mould to this, in the wall of church, there was an original Norman drip-moulding, corbie-stepped, evidencing the fact that even from Norman times there must have been always a wooden porch here. This weather-mould had been richly ornamented with a sort of edged billet. The door to this Norman entrance dated back no further than late Perpendicular times, and on it were the two fine wrought-iron hinges, the upper one of which my etching shews. It will be seen how truly artistic they are, and how the waste ends of the welds are wrought into ornament, so that the construction is clearly seen in every part. The moulded wooden fillets passing over them are original, and common at that date.

Mr. Irvine also sent "Notes about Monumental Slabs in Ludlow Church, Salop", with an illustrative etching. This paper was read by Mr. Birch, and will be hereafter inserted in the records of the Association.

Mr. Birch, Hon. Secretary, read a Report on the documents presented by Sir P. Stafford Carey to the Association, as mentioned in the *Proceedings* of the 16th of February, at p. 124. Sir P. Stafford Carey had originally sent three deeds, but two more had been added afterwards by the liberality of the donor. The Report and accurate transcripts of the texts will be printed hereafter.

The Chairman made some interesting remarks on the seal of the city of London, a fine impression of which was appended to one of the documents.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH APRIL, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentlemen, sons of the Hon. Treasurer, were duly elected associates :

Rev. Ernest K. B. Morgan, St. John's, Sevenoaks

Albert C. F. Morgan, Surveying Department, General Post Office.

Dr. Kendrick sent for inspection a number of fragments of terracotta vessels exhumed at Long Bank, Wilderspool, near Warrington, Lancashire,—a locality frequently mentioned in this *Journal*, as will be seen by reference to a foot-note in vol. xxvii, p. 430. Upon this exhibition Mr. H. Syer Cuming offered the following observations:

“So much has already appeared in the pages of our *Journal* respecting the presumed site of *Condate* at Wilderspool, and the discoveries there made, that all that need be done on the present occasion is to direct attention to some of the more important relics now submitted, and as they consist entirely of *fictilia*, it will be convenient to consider them in two groups,—the one lustrous, the other non-lustrous, in surface.

“The remains of lustrous, or Samian pottery, present some singular examples of embossed decoration. In casting the eyes over the assembled pieces we cannot fail of being at once struck by the unusually large size of the subjects on them, which seem to indicate a study of the products of Arezzo. Take, for instance, the portion of a bowl ornamented with circles $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, in each of which is crouched a great Hercules holding with both hands a long club resting on his right shoulder, and in front and behind him stands a Cupid. A still larger figure appears on another fragment of a bowl. It is that of a *dimachærus*, or gladiator, with strongly developed muscles, each hand grasping the hilt of a long sword dentated on either edge. He plunges the weapon held in his left hand into the right loin of a man who seems striving to fly from his attacker. On the side of a third bowl appear two figures, each about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, illustrative of a certain style of embellishment denounced by Pliny (xiv, 28; xxxiii, 2). Beneath the figures, and by the side of the female, is a label bearing the potter's name, but so detrited that it cannot be read. One piece of a bowl is remarkable for the profile bust of Minerva, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height. The goddess wears a noble *galea*, with a long horse-tail *crista* flowing to the shoulders. The whole surface of this vessel seems to have been panelled out with cord-lines, and each compartment filled with a good-sized subject. A circle on another fragment of a much thinner vessel is occupied with the large profile of a Negro-like head with a basket (?) before it, underneath which is the pointed cap of a *Mimus*. Two pieces, from different bowls, bear large figures of griffins passant; one with the right, the other with the left paw raised, and moving in opposite directions. A somewhat novel border is displayed on a portion of an upright-sided vessel, consisting of a series of ovals or cartouches with a cord hanging between each. The bottom of a very thin *patera* has the potter's stamp on its interior surface; but his name looks like a jumble of r's and v's or A's. The last example of a Samian bowl to mention is decorated with a vine-tree, hare, and some

other large animal ; but the most curious feature connected with the specimen is the fine large leaden rivet employed in uniting the vessel after breakage.

"The non-lustrous pottery from Wilderspool will require but few words of comment. Of light gray coloured ware there is a thick-bottomed, rather stout-sided unguent-pot, nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter, ringed at top to receive the ligature employed in securing the pellicle which covered the mouth. Among the common light red ware are two vessels of somewhat infrequent occurrence,—the one a pan, probably for an unguent or conserve, 1 inch high, and $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches diameter ; the other, a neatly fabricated *labellum* with sloping sides and overhanging lips grooved both above and below. When perfect, this must have been $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches diameter at top, and perhaps about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at bottom, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in height. There is also of this red ware a fragment of the body of an *ampulla*, curious from the fact that some ancient Condavian has scratched on its inner surface two large M's surrounded by a loop-border.

"In our *Journal* (xxvii, p. 433) are figured and described several examples of *rough-cast pottery*, and the present assembly of Roman relics furnishes good specimens of this singular ware. Though Wilderspool has yielded up a fair crop of this variety of *factilia*, its presence is not confined to this locality, for it has also been exhumed in London, Oxford, Kent, and elsewhere.

"Far rarer than the foregoing is the painted pottery discovered in the Long Bank, and which calls to mind, in colour and decoration, the aboriginal earthenware of South America. The fragments before us appear to be portions of *pateræ*, and rather shallow bowls or deep-sided dishes, and possibly of mortaria-shaped vessels. The paste is a compact clay of a reddish fawn colour, highly adhesive to the tongue. The interior of the vessels appears to have been smeared or painted over with a reddish or chocolate brown pigment before firing, and the outside decorated in the same manner, in diagonal stripes. This curious pottery is in all probability of the same age as the painted ware discovered at Headington in Oxfordshire, and described in this *Journal*, vi, p. 61.

"It is the received opinion among Lancastrian archæologists that *Condave* was destroyed by fire either at the close of the second or early in the third century ; but in the last relic we have to consider there appears evidence that the spot was not altogether abandoned, at least for sepulchral purposes. This mortuary memento is the largest, and in some respects the most interesting, object submitted. It is an *olla*, full $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ diameter at its greatest swell, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ at bottom. The mouth, when perfect, must have been very wide, with expanding lip. The urn is carefully wrought, and the ware somewhat resembles

that of Upchurch, but is much harder, from higher firing; and is in every respect identical with the Keltic pottery of the fourth century, found in London, and described in this *Journal*, xxiv, p. 394. By way of decoration the body of the vessel is surrounded by two well-defined channels, then a broad band of large chevron-pattern, and beneath it a third channel. When this sepulchral *olla* was exhumed from the Long Bank, on March 12th, 1870, it contained calcined bones, nails, and charcoal, the *débris* of the funeral pyre."

Mrs. Baily contributed a very curious haft of a large knife found in Tower Hill, December 1865, and which, before its injury by inhumation, must have been a beautiful piece of work. It is little over $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, and gradually widens from the blade to the stout rounded butt. It may be described as consisting of two portions. The upper half of the convex sides is of iron inlaid with threads of copper and silver; but the pattern is greatly ruined by erosion. The lower half is of ivory, either side being richly carved with a full-blown daisy and a rose of five petals, with ornaments between them.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that this rare and once fine knife-haft might safely be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century, and he ventured to suggest that the large flowers carved on it had a royal signification; the first being *La Belle Margarine*, the device of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, or of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII; the second, the red rose of the house of Lancaster.

Mr. Cuming exhibited an ivory haft of a knife, on which are neatly engraved large barbed roses of six and seven petals, their centres being set with discs of amber, and which are separated from each other by a broad ornamental spiral band. This haft belongs to the Tudor era, and was exhumed in Moorfields, Sept. 1865.

Mr. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a fine specimen of an Indian *katar* or dagger, with a distich in Sanskrit letters, inlaid in gold upon either side of the blade near the hilt. The interpretation of the legend is to the effect that, "From this weapon being shaped like a thunderbolt, it is called *vajra-kalpa*, i. e., bolt-shaped." This reading is valuable as shewing that the Hindus intended to represent, in the shape of this formidable weapon, the thunderbolt, the divine agent of vengeance, hurled by the gods against their enemies.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited two Malay *crises*, a *katar* of similar shape to that described above, a Dyak sword or dagger in a skin sheath.

Mr. Adams also exhibited a wooden club from New Caledonia, which from its shape is termed the "pelican's head". The handle is curiously strung with thread closely woven.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, exhibited a silver spur

and a silver standard for an hourglass, of the period of James I, both lately found in London.

The Chairman exhibited an impression of the seal of the Corporation of London, with the following legends: *obv.*, SIGILLUM BARONUM LONDONIARUM; *rev.*, LONDINI DEFENDE TUOS DEUS OPTIME CIVES. Maitland, in his *History of London* (ed. 1739, p. 557), gives a coarse woodcut of this seal, remarking that "the ancient seal of the City being laid aside in the 4th of Richard II, the present was made in the same year, 1381." This statement, at most, can only apply to the face whereon St. Paul appears, for the opposite side, with the civic arms, cannot possibly be older than the seventeenth century. The tall, narrow banner charged with the three lions, which St. Paul holds in his left hand, is of the form met with in MSS. of the time of Edward I; but the art of the civic shield and its garniture speak of the Stuart era.

Mr. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a Dutch painting on a panel, being apparently a portrait of Jacob Bressaert, Greffier of Bruges. The inscription, AN'O ETATIS, 1553, is painted over his head; and in the right hand of the figure is a label or letter-case bearing a sentence of which only the following words can be deciphered, "An vorwerdich ende V..... Heer Meester Jacob bressaert graffier inne stede van brugghe. Te Brugghe."

Mr. Cuming read a paper "On Hair Curling Implements", and exhibited a variety of objects and drawings in illustration of his remarks. The paper will find a future place in the *Journal*.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1876.

R. N. PHILIPPS, D.C.L., ETC., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., Honorary Treasurer, read the following Report and balance-sheet, which was unanimously adopted:

TREASURER'S REPORT.

In presenting the balance-sheet for the year ending 31st December 1875, which has been carefully examined by the Auditors, and compared by them with the vouchers, I have the pleasure to call attention to the items of which the account is made up, indicating, as they do, the continued well-doing of the British Archæological Association. This is matter for congratulation when we consider the losses we have sustained by the death of several working members.

To begin with the receipts from our three sources of income : 1st, subscriptions with life-compositions ; 2nd, receipts at the Congress ; 3rd, receipts by sale of publications. The total amount of this revenue shews no diminution, but the reverse ; for whereas in 1874 the sum realised was £443 : 4 : 1, in 1875 the produce realised was £475 : 14 : 5. On the other hand, in the expenditure, under the heads of editing and publishing *Journal*, rent, and miscellaneous expenses, it will be found that some saving has even been effected. The expenditure in 1874 was £482 : 4 : 4, which has in 1875 been reduced to £450 : 16 : 2, mainly attributable to the more economical mode of illustrating the *Journal*. In the preceding figures, the exceptional payments made in 1874 are not included any more than the two exceptional claims we have had in 1875 on our funds ; that is, the sum voted by the Council to the widow of our late lamented Secretary, Edward Roberts, F.S.A. ; and a difference of £8 : 3 : 6 paid for the Index, in excess of the receipts realised during the year by its sale. There may still be a loss each year on this account, unless the balance of the bill still owing for printing it, £61 6s., is paid off from proceeds of the sales of our remaining copies. I hope, therefore, that every associate who has not purchased the Index will at least take one copy to help to clear off our stock. The Index has been admitted, on all hands, to be a most successful work, and indispensable to those who wish to study accurately our proceedings of thirty years. The figures in the balance-sheet would not be the real test of the success of the year's operations, unless it were shewn that the *Journal*, upon which the greater part of our income is expended, had not suffered in efficiency, in bulk, and in the number of the illustrations ; and in this respect the 519 pages of which the *Journal* for 1875 consists, with twenty-seven engravings and eleven woodcuts, contrast favourably with the contents of preceding volumes.

Our late Treasurer remarked, in his Report for 1873, that we should aim at improving our publications and preserving a good standard of illustrations, both in quantity and quality, with a view both to satisfy our subscribers and to increase our income by the sale of the *Journals*. In furtherance of this view I would suggest that we adopt the usual means of extending the circulation of our *Journal* by advertising each number before it appears ; and perhaps by using the name of some good publisher on the title-page, who would probably be glad to promote the sale if he were to receive the difference between member's price and that charged to the general public. Then both in America, Denmark, Germany, France, and other countries, as well as in our own colonies, something might be done in selling our publications if we take some pains in making them known ; and in this our Secretary, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, who has already procured us several foreign correspondents, will greatly assist us. His task of editing the *Journal*

is a heavy one, because he has, in addition to his duties of editor, furnished us with very copious information upon archæological publications and discoveries at home and abroad; and the small *honorarium* which has been allowed for editorial expenses seems inadequate, as a matter of business, to the increased work he has taken upon himself to perform. Perhaps, if it could be increased a little, the small extra charge would soon repay itself by the increased sale of the publications. This matter must be left to the Association to decide.

As to the ways and means, the balance-sheet tells its own tale. I may add, however, that our receipts to the present time, this year, have thus far exceeded those up to the same period last year. We have had many new subscribers, old subscribers have paid up arrears more promptly than last year, and the receipts from the sale of publications have been greater. All this is encouraging; and if we could, by a little energy on our parts, extend the sale of our *Journal* by about one hundred copies, our monetary position would be so strengthened that we should not depend, as we do now, on the *financial* success of our Congresses for maintaining the *Journal*; though, of course, we must always look to the Congresses both for recruiting the ranks of our members and for the mutual interchange of information with the learned societies and antiquaries of the counties, one of the main objects for which the Association was established. And it were to be desired that we had some means at our command for an occasional outlay of money in exploring antiquities buried in the earth, when, by a small expense, the site of a Roman town or a mediæval monastery might be brought to light.

I have to thank the Association generally, and the Vice-Presidents, the Council, and officers of the Society, in particular, for the kind indulgence they have shewn me, and assistance they have rendered, in the performance of my duties as Treasurer; and if it is your pleasure to continue me in the office for another year, I shall endeavour to fill it to the best of my ability, though I should not wish to hold it for one moment to the prejudice of the Society, if another member is found to come forward whom you may consider either better qualified or more eligible, by possessing more leisure than I have to devote to the work of the Association.

THOMAS MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

The ballot for the officers and Council for the ensuing session was then taken, and the following noblemen and gentlemen declared duly elected:

President.

THE EARL OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL BATHURST; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, M.P.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.R.S.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
R. N. PHILLIPS, LL.D., F.S.A.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, M.P.
THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A.

Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A. (*with a seat at the Council*).

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
GEORGE ADE
THOMAS BLASHILL
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.
GEORGE G. COCKAYNE, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*
WILLIAM HENRY COPE
T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.
R. HORMAN FISHER

J. W. GROVER
H. W. HENFREY
JOHN M. HOWARD, Q.C.
J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
J. W. PREVITÉ
E. M. THOMPSON
S. I. TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.
F. A. WAITE, M.A., F.S.A.
J. WHITMORE.

Auditors.

J. T. LACEY.

F. J. THAIRLWALL.

While the ballot was being taken, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., gave an account of the progress of business in connection with the forthcoming Congress in Cornwall.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., Hon. Secretary, read the following

SECRETARIES' REPORT.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour to present to the Annual Meeting of the British Archæological Association the following Report of the state and progress of the Society during the past year:

1. A comparison of the list of members in the current number of the *Journal* with that of the corresponding period last year, indicates a total of four hundred and twenty-four names against four hundred and seventeen for last year, shewing an increase of seven. Among the newly elected are several gentlemen conspicuous for their antiquarian and archæological eminence ; and we hope we are justified in expressing our sincere conviction that the number of associates will continue to progress in this satisfactory manner.

2. Biographical notices of the honorary members and associates whom we have lost by death have been prepared from materials laid before us, and will be found in the portion of the *Journal* devoted to the purpose.¹

3. During the year 1875 seventy-seven complete books, or parts of books in series, have been presented to the library of the Association ; but the Secretaries regret to be unable to state that any improvement has yet been made to render one of the finest and largest libraries in London, solely devoted to the reception of works bearing upon archæology, available to the necessities of the associates.

4. Thirty-two of the most important papers read at the Bristol Congress, and during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* (vol. xxxi, 1875). This number presents a very favourable contrast with those of former years ; and the Secretaries are glad to announce that there are in hand several very valuable contributions to British archæology from the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the Rev. Precentor Walcott, Mr. Cuming, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Irvine, Mr. John Taylor, the Rev. N. G. Batt, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Brock, and others, which will appear in future numbers of the *Journal*. It is the earnest desire of the Editor, with the assistance of the Council and the members individually, to maintain the character of the quarterly publication, which bids fair to become (and no efforts will be spared to render it) the leading journal of British archæology.

The Secretaries would here desire to draw attention to the heading of "Antiquarian Intelligence." This formerly appeared once yearly ; but the great impulse which our studies have received of late times demands that no time should be lost in laying before every one who is interested in antiquarian pursuits the immediate results of investigations, excavations, and literary publications, which may assist in directing their studies or promoting their archæological knowledge. With this end in view a novel feature has been adopted in giving this "Antiquarian Intelligence" quarterly, and it depends mainly on the associates themselves whether this form can be continued. The Secretaries earnestly beg that prompt notice be forwarded to them of any matters

¹ The name of each deceased member, and parts of the notices, were then read by Mr. Birch.

that may be appropriately inserted in this part of the *Journal*; and in order to acquire more certain information respecting discoveries made throughout the country, they beg hereby to propose that the Meeting will sanction the following addition to the rules of the Association :

“That the Local Secretary for the Congress be requested to accept the office of Local Member of Council for the county in which such Congress has been held; and that he be particularly requested to supply to the Secretaries, from time to time, intelligence of new and important archæological discoveries.”

5. They have also much pleasure in announcing the completion of the General Index to the first thirty years' issue of the *Journal*. This Index has been prepared and printed, and from the satisfaction it has given to those whose researches lead them to the publications of the Society, we may gather that the work fills a very useful position in the literature of archæology.

6. The exhibitions during the period under our notice have been particularly interesting, and a large number of antiquities lately exhumed from London and other places have been placed before us at our evening meetings by the kindness and consideration of Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Cuming, Mrs. Baily, Mr. Brock, Mr. Huyshe, Mr. Thairlwall, and others. It appears that the combination of the efforts of several members to form a joint exhibition of special character and of some magnitude, as was seen in the Egyptian objects described by Dr. Birch on the 2nd of February this year, would work well, and give satisfactory results, if the spirit of co-operation could be carried out more extensively than heretofore.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH	} <i>Hon. Secs.</i>
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK	

This Report was unanimously adopted, and the following resolutions were put and carried by acclamation :

1. That the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the President for the past year, the Most Honble. the Marquis of Hertford, for the kind and generous manner in which he fulfilled the duties of the office.

2. That the thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents for their valuable services and attention to the welfare and interests of the Society during the past year.

3. That the thanks of the Association be accorded to the honorary officers, and members of Council, for the excellent manner in which the business of the Society has been conducted under their valuable and unfailing superintendence.

4. That the thanks of the Association be tendered to all those who by contributions of papers and intelligence, and exhibitions and de-

scriptions of antiquities, have so eminently co-operated in the promotion of the true objects of this Society.

5. That the thanks of this Meeting be cordially given to Henry Sewell Stokes, Clerk of the Peace, Bodmin, and to W. Copeland Borlase, M.A., F.S.A., of Penzance, for the very warm manner in which they have undertaken to work for and welcome the British Archæological Association on the occasion of its thirty-third Annual Congress, to be held in Cornwall during August next.

6. That the thanks of this Meeting be given to F. A. Waite and J. Turk Lacey, for their services rendered to the Association as Auditors of the accounts for the past year.

The Meeting terminated with an unanimous vote of thanks to the Chairman.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1875.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1874, transferred by Mr. Gordon M. Hills .	49	3	10
Annual subscriptions and donations £260 14 2			
Life-compositions and entrance-fees . 89 5 0	349	19	2
Balance proceeds of the Evesham Congress .	101	7	9
Sale of publications	24	7	6
Sale of the Index	45	16	6
Balance due to the Treasurer	4	18	11
	£575	13	8

Investment at cost . . . £44 12 6
Less balance due to Treasurer . 4 18 11

In hands of Treasurer . . £39 13 7

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

Signed,

F. A. WAITE }
J. TURK LACEY } Auditors.

April 27th, 1876.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	235	7	0
Illustrations to the same	98	13	9
Miscellaneous printing	18	16	0
Rent for 1875, and clerk's salary	58	9	10
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> and Index	23	0	10
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	16	8	9
<i>Index Account</i> .—Paid Mr. Richards on account, for printing Index . £50 0 0			
Map for ditto	4	0	0
	54	0	0

Paid widow of the late Hon. Secretary, Edward Roberts, F.S.A., as ordered by the Council on 3rd Nov. 1875. 26 5 0
Investment Account.—Amount of one half of the life-compositions and entrance-fees invested in Government security 44 12 6

£575 13 8

Biographical Memoirs.

OF the ABBÉ COCHET there is an exceedingly interesting memoir from the pen of our associate and Vice-President, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, No. 128, p. 462. He studied principally Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian archæology, and his labours, conjointly with Smith, J. Mayer, and Lindenschmit, resulted in a perfect elucidation of the early general Teutonic archæology. His death took place at Rouen, on the 1st of June, 1875. Our associate, Mr. C. Roessler, writes as follows in announcing the decease of this profound scholar :

“ Havre, 11 Juillet, 1875.

“ Monsieur le Secrétaire,—J’ai le regret de vous faire part du décès de Monsieur l’Abbé Cochet, membre de l’Association, né au Havre le 7 Mars 1812, et décédé à Rouen le 1 Juin dernier. La plus grande partie de sa jeunesse se passa à Etretat, mais cependant M. Cochet fit ses premières études au Havre. Après avoir été vicaire à St. François, puis aumônier du Lycée à Rouen, M. l’Abbé Cochet se voua entièrement aux travaux d’histoire et d’archéologie qui avaient occupé son attention dès ses premières études. Sa première publication importante, ‘Les Eglises de l’Arrondissement du Havre’, devança de bien peu ‘Le Havre et son Arrondissement’, magnifique ouvrage publié par Morlent, et dont l’abbé rédigea la majeure partie des articles sous une forme vive et animée. Depuis cette première période, M. l’Abbé a décrit successivement les Eglises de l’Arrondissement de Dieppe, et celles de l’Arrondissement d’Yvetot. Puis, son attention s’est portée surtout sur les anciennes sépultures romaines et mérovingiennes de la Seine-Inférieure, et il fut en France le véritable initiateur des antiquités franques. L’Institut se l’attacha comme membre correspondant, et il fut nommé inspecteur des monuments historiques de la Seine-Inférieure, puis directeur du Musée départemental d’Antiquités. Parmi ses ouvrages les mieux goûtés, on peut citer ‘La Normandie Souveraine’, et ‘Le Tombeau de Childéric I’, restitué à l’aide de l’archéologie, et ‘Le Répertoire Archéologique de la Seine-Inférieure’, publié par le ministère de l’instruction publique, travail immense, qui suffirait à la gloire d’un savant, et qui résume quarante années de recherches locales. M. l’Abbé Cochet était en même temps le plus populaire des antiquaires français et le plus spécialiste des archéologues voués aux antiquités nationales. Aussi cette branche distinguée de la science française a-t-elle fait une perte considérable, et il ne faut pas oublier qu’il y a deux ans nous perdions aussi M. de Caumont. Ces deux hommes avaient longtemps passé, à juste titre, pour les plus marquants dans l’étude des monuments nationaux, et c’est avec un cruel découragement que les amis de ces deux savants, si distingués, constatent l’impossibilité qu’il y a à les remplacer.

Esprits aussi bienveillants que libéraux, et désintéressés dans les questions d'écoles, leur mort est un véritable deuil pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de l'art en France.

"CH. ROESSLER."

We are indebted to Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., for the following memoir of his brother, the late Mr. F. MORGAN :

"We miss the presence, at our evening meetings, of Francis Morgan, an associate, who was with us at our last Congress at Evesham as well as on previous occasions, and who took much interest in archaeological and historical researches. He expired at his residence, No. 138, Harley Street, on the 31st of January, carried off prematurely, at the age of fifty-five, by tracheal phthisis. He was the second son of the late Thomas Morgan and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Augustus Bonney, well known in his connexion with the Horne Tooke trials in the last century. Francis Morgan, in partnership with his brother Thomas, carried on, till his death, the old business in the City known in times gone by as Dixon and Morgan. He was a member of the Oriental and Junior Carlton Clubs and of the Palæographical Society, and an active Freemason, having quickly attained distinction in the Masonic Lodge (Harmony), of which he became Master not long before his death. If not known to popular fame, he was regretted in a more than ordinary degree by the friends who knew him and could appreciate his large mind and sound common-sense, as well as the firmness and judgment he shewed in matters brought before him. He was a deep thinker, and his opinions were based upon a very extensive range of reading as well as much experience of men. He spoke the Spanish language like a native, and this may account partly for the wonderful influence he had over the humble class of men in Spain during his long residence there. He made himself one of them ; and his knowledge of their habits, as well as attention to their requirements, made the poor so grateful to him for his acts of kindness towards them, that they will not soon forget the 'tall Englishman', as they used to call him. During some portion of his life he lived at Château Lafitte, near Paris, where he perfected his knowledge of the French language, as he had of the German during his residence at Hamburg, where he commenced life to learn general commerce after leaving Eton College School. Though quite a citizen of the world he was eminently patriotic, and an admirer of Old England and her institutions ; and to the hour of his death was a staunch supporter of the Anglican Church. We have lost by his decease one who seemed desirous of rendering himself a useful member of our Association.

Mr. JOHN SEVERN WALKER, of Malvern Wells, died on the 11th of June, 1875. We have been favoured with the following notice of

Mr. John Severn Walker from Berrows' *Worcester Journal* of June the 18th :—

“In society we sometimes meet with those who are endowed with an innate taste for some particular art or science, and who pursue it with the utmost zeal without hope or thought of pecuniary reward. Such disinterested promoters of art form a distinct and honoured class of themselves; and to this class belonged the late John Severn Walker. The deep interest he felt in promoting the study of mediæval architecture generally, led him to take very practical steps to induce others to feel an interest in the subject; and it was mainly owing to his exertions that our Worcester Architectural Society was formed, of which he was for so many years Treasurer and Honorary Secretary. For this position he was eminently qualified, from the fact that before the formation of the Society he had visited all the ecclesiastical edifices of importance in the diocese, and the greater number of our parish churches, and had studied not only their history, but their architectural features and peculiarities. This careful study of ecclesiology on his part ought to be noticed because it forms the distinguishing mark between the class of men with whom he deserves to be ranked, and certain ignorant and self-sufficient amateurs. His acknowledged taste and long-continued study of the subject gave him a right not only to form, but also to express, an opinion with regard to church architecture which would otherwise have been presumptuous. To such men the public owe deep and lasting gratitude. They are, above all others, adapted to infuse a taste for their favourite study amongst the public. Their motives are so transparently disinterested that none can doubt their sincerity: hence their opinions acquire double weight. One of this class of men is able, in his ordinary conversation with others, to do more to inspire a love and appreciation of his favourite art than can be effected by a dozen lectures by learned professors. This was particularly the case with the late John Severn Walker, because to his knowledge of architecture was joined a genial, generous disposition combined with a certain amount of buoyancy of spirits that rendered him one of the most charming and agreeable of expounders and companions at an architectural excursion that it is possible to conceive. Though he did not excel as a speaker, he was generally the chosen guide; and who could have been selected in his place, seeing that when he conducted the party dulness and stiffness became impossible? Cheerfulness and good humour were sure to prevail. When he entered a church or old building it seemed as though he had accidentally met an old friend with whose every merit, fault, or misfortune, he was well acquainted, and straightway he set to work to point out every interesting feature, and those portions of the fabric that fanaticism, ignorance, or misguided zeal, had marred. It would sometimes happen upon these

occasions that the rector and churchwardens were astounded at the impartial and candid statements made, and were led to form a more modest estimate than they had previously done of their knowledge of theoretical and practical architecture; so much so, indeed, as to induce them to wish they had never meddled with their church without first taking competent advice. Since the very truth of adverse criticism is sometimes a cause of offence, and forms its sharpest sting, it is not to be supposed that when his critical knowledge was appealed to it could always be favourable; but the inoffensive way in which such remarks were made, and the good-humoured manner in which they were generally received, are amply testified to by the high respect and esteem in which he was held by the clergy of the diocese, although this may have been partly owing to his having been so consistent and worthy a member of the Church, and the deep interest he felt in all Church matters. He has left behind him many valuable additions to our architectural literature, amongst which may be mentioned his *Architectural Sketches in Worcestershire and its Borders*, illustrated by himself, and numerous valuable papers published in the *Reports of the Worcestershire Architectural Society*. His correspondence with the leading archæologists of the day was very extensive, and he was always ready, when called upon, to give his valuable advice with regard to the erection of any new church, or especially the restoration of an old one.

“Some years back the now restored church of Cow Honeybourne lay desecrated, its sacred walls used for cottages, pigsties, and other abominations. Mr. Walker was one of those who materially aided in its thorough restoration, and its being re-used for sacred purposes. No individual in the diocese, in the opinion of the writer, has done so much to raise the standard of architectural taste in the diocese, to clear our churches of modern monstrosities, to inspire a veneration for our mediæval churches, to aid in their tasteful adornment, to expose the conceited presumption of architectural charlatans, to encourage a more careful study of ecclesiastical architecture by our modern architects, to promote the decent and reverent performance of the services of the Church of England, and to do away with Puritanical prejudices, as the subject of this notice. His labours of love have now ceased. Not so the produce of those labours. The fruit is yet to be gathered. If we add to these disinterested works of love his genial disposition and a temper that no amount of provocation could ruffle, and a certain amount of vivacity that seemed to infuse life into all with whom he came in contact, it cannot be a matter of surprise that he was a general favourite with all classes of society, and that his presence was always welcome, especially amongst those kindred spirits who, like himself, could appreciate the religious feeling and piety of our forefathers that caused them to erect our noble cathedrals and conventual buildings.”

The late SILAS PALMER, M.D., F.S.A., died on the 24th of March 1875, after an illness of short duration, the fatal termination of which was accelerated by a severe accident which befel him some few months previously. Dr. Palmer was born about the year of Waterloo, in the historic building of Stirling Castle, at which fortress his father, an officer in the 47th Regiment, was then quartered. The branch of the family of Palmers of which the late Dr. Palmer was the representative had for many generations resided at Isleworth, where they held a patrimonial estate; and many monuments of the family still remain in that church. After undergoing a careful course of private studies he attended a medical school in London. Afterwards graduated at the schools of medicine at Paris, Vienna, and Rome, at each of which academies he distinguished himself, and earned the encomiums of the Professors. He passed the College examination, and took his M.D. degree in Edinburgh. Having influential family connections in Berkshire, the late Dr. Palmer established himself in practice at Speenhamland about thirty years since; and up to the time of his death enjoyed an extensive practice, his professional skill being held in high repute. Dr. Palmer early in life shewed a propensity to the study of antiquity, and from his education and travel soon developed a taste for a pursuit to which, in after life, he became almost an enthusiast. In the county of Berks Dr. Palmer obtained a leading position as an authority on archæological matters, and so great was the confidence placed in his opinion that few discoveries of interest were made in the county that were not brought before his notice; and by these means many antiquarian treasures, which otherwise would have escaped attention, came under proper observation.

In 1859, owing to the representation and aid of Dr. Palmer, our Association held its Annual Congress at Newbury, under the presidency of the Earl of Carnarvon. The Congress was most successful, and Dr. Palmer, as Local Secretary, well deserved the hearty and unanimous vote of thanks awarded him for his able services. The admirable loan collection exhibited at the Town Hall, Newbury, on the occasion of the Congress, was brought together by the energy of the late Dr. Palmer.

In 1870, in conjunction with the late Mr. Henry Godwin, F.S.A., Dr. Palmer founded the Newbury District Field Club, a local society, which has already done some good service in the cause of archæology. Besides many able addresses delivered in the field, several papers of interest contributed by Dr. Palmer are preserved in the published transactions of the Club.

In 1848 Dr. Palmer married Emily, daughter of Rear-Admiral Hayes, C.B., by whom he leaves one son, who has succeeded to his father's practice, and maintains an hereditary connection with archæology as one of the Committee of the Newbury District Field Club, and Curator of the local Museum.

In the death of Dr. Palmer, the inhabitants of Newbury and the county generally feel they have much cause to regret the loss of one with talents so superlatively eminent; and true genius is so thinly sown, that in a provincial town such a void is not easily made good. Up to the time of his death Dr. Palmer acted as our Local Secretary for Berks, and was a frequent exhibitor at our meetings, and also at the Society of Antiquaries.

MR. EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A., our senior Honorary Secretary, died on the 16th of October 1875. Mr. Roberts was born on the 17th of May 1819, and was by profession an architect, by study and culture an archæologist. His principal works are the school known as Christ's College, at Finchley; the church near the Great Western Railway, Lower Swindon; and the Institution and Market at New Swindon; notices of which latter will be found, with illustrations, in the *Builder* for 1854, pp. 289, 346. His practice mainly consisted in the conduct of important compensation cases in connection with metropolitan improvements and railway extensions; and his well known attention to this work contributed to his reputation, and secured for him a large professional call upon his energy and generally successful efforts. In this practice of surveying and compensation cases, from his careful calculations and sound judgment, he gained considerable credit, and at one time added largely to his fortune.

Mr. Roberts was an enthusiastic Freemason, a member of the Grand Lodge for many years, and of the Middlesex and Methuen Lodges, and Secretary of the former for some time. In 1856 he joined the British Archæological Association, and in 1860 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of Architects, and in 1861 a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1862 he became Secretary of the British Archæological Association, in which office he continued until the time of his death. From the date of his entering the Association he attended the Congresses very regularly, and contributed greatly to their success by his lucid descriptions of ancient buildings visited on those occasions, the salient points of which he laid hold of with much facility, and pointed out with equal facility. The *Journal* contains many papers contributed by him; and the numerous exhibitions of objects found in London and elsewhere, which he made, will be best observed by reference to the *General Index*. Mr. Roberts was opposed to the projected amalgamation with the Archæological Institute; and his last work was to take part in the Evesham Congress, although it was obvious to his friends that his health was in a very critical condition. In the loss of Mr. Roberts the Association is only one of many institutions that will find it difficult to replace the energy, kindly consideration, and thoroughly social feeling, which he practised and diffused around him wherever he went,

and under whatever circumstances he found himself placed. It will be long before his memory fades from those among us who know the nature of the work he was always willing and eager to perform in the interests and for the advancement of the Association.

SIR JOHN GARDNER WILKINSON, the son of the Rev. John Wilkinson of Hardendale in Westmoreland, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a member of the African Exploration Society, and of Mary Anne, daughter of Richard Gardner, Esq., was born in 1797. The two societies to which his father belonged, and the interest his mother always evinced in classical studies, no doubt contributed in no small degree towards influencing his youthful life, and he used to relate that the reward for his diligence was the permission to look over the large Plates of the Society of Antiquaries. On the death of his father he was transferred to the guardianship of the Rev. Dr. Yates. Afterwards he was sent to Harrow, his attachment to which he shewed by bequeathing, with a view of founding a museum in the School, all the collections he had made in Egypt, except those he had previously presented to the British Museum. From Harrow, Sir Gardner Wilkinson proceeded to Exeter College, Oxford, and thence to Italy, where Sir William Gell first directed his attention to Egyptian antiquities, and to the fascinations which surrounded the then undeciphered language of ancient Egypt. In 1822 his first published record of work was given to the world, and from this date almost to the end of his life he worked laboriously at these and kindred pursuits. In 1839 he received the honour of knighthood. His works are too voluminous to be mentioned here. The Catalogue of the British Museum, and the Transactions of learned societies, must be examined by those who wish to gain a correct notion of the enormous quantity of literature he has left behind him, and our own *Index* shews what his fertile pen contributed to our *Journal*. He died on Friday, 29 October 1875, and was buried at Llandovery on the following Wednesday.

The following notice of Sir Gardner appeared, at the time of his death, in a daily newspaper :

"Present events, however various and engrossing, ought not to thrust aside all grateful memory of a scholar who spent his long life, just closed, in the patient revelation of the secrets of the past. Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, the famous Egyptian archaeologist, died a few days back, full of honours and far advanced in years. It may, indeed, be judged that he was of ripe age by the fact that when, more than twenty Commemorations ago, he came up among a most distinguished band to be created D.C.L. by the Earl of Derby, then newly appointed Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the irreverent undergraduates saluted him with ringing cheers for 'Old Hieroglyphics',

coupling his reputation with that of the hippopotamus, the first specimen of which was at that time on the point of arriving upon these shores. Sir John was, indeed, nearly fourscore years old when he yielded up, last week, his erudite ghost, departing, as he himself would have put it, to the halls of Themei, ruler of Amenti. Nobody was more familiar than this industrious investigator with the ancient and profound mythology of the land of the Nile. He was, like Moses himself, 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians', and we owe to him, as much as to any one (after Young and Champollion in past days, and Dr. Samuel Birch in the present), our information as to the religion, philosophy, manners and customs, arts, sciences, and civilisation, of those wonderful people. If what happens after death be at all like the scene depicted on the great bas-relief in the Temple at Thebes, the blameless and useful life of Sir Gardner Wilkinson must now have placed his soul safe and happy near the golden throne of Osiris. We there see depicted in coloured reliefs and hieroglyphics, Oshk, the antechamber of immortality, the waiting-room for departed spirits. The forty-two judges of the dead, assessors of Osiris, are seated in a double line along the hall, each wearing, bound to his forehead, the ostrich-feather, a symbol of absolute justice, because the webs of that plume are precisely equal on either side. On a bench before the throne, the threefold monster compounded of lion, crocodile, and hippopotamus, waits fiercely to swallow up the guilty, while a dead Egyptian is seen coming forward to the bar of invisible justice, led by the goddess Themei, over whose head runs the legend, 'This is the Holy One of Amenti, who weighs all hearts in her balance, and from whom the wicked cannot escape.' Further on are beheld those sacred and unerring scales, in one of which Anubis is placing the heart of the newly arrived defunct; while Horus, the hawk-headed son of Isis, lays an ostrich-feather in the other,—emblem, as we have said, of absolute equity. Behind the solemn court sits Thoth the two-headed, who 'knows all things of heaven and earth', and is waiting to inscribe the result of this solemn 'weighing-in', and to make report of the issue to the sovereign judge, who is seen dimly and awfully at the extremity of the dreadful Judgment Hall. This may seem fantastic and heathenish imagery; but Sir Gardner Wilkinson was one of the patient scholars who helped us to know how deeply such pictures of antique superstition underlie many of the beliefs of modern times. The originals of Hades and the Last Judgment; of the Styx, the ferry, Charon, and the passage-money; of Cerberus and Pluto and Satan; of the doctrines and dogmas of half the extant creeds,—may be assuredly found in the pictures and writings thrown open to the world by the labours of such men as Sir Gardner Wilkinson. There they are in their early form,—some sublime, some ridiculous, all intensely interesting; and while

Egypt certainly gave its religion to Syria, Phœnicia, and Hellas, there are strong arguments to prove that the exquisite art and poetical philosophy of Athens, with firm articles of faith, too, in the Christian world, had no other origin than among these marvellous races of the Nile, who are also thought to have invented, used, and forgotten, many a discovery of science called novel in our own times.

“This dead scholar was one of the few whom the charm of research fascinates to such an extent that they devote their entire lives to a single favourite pursuit; and his long life, be it remembered, included the beginning and the middle, if not the end, of the grand discoveries which gave modern men the faculty of deciphering these mysterious, sacred writings of Egypt as none of the emperors of Rome or Greek philosophers could do.

“Sir Gardner was born in 1797, and the Rosetta Stone (the grammar and dictionary of Egyptologists) was found by the French at the mouth of the Nile in 1799. The man and the Stone were thus, in a sense, contemporaries. Being delivered to the British on the capitulation of Alexandria, this famous piece of incised basalt came also to England. Anybody may see it now at the Museum,—a fragment of black stone about 3 feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide; kept, as it deserves to be, under glass, and mounted upon a pedestal. It contains portions of three separate inscriptions—the first in hieroglyphics, the next in enchorial or demotic Egyptian, the third in uncial Greek—very plainly and beautifully executed. Of course this latter could be readily deciphered. Letronne and others published the text and its translation, which proved that the memorial was erected nearly two hundred years before Christ, by Ptolemy Epiphanes. It records the deeds of piety and good government attributed to the young King, such as his remission of taxes, and his protection of the land from inundations. Having secured all this, the attention of Egyptologists was naturally turned to the demotic and hieroglyphical paraphrases. De Sacy tried hard, though almost vainly, to get at the characters of the middle or enchorial text; but Young and Champollion were the first to decipher the still more important pictured writings on the top of all. There was nothing very abstruse in the mode pursued. Young, in 1814, found a word among those sculptured characters which surely answered to Ptolemy, and comparing this with the signs in the name Berenice upon a doorway in Karnak, it became suddenly clear that certain hieroglyphics represented phonetic sounds, and not merely ideas. A small obelisk brought from Philæ, and worked upon by Champollion, extended the range of this discovery by bringing in the names of several rulers, including Cleopatra; whereupon, having already a little to go upon in the works of Diodorus, Clement of Alexandria, and other ancients, as well as the curious dissertation by Horapollon of Phenebethis in A.D.

500, the rest was sufficiently easy, and the work of assured transcription was carried to its fulness by such devoted students as Rosellini, Lepsius, Brugsch, Goodwin, Wilkinson, and Birch. Once interpreted, the hieroglyphics offered by no means a difficult vocabulary or syntax. They turned out to consist of two chief classes of pictured signs,—the phonetic, representing sounds like our own alphabet, and the ideographic, which were actual embodiments of things or persons. These latter are either direct illustrations of the subject, as when the ibis-headed god is put for Thoth; or indirect, as when a smoking pail represents new milk; an ape, anger; an ostrich-plume, truth; and a jackal, cunning. There are also ‘determinatives’ which fix the sense of ambiguous characters: thus, for instance, the sun, which is depicted by a circle with a dot in the centre, means ‘time’ when it has *tar* before it, and ‘the orb of day’ when it has *aten*. The Chinese ‘keys’ are of the same nature; and similar aids to the cumbrous alphabets of antiquity occur in the Assyrian arrow-headed inscriptions. The phonetic signs, one hundred and nine in number, are sounded according to the original name of the thing depicted: thus *a* is shown by *aakkom*, a hawk; *r*, by *ru*, the mouth; and *m*, by *mouladj*, an owl. The grammatical arrangement appears very simple and regular, and little difficulty is now experienced in transcribing those vastly ancient writings which Menes used and Moses studied. The demotic or current character proved finally to be a corruption of the hieratic, accommodated to the later alphabets of Phœnicia and Greece, and very much harder to read, just as cursive ‘Maratha’ is harder than the ‘Balbodh’.

“Briefly, the nut of antique learning was cracked by these unwearying researches, and such good Egyptologists as Dr. Birch are now unfolding to us the romances, rituals, and historical records of papyrus after papyrus. Ancient Mizraim will soon be known far more completely to the Victorian age than it ever was to Plato or Herodotus, thanks to these self-devoted scholars. One of them, the erudite Sir Gardner Wilkinson claims at our hands to-day the tribute of a grateful farewell, since he has finished his fruitful toils, and gone the way of all those theosophists and monarchs whose mysteries he helped to reveal. It is, indeed, remarkable how at the present time knowledge is expanding in every direction with regard to the wonderful continent of Africa, and especially that Nilotic valley which has played a part so marvellous in the education of the world. There are still many mysteries surrounding the splendid and vanished civilisation of the Pharaohs. Who, for instance, can explain why almost all the early mummies are red haired, and of a New Zealander type of countenance, rather than negroidal? Again, there is the striking connection between Egyptian, Indian, and Mesopotamic religions and arts. Who knows what gift may yet come to philology and science from that Rosetta

Stone and the work of such men as Sir Gardner Wilkinson? In the hope of further enlightenment, as well as in recognition of what he helped us to achieve, it is right and becoming that he should 'go not crownless to Persephone'."

Mr. ALEXANDER ZANZI, Mr. SPENCER HALL, Secretary of the Athenæum Club, Mr. JACOB BIRT, Mr. J. GRAY, Q.C., Dr. WILLIAM BEATTIE, of whom respectively no biographical notices have been acquired up to the present date.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 100.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1875.

THE arrangements submitted to the Congress on this day embraced a carriage excursion to Stanway, Hailes, Sudeley, and Winchcombe, and the numerous attractions thus presented combined to draw together a very large assemblage, and one which severely taxed all the resources of the committee to accommodate with carriage-room. Ultimately all the party were provided with seats, and started off in high spirits, and favoured with most agreeable weather, on the day's excursion. The morning was bright and warm, so that a general enthusiasm respecting the refreshing breeze, green fields, and the bright flowers which fringed the wayside, was a little excusable; for here the long purples of Shakespeare, the Achilles woundwort, the azure-eyed meadow geranium, the great willow-herb, and the "heavy-scented meadow-sweet", were to be discerned as the carriages passed along through road and park. The first object of interest on the route, to meet the eyes, was the spire of Sedgeberrow Church. This was followed by a glimpse of Dumbleton, which brought to mind the late Edward Holland, and a train of unbidden reflections on the delight he would have felt, and the assistance he would have given, had he been spared to join in these proceedings.

Shortly afterwards the beautiful park of Toddington was, by the kind permission of its owner, Lord Sudeley, entered, and great was the admiration at the splendid order of this noble domain. The route lay in front of Toddington House, a house built forty or fifty years ago with a rich red sandstone that contrasts agreeably with the verdant landscape in which it is placed. Next, the new church, of Early English design, by Mr. Street, which his Lordship is erecting in Toddington Park, had a hasty visit, but one sufficient to show the beauty of the design and the excellent workmanship of what will soon rise to be an exquisite work of ecclesiastical art. This church contains a splendid altar-tomb to the memory of the late Lord Sudeley. The old church, now partly in ruins, has many traces of late Norman work; and near

it were placed some thirteenth century coffins, one of which had a cross and circle of an early type.

After this brief halt the word was—hey for Stanway! which was speedily reached, and the very interesting Tudor house belonging to Earl Wemyss, but formerly the country house of the monks of Tewkesbury, was inspected. At the Reformation it was granted to one of the Tracy family, and has descended to the Charteris family through an heiress. The house is a perfect structure, whose plain gables, but large oval windows, shewed that it belonged to the latter days of Elizabeth's reign. The entrance-porch, thought by some to have been designed by Inigo Jones, is of exceptional beauty; and the house itself has many interesting features, which were clearly explained by Mr. Brock. Refreshments were here most liberally provided for the visitors, and an account of the chief historical incidents connected with the mansion was read by the Rev. Mr. Traill.

Remounting the carriages, the party next proceeded to Hailes Abbey. Arrived at the ruins of the Abbey, which were inspected with great interest, a paper was read by Mr. Loftus Brock to a most attentive audience. After reading, Mr. Brock conducted the party round the ruins, pointing out their character and history with much eloquence, and closing his remarks by expressing the hope that the owner of the property would cause the ruins to be excavated, and their foundations laid bare, as it was certain that much valuable information would, by these means, be discovered. Mr. Brock's paper and his remarks were greeted with well-deserved applause. The paper will be printed on a future occasion.

The excursionists next proceeded to Sudeley Castle, the residence of J. Coucher Dent, Esq., where they were most hospitably received and entertained by Mrs. Dent (Mr. Dent being unhappily detained on the Continent by ill-health) at a sumptuous luncheon prepared for them under a tent erected for the occasion in the Quadrangle of the Castle. Afterwards, Mr. Cripps, on behalf of Mrs. Dent, bade the Association welcome, and after proposing the health of the Queen, which was most heartily responded to, and that of the Association, which was acknowledged by Mr. Morgan, the treasurer, Mr. Roberts proposed the health of Mr. and Mrs. Dent in most appropriate terms, in the course of which he remarked, amid applause, that Mrs. Dent had in preparation, and intended shortly to publish, the history of Sudeley Castle, than which he could not conceive any more interesting addition to our historical literature. The historical, archæological, and art treasures contained in this noble pile, and forming the fit garniture of so priceless a casket, were then examined, but the number of the visitors, and the shortness of the time at their disposal, permitted only a cursory glance at the numberless objects of interest here assembled,

and of which the demand upon our space prevents our giving even a brief catalogue. To be appreciated Sudeley must be seen, and this sight, be it recorded, to the great honour of Mr. and Mrs. Dent, is never denied to those who seek it.

After this inspection, Mr. Roberts read an interesting paper on the history and archæology of the castle. Mr. Roberts's paper will, it is hoped, be printed in a future part of the *Journal*. After referring again to the intended publication by Mrs. Dent, he was understood to say that Sudeley Castle occupied a middle position between the great castles or fortresses, which mostly originated with the Britons, and were afterwards successively controlled by the Romans and Saxons in turn, and ultimately completed by the Normans, and the courts or manor houses with which the country abounded. He could not assign an earlier date than the time of Henry VI to any part of the structure, excepting, perhaps, the Keep. The original Manor House, he explained, stood to the east of the present house. Mr. Roberts dwelt at some length upon the architectural details of the Castle, calling particular attention to the oriel window now in ruins, and which overlooked a *pleasaunce*, the site of which now formed the beautiful flower garden which had been laid out with rare taste upon the lines of the old *pleasaunce*. He also detailed the history of the occupants of the Castle from the creation of Ralph, Lord Sudeley, in the 26th of Henry VI, mentioning its grant to the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, and the death and burial of Catherine Parr within its walls, and as an incident of note that her funeral sermon was preached by Miles Coverdale. Mr. Roberts remarked generally that no place in the kingdom was more replete with historical interest than Sudeley Castle, and again congratulated the assembly upon the forthcoming publication by Mrs. Dent, in which he felt sure that its history would be dealt with in a worthy manner. Mr. Roberts's remarks were heartily applauded, and on his invitation the party proceeded to inspect the church attached to the Castle, to which, however, as time drew on so rapidly, only a very hasty visit was possible. Thence the party proceeded to Winchcombe, where the Vicar of Winchcombe pointed out the restoration of the Parish Church, and then Mr. Brock read his paper on Winchcombe Abbey, which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

At the conclusion of this paper, the party returned to Evesham, having accomplished a most instructive and enjoyable day, which was spent throughout with delightful weather.

The meeting was held in the evening under the presidency of Sir Peter Stafford Carey, who on behalf of the Association acknowledged the splendid reception which they had had that day at Sudeley Castle, and referred specially to the interest which Mrs. Dent took in their

proceedings, and to the great amount of knowledge which that lady displayed in archæological matters.

Mr. J. Taylor (of the Bristol Museum and Library) then read an interesting paper on "An Ancient Deed of Tewkesbury Abbey." The text of this paper will be printed in a future place.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., also read a paper "On the Wiccii and their Territory", which has been printed, *ante*, pp. 145-192.

The Rev. Hugh Bennett read a very interesting paper on Elmley Castle, which was listened to with intense interest. This treatise will be found printed in the present volume, pp. 203-209.

A discussion followed upon the subject of the paper, in which the Chairman, Mr. Roberts, and Mr. Tucker took part.

Mr. G. R. Wright read an amusing paper on the story of "Henry de Montfort and the Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green."

The Rev. N. G. Batt added a few words, remarking *inter alia*, that Simon de Montfort was mentioned by the great Italian poet and satirist, Dante.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20th.

The company were divided to-day into two parties, one conveyed by Mr. Spragg's steamer, the "Lily", down the Avon, and the other in carriages by road. Both parties visited the different places specified on the programme, and, while passing through Fladbury lock, a portion of the passengers made a visit to the church close by (Fleodenbyrig was one of our oldest monastic foundations) under the guidance of Colonel Preedy, and here inspected the well-preserved brasses in the nave and chancel of the building. The monumental brass of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, about the middle of the 15th century, well known to antiquaries, caused much interest to those present, and its peculiarities of costume (in the absence of Mr. Planché, to whose attentive care and research these objects and sculptured effigies owe so much,) were ably explained and pointed out by Mr. Bramble from Bristol.

Of a very different design was a monument, now in the vestry, to the memory of Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, who died in 1717. He was one of the boldest of the seven bishops who in the reign of James II were sent to the Tower for opposing a declaration of the King in Council, which they thought would be subversive of the Anglican church. When the bishops assembled at Lord Dartmouth's, while Bishop Lloyd sought an audience of the King at 10 o'clock at night, they felt that the whole nation was with them, and even that most violent opponent to episcopacy, Richard Baxter the presbyterian of Kidderminster, employed his eloquence in their behalf. Notice is

called to this historical fact by another lately put upon record in an eloquent speech of Dean Stanley on 28th of July last in this county, on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue in Kidderminster, erected to the memory of Richard Baxter on the scene of his labours; a ceremony which was honoured by the Lord Bishop of the diocese and many dignitaries of the Church, as well as ministers of other denominations.

At the little church of Wyre, lower down the river, the archæologists were gratified by the few observations made upon its chancel-arch by Mr. Roberts, who, calling attention to its chief characteristic, explained that, in spite of some appearance of later work about it, he must unhesitatingly pronounce it to be of Saxon construction. The original stone altar-slab, upon which the oaken Communion Table now stands, was also pointed out, as well as a small bell-cote or tower over the chancel-arch, the lower part of which seems to be of Saxon origin.

At Pershore the well restored and imposing remains of the Abbey Church were visited by both sets of travellers, and interesting descriptions of its ancient monuments, history, and architectural features, were given by the united efforts of Messrs. Roberts, Blashill, Brock, and Bramble. In a framework of wood, against the wall of south transept, is an inscription which once stood over the woodwork of the stalls in the choir,¹ which reads as follows—

M C BIS BINO * TRIPLEX * X * ADDERE * QUARTO *
ANNO WILL'MS D'NI NEWNTON FECIT ABBAS.

A round-about way of writing A.D. 1434. A rebus on William Newington's name was pointed out by Mr. Stephen Tucker, Rouge Croix, on one of the three corbels. Though curtailed of its original dimensions, the building is well known to be one of singular beauty. The Norman work of the south transept and the Early English of the choir called forth general admiration; but perhaps the finest features of the fabric are the lofty clerestory (in which the triforium is merged) and the interior of the lantern-tower. Mr. Roberts, in his sketch of the history of the Abbey and its architecture, said it was originally (A.D. 689) a college of secular canons, then a nunnery, and in 972 a monastery of Benedictines, whose ample revenues enabled them to commence and to complete what must have been one of the noblest edifices in Worcestershire. At the Dissolution the parishioners were unable to afford more than £400 for the purchase of the fabric, and hence the nave, north transept, and Lady Chapel, were destroyed, and their materials sold by the commissioners. The Rev. M. E. C. Walcott prepared a paper on this Abbey, which will be printed on a future occasion.

Passing Eckington with its Norman doorway, and within sight of Strensham, the birth-place of the author of *Hudibras*, the party next

¹ See a drawing by John Carter in 1784, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29926, fo. 181.

visited the interesting church of Bredon, one of the finest middle-pointed buildings in England, rich in monuments of all dates, and in armorial tiles which would delight a herald. The tithe-barn is a grand example of fourteenth century work, almost church-like in its divisions into aisles and nave by massive pillars of oak.

At Deerhurst, which was reached by 4 P.M., after a pleasant voyage of some hours, the party were met by a few of their friends from Tewkesbury, it having been discovered at the last moment that the horses were too tired, after the long and hot drive from Pershore, to add some miles to their day's work.

With, perhaps, the solitary exception of Worth Church, in Sussex, this of Deerhurst probably presents the most complete specimen of Saxon architecture in England. After taking the party round the church, Mr. Brock, by the courteous permission of Mr. Phillips, the occupier of the interesting old house adjacent,—once, no doubt, the residence of one of the dignitaries of the church,—led his friends, now largely reinforced by visitors from Tewkesbury, who had walked along the river-bank, determined not to fail to see so interesting a building, to the back of the sacred edifice, now, alas! occupied by a series of dirty out-houses and pigstyes, and particularly pointed out the remains of the walls and crumbling doorways, windows and buttresses, which once formed part of the chancel of the celebrated old church.

Mr. J. T. Burgess pointed out that there are many who are inclined to give to Deerhurst that remote antiquity as a Christian church which is denied to Canterbury and Winchester. It is remembered that when Augustine came on his mission from Pope Gregory, and, under the auspices of Queen Bertha and her husband, founded the great monastic pile at Canterbury, he came northward, and found himself confronted by an organisation of bishops who belonged to the Christian Church, which had survived not only the persecutions of Diocletian, but the fire and sword of Pict and Saxon. It is said that Augustine met the British bishops in some portion of the Wiccan territory. Some say in the neighbourhood of the rude stone circle which still exists at Roll-right; and others at an oak-tree in the neighbourhood of Hartlebury, the present seat of the Bishop of Worcester. Whichever place witnessed the conference of the Christians of the older Church with the missionary of the Pope, it was not far from this old church of Deerhurst, whose tower still raises its head in the rich alluvial vale near the confluence of the Avon and the Severn, which in far-off times must have been secure from the invasion of strangers by the swamps which surrounded it. The church bears unmistakable evidence of belonging to the period which elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the advent of the Norman style of architecture. Its windows are rudely formed with slabs of stone, some placed anglewise, so as to

form a rude Pointed arch, others form rectangular openings by the same means. The more elaborate specimens of masonry consist of the now blocked-up chancel-arch, a door or two at the western end formed in the manner known to architects as long and short work. The rude masonry of the exterior shewed many examples of herring-bone work. There cannot be a doubt that the church is of pre-Norman date, which, though subjected to many alterations and enlargements, yet presents the essential features of the original. The walls of the nave have been pierced with arches which date from the thirteenth century, whose curious caps are excellent models for the students of this era of architecture. The dip-font is clearly Norman, and is placed upon what appears to be an older one of the same pattern of tracery. The tower is a point of great and singular interest. It is divided from north to south and from east to west.

The steamer once more got under weigh, and landed its increased number of passengers near the Ferry, and after a pleasant walk the party reached the Abbey of Tewkesbury, now under process of restoration at the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott, and, guided by Mr. Thomas Blashill, they proceeded to inspect its many architectural and other interesting features. The great beauties of the fabric are conspicuous. The lofty Norman arch at the west end, the massive central tower, and the tall, circular, and severely simple pillars of the nave, contrast well with the exceeding richness of the choir, the east end of which is in the form of a chevette, with radiating chapels of exquisite design and infinite variety. This arrangement, although common in continental cathedrals, was hardly ever attempted in this country, the only known example being at Westminster Abbey. Mr. T. Blashill has made a careful study of the building, and arrived at conclusions somewhat at variance with writers that have preceded him. In his very exhaustive lecture he drew attention to certain peculiarities of construction, and expressed his opinion that a Lady Chapel of unusual dimensions had been built early in the thirteenth century, on the north side of the transept, as far as the eastern face of the chapel of St. Nicholas, and that when the choir-chapels and ambulatory were made, the old twelfth century choir must have been standing, and intended to remain.

At 7 P.M. the united party of archæologists set off by rail from Tewkesbury, reaching Evesham rather fatigued after their long day's work, but yet able to attend the evening meeting at the Town Hall, where, under the presidency of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, a Vice-President of the Association, two papers of great antiquarian interest were read and discussed.

Mr. Herbert New read a paper (illustrated by a plan) on "The Strategic Movements which immediately preceded the Battle of Evesham", which has been printed in the *Journal* at pp. 54-59.

The Rev. Canon W. Ingram said he would, in a friendly manner, suggest to Mr. New that he must alter his views regarding the disposition of Prince Edward's army if he would bring them into agreement with the accounts given in the chronicles of the monks. Mr. Ingram had made copious extracts from those records, which he considered bore out the learned Mr. Tyndal's statement that Sir Roger Mortimer led the reserve force of Prince Edward in the rear of his army. Walter de Hemingford's assertion that Nicholas de Montfort's barber saw from the Abbey bell-tower the banner of Roger de Mortimer "*ab occidente et a tergo*", did not mean, as Mr. New had interpreted those expressions, that Mortimer took his position to the west, and in the rear of *Montfort's* army, but toward the west, and in the rear of the *Prince's* host. What Mr. New inferred, from an assertion of Nicholas Trivet, that Edward led his division across the Avon at Cleeve, and then repassed that river at Twyford Bridge, near Offenham, was simply impossible. There was not sufficient time to make a previous march of three miles northwards from Worcester, and then bring his troops through Feckenham Forest to the Avon at Cleeve, and accomplish the two passages of the river between sunset and a little before sunrise in August, which was the interval of time allowed by Thomas Wykes for the march of Edward from Worcester to his position north of Evesham before the battle. Mr. New had not calculated correctly the time it would require to move a body of troops such as Prince Edward commanded twice across a river like the Avon, either by a ford or a narrow mediæval bridge. Mr. New had also not shewn a proper acquaintance with military tactics when he described the Prince as leaving, immediately before the action with Montfort's army, his own centre separated by a stream as large as the Avon from the two other divisions of his host. If Sir Roger Mortimer's division had been posted, as Mr. New asserted, near Hampton, the Welsh, in the face of that hostile detachment, would not have been able to reach Tewkesbury in their flight, as Robert of Gloucester informs us they did. Mr. Ingram's own opinion was that Prince Edward, with the centre of his army, took a position on Green Hill; that the Earl of Gloucester led his division, concealed, as Thomas Wykes asserts, by an intervening little hill from Leicester's sight, through what is now the Oxstall's Farm, to attack his right flank; and that Roger Mortimer brought up the reserve along the lower and western road that passes by Chadbury.

Mr. Tucker added a few words on the subject, and handed to the Rev. F. W. Holland copies of MSS. which he has discovered in the Harleian Library in the British Museum, relating to the battle of Evesham and the history of the town. These will be printed in a future place.

The discussion then closed.

Mr. J. H. Hooper, M.A., of Worcester, read a paper on "Some Deeds lately restored to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester." This paper has been already printed in the *Journal*, at pp. 210-214.

The Rev. A. H. W. Ingram called the attention of the audience to that most interesting document, the will of King John, which was probably made when the monarch was dying from the effects of poison at Newark.

The Chairman called attention to an incised stone slab that he had seen in the churchyard, placed on end, near the bell-tower, which the Rev. Mr. Holland described as found built in the wall of one of the adjoining churches, now under repair. He recommended the members to look at this stone coffin-lid; and Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., afterwards made a drawing of the cross upon it, which bears some affinity in design to that discovered at St. John's Church, Lewes, with the inscription to one Magnus, of Danish parentage, as figured in our Winchester volume, p. 308.

After some further remarks the meeting terminated.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21ST, 1875.

To-day the party, about two hundred in number, at the invitation of the President, the Marquis of Hertford, visited Ragley Park and other places in the neighbourhood of Alcester. The anticipated pleasure of a visit to this ancient town was greatly enhanced by the splendid harvest weather which greeted the members as they took their seats on the numerous vehicles assembled from the neighbouring towns on Saturday morning. The way was interesting to those acquainted with the locality; but the majority of the party would be scarcely aware of the wealth of interest which surrounded them as they passed along the dusty roads within sight of the Avon and its tributaries, the Alne and the Arrow, the whole way.

At Abbot's Norton, the property of the Duke d'Aumale, the late Perpendicular church attracted attention. It has a curious carved lectern formerly belonging to Evesham Abbey, and some interesting monuments in the chapel on the north side. The heraldic achievements hung up here are well known through the works of that distinguished antiquary Mr. Matthew Bloxam.

The village itself was charming and picturesque. Its half-timbered houses and flower-decked gardens seemed like miniature Edens as the carriages rolled past. A few minutes sufficed to glance at the shingle-spire of Harvington, though there were some features there worthy of attention. The fine old Elizabethan house at Abbot's Salford was

passed by; and no one alighted to see the old church of Salford Priors with its singular turret attached to the south aisle, or the monuments to Sir Simon Clerke and his descendants. Many have heard of "Hobson's choice", and here are memorials of Hobson's daughter and the spendthrift sons of Sir Simon. The monuments in this church would furnish the materials for a sensational novel in which truth itself would surpass ordinary fiction. By the fish-haunted stream of Arrow we saw the old church of "papist Wixford", and the hills which hid "dodging Exhall" and "hungry Grafton" from our sight. Next to Buckland, perhaps, Wixford Church was better worth a visit than any other village church around Evesham.

The carriages proceeded through Alcester to Coughton Court, the seat of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the splendid Tudor entrance-gateway of which was much admired. By the courtesy of the Baronet the house was thrown open to the party, as well as the adjoining church. The portraits in the mansion, which were shewn by Mr. Pippet, are numerous and interesting, and include one of the famous old Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and another of Catherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII, whose tomb was inspected at Sudeley Church on Thursday, and who, if the likeness is a correct one, did not possess many personal attractions. The church was also examined, and contains the family monuments of the Throckmortons. Respecting this church and the neighbourhood, Mr. Tom Burgess writes: "There is an inscription preserved by Wheler in his *Antiquarian Collections* in the British Museum, formerly in the windows of this church, stating that they were put in by the money of Robin Hood and his men. Coughton is chiefly remarkable as having been the residence of Sir Everard Digby during the early part of 1605, when the Gunpowder Plot conspirators assembled in Warwickshire. The ancestral residence and birthplace of Catesby is only a few miles to the eastward."

Some of the party visited a curious quadrangular entrenchment called "The Wick", near the Station, which is singular amongst the one hundred and twenty moated areas of Warwickshire in having the fosse within the vallum. About half a mile from hence, between it and the Ridgeway, the remarkable series of earthworks known as Danesbank is situated.

After a glance at the road-side cross alluded to by the President in his opening speech as the place where the travellers through the Forest of Arden said their prayers ere they entered upon the dangers of the Forest, the party returned to Alcester by the sites of Beauchamp Court and Alcester Priory. Alcester, the *Alauna* of the Romans, whose name is spelt by different writers in a score of ways, is remarkable for its curse of St. Ecgwin on the inhabitants and their trade of smiths; for its being the place where Fulke Greville arrested some of the Fifth

of November plotters; and for its remembrance of Baxter, who was preaching here while the battle of Edgehill was fought. It has many quaint old houses, a timber-framed court-house, a church of the Batty Langley type, which is rendered more incongruous by the insertion of geometric tracery in the poor windows. The monument to the father and mother of Sir Fulke Greville is now placed in the west end of the church. The church was inspected, and a description of its monuments, together with a brief history of the town, was read by the Rev. A. H. Williams, the rector. Chantrey's cenotaph, in memory of the first Marquis of Hertford, and the beautiful wood-carving at the entrance to the vestry, which once formed part of a screen at Warwick Castle, were examined. Here was exhibited part of an ivory crook, apparently the head of a pastoral staff; but as certain excavations were being made at Oversley, and near the site of the old Roman station, where a sarcophagus was exhumed a short time ago, many of the party went thither. In a circular depression, supposed to have been a pit-dwelling, some bones were found, but the supposed tumulus was not thoroughly explored. Some regret was felt that time was devoted to Oversley with such insignificant results.

The horses then turned for Ragley, and the party passed through the ancient village of Arrow, long connected with the Burdett family, who held an honourable position here till the reign of Edward IV, when Thomas Burdett became the attached friend and follower of George Duke of Clarence. In the days of the latter's disfavour with the King, Edward was hunting in the neighbourhood, and near the present mill killed a famous white buck of which Thomas Burdett was proud, and he, in his anger, wished the horns in the King's belly. This was held to be constructive treason, and Thomas Burdett, like other friends and servants of Clarence, was ordered to be beheaded. On his way to Tyburn, Burdett saw his eldest son by Agnes Waldeif, from whom he had been divorced by reason of nearness of kin, and expressed his sorrow at the injustice he had done him by depriving him of his inheritance. Richard, however, took possession of the manor of Arrow and other estates of his father. His younger half-brother disputed his right, and after much litigation the estates were divided, Arrow remaining with Richard, whose daughter married a Conway, from whom the present Marquis of Hertford derives his title to the estates. There are other associations with Arrow, whose church tower is supposed to have been designed by Horace Walpole during his visits to the neighbouring mansion of Ragley.

On arriving at Ragley, the mansion was thrown open to all holders of Congress tickets and invited guests of the noble President, the Marquis of Hertford. At a little after two o'clock not less than two hundred visitors thronged the saloon, galleries, and terraces of Ragley, where

they were received by the Marquis and Marchioness, the Earl and Countess of Yarmouth, and a distinguished party of guests. After going through the suite of rooms, and admiring the wonderful change which has been effected in the house and grounds since the present Marquis came into possession, five years ago, a sumptuous *déjeuner* was served, to which all the visitors sat down; and the arrangements of the house-steward, Mr. Woodhams, gave the highest satisfaction. At the conclusion of the banquet, the enjoyment of which was greatly heightened by the performances of the Warwickshire Yeomanry Band, which was stationed on the terrace under the dining-room windows, an adjournment to the library took place, where the noble host read a letter from Horace Walpole (1752), in which he referred to what Lancelot Browne ("Capability Browne" as he was called) had done in the park and gardens. The Marquis also gave an interesting and graphic account of the treasures of the house; its association with Jeremy Taylor, Horace Walpole, and other distinguished visitors; together with the history of the Conway and Throckmorton papers now in the national collection. The greatest archæological attraction was a fibula and other ornaments found with a few bones, a strap-buckle, and daggers, on the estate about thirty-eight years ago. The fibula is one of the finest known, and was pronounced Celtic in design and workmanship; but the Rev. Canon Ingram stated that he had found the wolf-ornament on Scandinavian cups in the neighbourhood. The Marquis told a pretty story of the bones being those of a young lady, between whose ribs the dagger had been found, and whose jawbone he exhibited. Experts, however, think the objects represent two distinct finds, and certainly the strap-buckle was of a very different date to the beautifully gilt fibula.

Mr. E. Roberts pronounced the fibula to be of Celtic origin; and the Rev. Canon Ingram pointed out on the fibula the figure of a wolf with its tail in his mouth, and stated that he regarded it as belonging to a heathen Saxon of the latter part of the fifth century. He had arrived at that conclusion from the fact that he had found in the immediate neighbourhood similar figures attached to wooden cups in the hands of skeletons, where other ornaments, such as shield-bosses or spear-heads, indicated that they were of Saxon origin. Canon Ingram expressed his opinion that it was the most unique and precious specimen of the kind in the country.

At the close of this interesting discussion the company were summoned to the great hall of the mansion, where the concluding proceedings of the Congress were appointed to take place.

Mr. Morgan, Honorary Treasurer of the Association, moved the thanks of the Congress to the noble President, and in the course of his speech stated that the Evesham Congress had been as successful as

any the Association had ever held. He coupled the name of the Marchioness in their vote of thanks.

The vote was most heartily accorded, and in acknowledgment the Marquis of Hertford said when he came to Ragley, five years ago, the Marchioness and himself considered they were not there merely to amuse themselves, but that they were put there by Providence to do as much good to those around them as they could. They felt that they had not done as much as they ought, but they had done as much as they possibly could in the time. If their visitors had enjoyed the day, Lady Hertford and himself were amply repaid. He regretted that he had not been with them more during the week ; but he had, unfortunately, been unwell. He had no doubt that if he had been able to accompany them in their excursions, he would have learnt a great deal that he did not know before.

Sir P. Stafford Carey, responding to a call from Lord Hertford, then proposed that the thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents for their assistance in the Congress.

Mr. Evelyn Shirley responded on behalf of the Vice-Presidents, stating that it gave him additional pleasure in doing so as he had also the honour of being a Vice-President of the Archæological Institute. Although he had done little to assist the Congress, he was glad to find that other Vice-Presidents had done more. As the subject of amalgamating the two Societies had been mentioned by their noble President, he might be allowed to state his opinion that such amalgamation was desirable.

Mr. Wright then proposed that their thanks be given to the Local Committee ; their Chairman, the Rev. F. W. Holland ; their Secretary, Mr. Herbert New ; and their Treasurer, Mr. Appelbee. He remarked that when the place for this year's Congress was under discussion, their friend and old and worthy member, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, recommended Evesham, and intimated to him that if he could secure the co-operation of Mr. Herbert New it would be a great help to a successful meeting. He wrote to Mr. New, and afterwards to Mr. Holland, and his advances on the part of the Association were most cordially met by both those gentleman. They had had their Congress at Evesham, and the place of meeting had fully justified Mr. Phillipps' recommendation. They had spent a most delightful and useful week, as the records of their transactions in the *Journal* of the Association would shew. For this result they were greatly indebted to Mr. Holland and Mr. New, who had worked untiringly, and most successfully, to promote their objects and their comfort.

This vote was most cordially received, and was responded to by the Rev. F. W. Holland, who assured the members of the Association that it had given him the greatest pleasure to be of service to them, and

gave an instance of the usefulness of the Society's work in the discussion on the subject of the architecture of the Bell-Tower; and by Mr. Herbert New, who expressed his gratification that the archæology and history of his own native town had been recognised by the members of this learned Association, and his deep thankfulness that Providence had vouchsafed to them so beautiful a week; for while they had been prosecuting their investigations into the records and remains of the past, the harvest had been progressing uninterruptedly in such auspicious weather as could not have been anticipated from the previous experience of the summer.

Mr. Thomas Blashill next proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayors and Corporations of Evesham and Stratford-on-Avon for their cordial reception of the Association, calling attention to the antiquity of their foundation, and testifying to the admirable manner in which they guarded their ancient muniments, as well as to their kindness in exhibiting them. He named Mr. Nason, Mayor of Stratford-on-Avon, in connection with the vote.

Mr. J. J. Nason, Mayor of Stratford-on-Avon, responded on behalf both of his own Corporation and (in the absence of the Mayor of Evesham, from ill health) on behalf of the Corporation of Evesham, for the compliment paid to them, and expressed the honour he felt had been conferred on these towns by the visit of the Association.

Mr. Courtenay C. Prance, at the special request of the Marquis of Hertford, also replied on behalf of the Corporation of Evesham, and congratulated the Association on the success of their Evesham Meeting, which success had been largely owing to the services and the splendid hospitality of their neighbours, the noble Marquis, Mrs. Dent, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, and Mr. Arthur Hodgson. Each name was received with loud applause.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew next proposed a vote of thanks to the authors of papers, *ciceroni*, and contributors to the exhibition, which was acknowledged by the Rev. Canon Ingram.

A vote of thanks to the officers of the Association, proposed by Mr. Tucker, and acknowledged by Mr. Burgess, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Brock, brought the proceedings of the Congress to a close.

MONDAY, AUGUST 23.

EXTRA DAY.

The proceedings of the Congress properly terminated on Saturday; but it was arranged that another day should be devoted to a special object of archæology by those who could manage to remain in Evesham for the purpose.

Shortly after 10 this morning a considerable party, including the

leading archæologists who have been present at the Meeting, left Evesham by the Great Western Railway for Moreton in the Marsh, to view the exceedingly interesting and remarkable antiquities in that neighbourhood. Carriages were procured at Moreton, in which the party proceeded in an easterly direction through the wooded country which lies under the slopes of the Cotswold Hills, and made their first halt at the village of Long Compton. Here, under the guidance of the Rector, they inspected the church, which was described by Mr. Loftus Brock, the noticeable features being the massive tower, a little chapel on the south side of the chancel, and a recumbent figure in the porch; and then they drove through the pretty village, halting for a few minutes to taste the cup of hospitality at the stone-built farmstead of the Excursion Secretary. Long Compton is remarkable for being the scene of a legend mentioned by Capgrave, in which St. Augustine is said to have raised a dead priest from his grave, to shew a recalcitrant knight of the neighbourhood the penalties of refusing to pay tithes.

After leaving the village, the ascent of the Cotswolds brought into view, on one side, the extent and riches of the Vale-land lying westward towards Moreton and Stow; and on the other, the rolling ground of the wolds beyond the Cotswold Edge, stretching towards Chipping Norton and Wychwood. The sun shone hot and bright along the road to Chipping Norton and along the ridge of hills which, crowned by a clump of storm-stricken fir-trees, command a view of an amphitheatre of wild beauty. These trees marked the site of the principal object of the archæological pilgrimage, for here stood the Stones of Rollrich (the "Kingstones" of the villagers), the second wonder of the world, according to old chroniclers,—and wonderful they were. Those who have seen Stonehenge might be misled with respect to the size and importance of these stone relics of a forgotten past; for though they are placed in a circle of the same diameter as the great stone temple on Salisbury Plain, they are not so imposing or so grand in outline. As the visitors approached they could see the King Stone, which is on the Warwickshire side of the road, glistening in the sunshine; but on a gloomy evening, or when the storm-clouds pass over the hill, it seems like an ancient priest cursing the wayfarer. The Rollrich Stones are much smaller. They are grey, worn, and wrinkled, scarred by the tempests of a thousand years. Some have fallen, others have been broken; but others rear their heads, and mark the circle of the kings of the past; for if there is anything in tradition, here were buried the kings of ante-Roman Britain. The Stones are in the very centre of a multitude of barrows which existed here within a century, and were noticed by Stukeley; but these have now disappeared to a great extent. Even now the plough and the spade occasionally reveal the treasures of the dead; and nearly all the relics found here belong

to an early, perhaps the earliest, era of British history. The popular tradition is that the Rollrich Stones are the army of Rollo the Dane transformed; and that the great *Maen Hir*, or King's Stone, is Rollo himself; and a huge cromlech at the distance of three hundred and ninety yards, consisting of five stones, is called "The Whispering Knights". According to the story, when Rollo the Dane was about to invade England, he was told by one of the wise men of his country that if he ever arrived at Long Compton he would be king of England. In other words,

"When Long Compton you shall see,
You shall king of England be."

On reaching this point he learned that Long Compton was in the vale beneath. He rushed forward to gaze on the spot, when a British fairy changed him, his army, and attendant knights, into stone.

From the Rollrich Stones the party proceeded along the ridge of the hill for a mile or so, and then down into the village of Chastleton. By the special invitation of Miss Whitmore Jones, the archaeologists were made welcome to the magnificent old Tudor house which stands in the middle of this romantic village, and after a substantial lunch were conducted by Miss Jones and her sister over the ancient mansion, and shewn the many interesting relics which it contains. Of these we may mention the Bible which is said to be that which Bishop Juxon took from the hands of Charles I on the scaffold; ancient title-deeds relating to Chastleton, including the conveyances thereof by Robert Catesby (of the Gunpowder Plot) to an ancestor of the present owners of the estate; portraits, coins, armour, and a curious set of miniature paintings on talc representing the royal martyr's personal history. Miss Jones' description of these relics, and her account of the heroic conduct of the wife of Arthur Jones in delivering her husband from the Roundheads on their pursuit of him from the battle of Worcester, were extremely interesting.

In the old church at Chastleton Mr. Loftus Brock pointed out early Norman architecture, thirteenth century additions, Gloucestershire tiles, brasses, etc.

After suitable expressions of thanks to their kind entertainers, the visitors returned to Moreton, and thence by the railway back to Evesham, where, on the invitation of Mr. Herbert New, they spent the remainder of the evening at Green Hill.

On taking leave of some of our friends at Mr. Herbert New's, it was remarked by the Treasurer that we had been particularly well supported at this Congress by the presence of ladies, who not only took an earnest interest in archaeological science, but, possessing fine collections of antiquities, knew how to explain and give us their history. When we met at Warwick, in 1847, it was mentioned that Mrs. J.

Stuart Hall of Bittern, near Southampton, was the first lady who had become a member of our Society ; since which time many others have been enrolled among our associates, and have interested themselves in our proceedings. Evesham, however, long anticipated us when she numbered among her citizens the well-known Anglo-Saxon scholar, Elizabeth Elstob, who kept a school in the town ; and the fact may not be so well known to the visitors as to those who are resident here.

MUSEUM.

DURING the session an interesting and miscellaneous collection of objects of antiquity, books, manuscripts, coins, domestic implements, ornaments, weapons, and pottery, was gathered together in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, under the care of Mr. Colston, to whom the Association is indebted for the intelligent and instructive manner of his disposition of the relics confided to his care. Among a variety of exhibitions the following deserve special notice :

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., lent for exhibition the following articles, all of great interest and rarity,—prehistoric :

Celtic ring-money.

Cutting instrument.

Lamp-trimmer.

Fish-hook.

All of bronze, and found in London.

A Celtic ingot of bronze, about 14 inches in length, also found in London.

The horn of a bullock, ornamented with bronze, a remnant of Baal-worship, also from London.

Various articles in bronze, of Roman workmanship, together with a spoon of silver, conjoining with an iron knife of the third century, of elaborate design and greatest rarity.

An alabastron from Cyprus ; and another of Arragonite, measuring 12 inches in length.

The ancient model of the lance-head, inlaid with fragments of the true cross, long preserved in the treasuries of Vienna and Nuremberg ; together with a broad sheet of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, explanatory (see p. 312), and a letter and drawing by the late Cardinal Wiseman.

From Rev. A. H. W. Ingram :

Mediæval stirrup found at Evesham.

Roman glass found at Alcester.

Cup found in the hand of a skeleton of a heathen Saxon.

Scandinavian wolf-ornament on a wooden cup in the hand of a Dane.

Bronze antique of Jupiter.

A cheek-ornament of a horse killed at the battle of Evesham.

A small cup containing body-paint, described in the *Wilts Magazine*.

A serpent-ring found on the finger of a Dane, and three Saxon rings.

Boss of shield found under the head of a skeleton of a heathen Saxon.

- Eight Saxon brooches.
- An armlet found on the arm of a female Briton, near Billesley.
- Bronze belt found at Church Lench.
- A wrist-guard made of chloride slate, mentioned in Mr. Evans' *Stone Implements*.
- A Saxon spear-head.
- A brooch with portion of a skin-cloak attached.
- From Mr. R. Woof, F.S.A. :
 - Illuminated pedigree of the family of the Bohuns.
 - A silver *chasse* or reliquary,—a remarkable and rare example, late fifteenth century.
- From Mr. Ward, Bridge Street, Evesham :
 - Gold coins,—Boadicea, James I.
 - Pass-ring of monastery found at Hampton, inscribed MEUM and AMEN, with a heart in the centre.
 - Cameo-ring found at Netherton.
 - Silver piece coined at Evesham for Charles I during the civil war.
- From Mr. A. Huband :
 - Ring found in the coffin of an abbot of Evesham.
 - List of the possessions of Deerhurst Priory.
- From Miss Beale Cooper :
 - Boy's spur found near Evesham.
 - Curious key found at Bengeworth.
 - Saxon ornament for staff-head, found at Cleeve Prior, with Saxon inscription.
 - Seal-ring of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, found at Bengeworth.
 - Bronze bell.
 - Indenture with seal of Holbech, last Prior of Worcester.
 - Anti-papal caricature.
- From the Dean and Chapter of Worcester :
 - Charter of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Alveston to the Church of Worcester, A.D. 1089.
 - Original will of King John, directing that he should be buried in Worcester Abbey, 1216.
 - Deed of the Abbot and Convent of Evesham as to the advowsons of the churches of Hillindon, Kinwarton, and Weston, A.D. 1249.
 - Confirmation, in triplicate, by King Edward, of the composition between Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, and the Earl and Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, 19 Edward I.
- From Mr. R. H. Wood, F.S.A. :
 - Charter of King John to Philip Fitz-Wastell, of the land called Dunwalleland.
 - Confirmation to the Monks of Worcester, of the peaceable enjoyment of their lands at Burston, given at Holyham, addressed to his Ministers of Herefordshire and Shropshire, Stephen, *circa* 1135.
 - Grant of fifteen hides of land at Alveston to the Prior and Monks of Worcester, Henry 1, *circa* 1100.
 - The tenure and knight's service for the custody of his castle at Abergavenny, dated at St. Briavels, Dec. 5, 1210.
- From Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A. :
 - Nails, Romano-British, found in Thames mud, London, 1873.
 - Soles of shoes 14th Century, found in London.
 - A woman's sandal, found in London, 1873.
 - A man's sandal, found in London, 1873.

From Mr. Geo. Eades :

Processional Cross, supposed to have belonged to the Abbey of Evesham, and to have been sold with the effects of the late Dr. Bayliss, about 1760-70. It was in the possession of the Rev. David Lewis, Vicar of Bishampton, 1770-80, and is now in the possession of his grandson.

Photograph of processional cross, the property of the late lamented Severn Walker, Esq.

Gold posy ring, found in pulling down an old house in High Street. Bronze medallion, effigy of St. Francis on one side, and St. Anthony on the other, said to have been found on the site of the old castle of Bengeworth.

Old gold repeater watch (Nuremburg egg) found in pulling down an old house in High Street, formerly an inn, supposed to have belonged to one of the royalist officers of Charles I.

Curious old silver watch, Perkins, of Evesham, maker.

A collection of coins.

From Mr. J. Colston :

Posy rings found at Offenham and Hinton, with mottoes, " I like my choyse", and

Let love abide

Till death divide.

Signet ring found among the ruins of Evesham Abbey.

Small silver box and contents found on Salisbury Plain, rose on lid.

Medal showing the Abbey Gateway, the Bell Tower, and Churches, presented by Sir Charles Cockerell to the burgesses, members of the corporation, Feb. 23, 1817.

From Messrs. Huband and Bevis :

An antique watch, striking hours on silver bell, same as an ordinary clock, manufactured more than 200 years.

Another antique watch, with powerful alarum attached, ringing on concealed bell, which can be set for discharge at any time, date unknown, a great curiosity.

A silver coin was also shown, and all the members of the Association who have seen it, concur that it is an Alexander the Great, in capital state of preservation, genuine and very rare.

From Mr. J. H. Bomford :

Gold ring, found at Cowsden Hall, near Upton Snodsbury, with inscription.

City of Worcester halfpenny.

From Mr. G. Hunt :

A jug, found concealed beneath the floor of an old house, which stood on the site of that lately built by Mr. George Hunt.

Impression of a seal, found whilst digging a grave at Sutton Ashfield.

From Mr. Herbert New :

MS. " *Historia Bruti per Galfridum Monumetensem.*" The History of Britain, of Geoffrey of Monmouth (1138). Age of MS. is not stated. The same volume contains the prophecies of John de Bridlington, a monk of that monastery, in the 14th century.

From Rev. N. G. Batt :

A collection of coins from Syria—Alexander the Great, Nero, Jerusalem during the siege, Herod, Agrippa.

- Small amphora from Alexandria.
 Old glass found at Samaria.
 From Rev. M. Amphlett :
 Veronica, with saints, on alabaster, found in a wall at Pershore.
 Ancient cope, from Church Lench.
 From the Rev.—Kingsford, of Stoughton :
 An ancient cope.
 From the Rev. Dr. MacIlwaine, Belfast :
 Stone implements from County Antrim.
 From the Corporation of Evesham :
 The first Corporation minute book, from 1603 to 1769.
 The Charter of 1604, the Borough seal of same date.
 Peculiar box in which the Charter is kept.
 From Mr. Fisher Tomes :
 Return made by the Abbey of Evesham, after its suppression, to the Government.
 From the Rev. F. W. Holland :
 Photograph of frescoes over the chancel arch, in All Saint's Church, Evesham, found in restoring the church in 1874.
 A curious glass bottle, with the words, "Anthony Culverwell, and Sarah, and Suzanna, his wife's, 1589", cut with a diamond in the glass.
 From Mr. E. Scott Ridsdale :
 A series of drawings of old houses in the Borough, etc.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Kesslerloch Cavern. Excavations of the Kesslerloch, near Thayngen, Switzerland, by Conrad Merk; translated by J. E. Lee, F. S. A., F. G. S., etc. Longman's, 1876.—In the summer of the year 1873, a young teacher of practical science at Thayngen, in the canton of Schaffhausen, Mr. Conrad Merk, had his attention drawn, while on a botanic excursion, to a cavern near that town, which suggested the possibility of some result to a seeker after traces of prehistoric occupation. This cavern, popularly known as the Kesslerloch, from having been the abode, some 50 years ago, of a family of tinkers, is situated on the side of a steep mass of white volite in Jura limestone, about 50 feet high. It has two entrances, and extends about 50 feet into the interior, and comprises in superficial extent about 2,000 square feet. Having been thoroughly explored by Mr. Merk during nine

months of toil, this cave yielded deposits of the most valuable kind, as indicative of man's occupancy at a period anterior, it would appear, to that of the lake dwellings of the neighbouring countries, extending possibly far back into the glacial age, when the glaciers came down far into Southern Switzerland. Proofs of this antiquity are met with in countless fragments of reindeer bones, some of them wrought into weapons or implements, telling of the abundant presence of that arctic animal at the same time with man. Of the bony fragments accumulated not less than 90 per cent. were in fact those of reindeer. With them were also found bones of the horse, as many as twenty individuals, which had evidently served for food, the stag and the bison, with traces of the tame ox (*bos taurus*), apparently of the same breed as the marsh cow of the lake dwellings. A number of bones of the mammoth have been met with, and three teeth of the woolly rhinoceros; a fresh proof of the contemporaneity of man with these gigantic pachyderms. All the bones had been broken up to get at the marrow, as is the custom with the Esquimaux at the present day. The wolf, fox, wild cat, and lynx were also represented, nor was the cave lion too tough for these rude men of early dates. No human bones were met with, but the presence of man was amply vouched for, not only by flint flakes to the number of 12,000, and by implements of flint and bone, and flint ones from which spear and arrow heads had been struck, but by specimens of the carvers' skill, second to none among the relics of prehistoric art for faithfulness and precision. The lithographic plates of these drawings form a highly attractive feature in Mr. Merk's little book. Etched upon fragments of bone are several groups of horses full of life and action, and, more expressive still, more than one of reindeer browsing. Nothing in modern art can well exceed the truth with which the early artist has given the attitude with the backward sweep of the branching antlers. The figures of a bear sitting upright, and of a fox, which a clever workman professed to have picked up among the other remains, are given by Mr. Merk, with a reserve as to their genuineness, in which we fully share. There can, however, be no question as to the truth and value of the rest of this extensive prehistoric *trouvaille*.

A *Runic slab* of the seventh or eighth century, lately discovered inside a tomb in Yorkshire, has been sent to Prof. G. Stephens of Copenhagen for the third volume of his great work on Runic Antiquities, which is nearly ready for the press.

Ancient Dorset. The Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish Antiquities of the County, etc., by Charles Warne, F.S.A. Printed for the author and subscribers only. Sydenham, Bournemouth.—In the last volume of the *Journal* attention was directed to the completion of the new

edition of Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, and a tribute was paid to the memory of William Shipp, the editor. It is especially in place now to speak of another remarkable and successful effort of individual energy in a life's devotion to the earlier antiquities of the county. The author of *Ancient Dorset* was one of the earliest members of our Association; and as its publications show, one of the most zealous. He, with Messrs. Shipp, Durden, C. Hall, and Sydenham, formed a compact group of workers, whose contributions to the archæology of their county are honourably recorded. They are not, however, yet made sufficiently known. Mr. Durden's museum of local antiquities at Blandford is so extensive and important, that nothing but a good illustrated catalogue could do it justice: and Mr. Warne's works, the *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, the *Archæological Map of Dorset*, etc., and the last and most voluminous, *Ancient Dorset*, are all of such sound teaching, and of such practical utility, that they only require to be known to be appreciated wherever archæology is properly understood and estimated. In one department especially Mr. Warne's handsome folio volume will be universally acceptable. Dorsetshire is remarkably rich in early earthworks, such as are to be met with throughout the kingdom; but probably not in such numbers as in this and the adjoining counties. For the first time these interesting remains have been fully studied in a right spirit, and are here described and admirably illustrated with views and diagrams, so that they may be consulted with advantage by all who are engaged in studying similar works, both in this country and on the continent also. With but few, if any, exceptions they are the Celtic *oppida*; and it seems strange, indeed, that there ever could have been a doubt of their origin and destination; yet, to the present day, they are often supposed to be Roman; and are as often made the subject of theories which cannot possibly be maintained in the face of comparison and matured reflection. It would be easy to point to instances where these *oppida*, of perhaps some twenty or thirty acres or much more, have been described as Roman camps, and restored in engravings from accounts of Roman castrametation by ancient writers. It seems hardly necessary to say more on this point at present, than that if such notions yet linger, Mr. Warne's researches, given in his *Ancient Dorset*, are more calculated to dispel them than any work we can refer to. To whoever may yet be advancing a theory that such earthworks are Roman military stations or posts, whether insulated or connected, we cannot do better than recommend a study of this division of *Ancient Dorset*. Maiden Castle, for example, near Dorchester, one of the grandest, if not the most remarkable of these *oppida*, should be reviewed under Mr. Warne's guidance, as it has been the subject of much controversy; and Roman origin or military occupation has

been claimed for it, we submit, without good grounds. Hod Hill, near Blandford, which supplied materials for a paper in one of the early volumes of the *Journal*, and has contributed so extensively to Mr. Durden's museum, is in every way exceptional. This great British fortress the Romans did hold possession of; and there established manufacturies of iron: its interest is greatly enhanced by the view and plates of antiquities illustrating Mr. Warne's description; indeed, most of these great fortresses are unintelligible without engravings. This, Mr. Warne was sensible of, and he has therefore supplied them liberally and well executed.

The suggested march of Vespasian, in the reign of Claudius, when he conquered, as Suetonius relates, "*duas validissimas gentes*" and more than twenty *oppida*, will be read with special interest because it is the result of a close and personal examination of the localities; and this fact gives a charm and confidence to the entire volume. Who possibly can be relied upon in treating of British *oppida*; of Roman roads; of that wonderful work, miles in length, called Bockley Dyke; and of other remains demanding careful study, if he has not examined them over and over again with his own eye?

Dr. T. W. Wake Smart contributes to the volume a well written introduction to the ethnology of Dorset; and this very brief notice cannot be closed without drawing attention to a marked feature in the book. The Saxon, Danish, and Norman mints of Dorset, with the coins struck in them, are elaborately described, and very many from examples in foreign collections. The engravings of them will satisfy the most fastidious numismatist.

We believe a few copies of Mr. Warne's earlier works, as well as this his latest, may yet be obtained. The very fine collection of Dorsetshire British sepulchral urns, described in the *Celtic Tumuli*, is at present exhibited in the Brighton Museum.

Interesting Discovery of ancient Relics.—During some excavations among the ruins of an old abbey at Nuneaton, co. Warwick, the workmen discovered a stone coffin containing human bodies. Alongside it were two stone coffin-lids, the one bearing a Maltese cross, and the other a Latin cross. Some tessellated pavement has also been laid bare, as well as some encaustic tiles, sculptured stones, etc. The work of excavation is proceeding.

Edinburgh Architectural Association Sketch-Book, 1875-76.—The *Sketch-Book* Committee have much pleasure in announcing the publication of the first Part of the *Sketch-Book*. The volume will consist of six Parts of six Plates each, and will be published at intervals during the year. It will contain of measured ecclesiastical work about ten Plates, of measured and sketched domestic work about sixteen Plates, four to six



Plates of woodwork, and the remainder of measured and sketched details, such as plaster-work, painted decoration, ironwork, etc. The cost of the volume will be, to members of the association, 10s. 6d. ; to non-members, £1 1s., payable in advance on receipt of the first Part. A glance at the above will shew the nature of the work, and that the Committee have kept in view the object aimed at by the association, viz., to illustrate and collect minor works and fragments of every department of art connected with architecture. As only a limited number of copies are being printed, intending subscribers should forward their names without delay to Mr. J. W. Small, Association Rooms 37, George Street.

The Holy Lance of Nuremberg.—Copy of the broadsheet accompanying the model of the Lance, in the collection of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, F.S.A., and published, vol. xxxi, p. 368, of this *Journal* :

“En tibi . qui hæc adspicis et legis. Sacri Romani Imperii et Sacratissimorum Imperatorum venerandas Reliquias, Regalia et Clenodia, quæ Sigismundus Imp. Aug. A° CHRISTI 1424 ob bellum Hussitarum, Pragâ Noribergam, Imperii civitatem, transtulit, et ejusdem Inelyto Senatui asservanda et in perpetuum custodienda, privilegio speciali clementissimè commisit. Ex Reliquiis præcipuas ad vivum expressas et æquæ magnitudinis depictas hîc vides : Ferrum scilicet Lanceæ quo Latus SALVATORIS nostri JESU CHRISTI, in passione acerbissimâ est transfixum : Clavum item huic ferro insertum quo REDEMPTOR NOSTER ligno crucis fuit affixus, et insuper particulam non modicam ligni ejusdem Crucis, in quâ Salus nostra perfecta est : In imagine Sigismundi Imp. Augustissimi, delineata spectas Regalia et Clenodia, quæ Augustissimos Imperatores in prima coronatione semper exornant et venerandos reddunt, sunt Corona CAROLI MAGNI, Gladii ejusdem, et S. MAURITII Imp. Sceptra, Poma Imperialia, Dalmaticæ Stolæ, Sandalia, &c. quæ ad Imp. coronationem semper a Senatu Noriberg quam obsequentissimè per Deputatos adferuntur. Hæc omnia, quia nunc rarius videre licet, hic accuratè exsculpta ære incisa Tibi proponuntur. Tu ea, qualia qualia sunt, æquiboni consule et vale.”

Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History, by James Picciotto.—This work contains an historical account of the Jews of this country, from the time of the Saxon kings to the middle of the present century, and it is the first publication of the kind which has ever emanated from the pen of a Jewish author. In this volume we have a full and complete record of the vicissitudes undergone by, and of the events which happened to, the chosen people in Great Britain since their return to these isles during the time of Cromwell. The book is full of curious facts, and abounds in anecdotes of eminent Israelites never before published.

The author has had original sources of information, and he gives to the public the result of the assiduous labour of two years. These chapters are written in a popular style, and the reader will find therein a great fund of knowledge in a pleasant form.

Proposed Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.—After the visit of the British Archæological Association to Bristol in 1874, a movement, for some time contemplated, arose for the formation of a society in relation to the antiquities of Bristol and Gloucestershire, similar to those societies so long successfully at work in the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Wilts. The provisional committee appointed to direct this movement were supported by numerous and influential promises of membership.

It is believed that the establishment of such a society would supply a real and long-felt need in the county. Gloucestershire, though wanting neither in archæologists nor in the materials of archæology, has long been wanting in archæological organisation. Nature itself, indeed, may be said to have prepared her both by structure and by position for the theatre of those historic energies and events of which a rich antiquity is the vestige. Occupying the lower courses of the largest river system and river valley in Great Britain, she has always commanded, whether for war or commerce, the ports and maritime passes of the west. Occupying, too, the considerable heights that fortify the opposite sides of this river valley, she commands what is perhaps at once both physically and historically the chief border land of the island—a border land which, having the Welsh mountain fastnesses on the one side, and the Midland hills on the other, has formed a natural battle ground for all the competing races and most of the contending parties in the development of our country. Glevum, Corinium, Deorham, Offa's Dyke, Pucklechurch, the English Marches, Berkeley, Tewkesbury, the Severn, Cirencester, Gloucester, Bristol, are names not only of local but of national history. The district, indeed, may be said to occupy a border position in Aryan history itself, for lying as it does along those primitive Highlands which have been the western barrier of every succeeding Aryan tribe—Kelt, Latin, Saxon, Norman—in its course across the one continent, it also contains the port from which the mixed forces of these tribes first took a new departure, for the discovery, conquest, and colonisation of the other.

External connections and experiences such as these, combined with inherent physical advantages of a singularly varied kind, have made the district a rich epitome as it were of antiquities in general. There are caves probably of pre-Aryan habitation; chains of hills literally studded with earthworks and camps of Roman and pre-Roman construction; cities of Roman build, the centres of great radiating

systems of Roman roads ; Keltic, Roman, Saxon, Danish, mediæval, and modern battlefields ; noble churches and abbeys of every period of gothic architecture, feudal and later castles ; some of the most ancient and important economies of the island, as the Roman mines and royal navy oaks of the Forest of Dean ; the wools and woollen manufactures of the Cotswold Hills and valleys, and the freestone worked into the fine manor houses ; the foreign commerce of our merchant venturers, those pioneers of English enterprise : boroughs, towns, and villages that have been the seats of Parliaments or the residences of Kings. It will be the object of the society to collect and classify information on these antiquities—to know them in themselves and in their historical connections—through them perhaps to rise to some higher conception of the course and purpose of that past county life of which they are the monuments—by means of them, it may be, to shed a light on the ideas and circumstances of the present ; and by their preservation, where possible, to pass on a great and ancient inheritance unimpaired to the future ; in short to take rank among sister counties in that work of local historical exploration and care in which the spirit of the time is now so clearly and happily manifesting itself.

The Provisional Committee, as before stated, have received much valuable support, and that of a comprehensive and varied character. The Duke of Beaufort, the Rev. Lord Dynevor, Lord Fitzhardinge, Lord Redesdale, Lord Sherborne, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Bishop Clifford, the Mayor, the Dean, and the Archdeacon of Gloucester ; the Mayor, the High Sheriff, the Dean, and the Archdeacon of Bristol. To carry out the object of the organisation, it is proposed (February 1876) to hold general annual meetings by turns in each of its centres ; as Gloucester, Cirencester, Tewkesbury, Stroud, Cheltenham, Bristol, etc. ; to promote the existence of standing district committees for district investigation during the year ; to publish annually a substantial volume of county transactions, and to aid in the establishment of a museum or museums, and in the development of those museums already established.

Notes on Shakespeare : Mr. J. Jeremiah, Honorary Secretary to the Urban Club, writes to say,—“ In accordance with the special request of many of the members of the Urban Club, and other friends, that my *Notes on Shakespeare* should be reprinted, the same will be ready for delivery on or before the 31st of May. The work will be thoroughly revised and corrected, and will include a reprint of *Shakespeare's Will*, with fac-similes of his signatures, and other matter of interest. There will also be an appendix containing a fac-simile reprint of all the Urban Club circulars and programmes, (revised and corrected) from

the first issued on April 23rd, 1875, to April 24th, 1876, twenty-one in number, containing about two hundred quotations from the *Early English Literature*, and records of folk-lore and tradition in connection with the customs, observances, and Saints' days of Old England. The book will be of octavo size, bound in cloth, and contain about fifty to sixty pages, of superior toned paper, and published at 3s. 6d. a copy to subscribers only. The *Notes on Shakespeare* will be dedicated by special permission to J. O. Halliwell Phillipps, Esq., F.R.S."

Archæological Survey of India.—The report for the years 1872-73 has just been issued; it forms vol. v of the Survey, and treats of the Indo-Persian and Indo-Grecian Styles. Major-General Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., who has charge of the Survey, agrees with Dr. Leitner, in his opinion that the sculptures of the Indo-Scythian period show traces of the Grecian style, and that the precepts of the Greek artists were followed long after the Greek dominion in North-Western India had been swept away.

Proposed Memorial to Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland.—A desire to commemorate, by the erection of some memorial on the battle field of Newbury, the death of the illustrious Lord Falkland, who fell in the royal cause at the first battle of Newbury, September 18th, 1643, and whose fame is preserved in the pages of Clarendon, has from time to time been brought to the notice of the public. So long back as the last century, the poet Southey proposed that a column should be placed on the spot where Falkland fell, but no practical efforts have hitherto been made to preserve his memory, or to record on the scene of his chivalrous devotion, the sacrifice of a life worthy to be named with the statesmen of the classic age. The proposal has now been revived by the Newbury District Field Club, whose efforts have so far met with an unanimous expression of approval and sympathy, and obtained a public recognition in the press. Lord Carnarvon, whom the committee consulted, has expressed a warm interest in the work, and has suggested an inscription for the proposed monument. The Committee have purchased a site in a most prominent and favourable position on the field, a short distance from the town, the cost of which (£30) has been provided by a member of the club. A design has been prepared, and is intended not only to record the death of Lord Falkland, but of many other distinguished royalist officers who fell in the same battle. The cost of the memorial in Portland stone, and including sculpture, has been estimated at £600. In support of an object which has more than a mere local interest, the Committee appeal with confidence to the liberality of the public, believing that, by the erection of the memorial, they are not only perpetuating a name honoured in the annals of England, but reminding posterity

that loyalty to the crown, and devotion to the country, are inseparable parts of a common faith.

Subscriptions will be received by Messrs. Slocock, Bunny and Matthews, the Old Bank, Newbury; or in London by Messrs. Drummond, Charing Cross.

Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ. Edidit Æmilius Hübner. 1876.—Professor Hübner has just published a most valuable addition to the early history of Christian Britain, in the form of a collection of inscriptions found upon all manner of monuments and implements, recording names and facts connected with our island from the date of the departure of the Romans down to the end of the first millennium since the birth of Jesus Christ. This collection of inscriptions has been carefully derived from almost all parts of England, and the author acknowledges his indebtedness to the works and papers of W. C. Borlase, E. Donovan, S. Ferguson, W. Gambold, C. S. Gilbert, Haddan and Stubbs, D. H. Haigh, W. Jago, J. Parry, E. H. Pedler, J. Raine, G. Stephens, J. Stuart, Professor J. O. Westwood, and J. Wordsworth. By far the greater number relate to, or are found in, the western parts of Wales, the southern parts of Cornwall, Durham, and Yorkshire, as a glance at the two maps which are appended to the work will shew. It is interesting to note the comparative number of inscriptions which have been gleaned from particular localities. Cornwall, for instance, contributes twenty-two examples principally sepulchral or votive, several of which will be visited and examined, or treated upon in papers, during our approaching Cornwall Congress. Devonshire furnishes eight; Dorsetshire, two; and Wales, one hundred and thirty, inscriptions of all kinds. The remaining counties only appear to contain about fifty specimens of these relics of the earliest history that we have on record. The forms of the letters, which present many remarkable peculiarities and divergencies from the pure Latin or Roman capital towards the uncial or even cursive native forms, in many instances not unlike the earliest Irish palæography, demand a careful investigation at the hands of the Palæographical Society. The work not only gives the text of the inscriptions, but accurate woodcuts of the shape of the stones or other objects upon which they have been placed, and facsimiles of the inscriptions themselves, with references to the books and journals of various archæological societies in which there is mention of the same. At p. 69 Professor Hübner gives several specimens of inscriptions from the vicinity of the old monastic church of St. Hilda, near Hartlepool, Durham. These stones were published in our *Journal* of October 1845 (vol. i, pp. 185-96), by Daniel H. Haigh, along with others which are not included in this volume. Of these, one inscribed to "Hildithryth" undoubtedly refers to one of two abbesses

of that name mentioned in the *Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis*; others inscribed "Hilddigyth", "Ediluini", "Vermund", "Torhtsuid", and "Berchtgyd", may be compared with corresponding names in the same MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cotton., Domitian vii), written in characters of gold and silver, in the early years of the ninth century. The Appendix contains a number of examples erroneously attributed to Christian origin within the period embraced by the scope of the work; and the classified indexes of places, saints, names of men and women, formulæ, grammatical peculiarities, forms of letters, monograms, and signs, complete a laborious work which, for its usefulness and comprehensive nature, richly merits that approbation which is sure to be accorded to it by all British archæologists who have to consult its pages and derive instruction from their contents.

The Perlustration of Great Yarmouth, with Gorleston and Southtown. By C. J. Palmer, F.S.A. 1872. 3 vols., 4to.—The age of county histories appears to be now giving place to histories of large towns and cities; and, indeed, the enormous amount of local historic information that may be gathered up by any one who, like Mr. Palmer, has the inclination and the leisure to gather up so much valuable information, and arrange it systematically for future reference and record, is apparently inexhaustible. Yarmouth is, perhaps, as ancient a centre of maritime doings as any other seaport along the whole of our coasts, and its position has rendered it peculiarly liable to some of the remarkable vicissitudes that have befallen the island. To attempt to go through the many interesting chapters that this perlustration contains would be impossible in the space here at command. We can only sincerely testify to the excellent way in which the author has performed his work, and to the great value of the collections viewed either from a historical, topographical, or biographical point of view. One of the most pleasant features in it is the profusion of illustrations, arms of principal families, replicas or facsimiles of rare engravings or unique paintings, portraits of Yarmouth worthies, and views of characteristic style, are scattered throughout the three volumes with unsparing hand, the whole amounting to about five hundred. Among those which principally interest the archæologist are Caistor Castle, Roman Wall at Burgh Castle, St. Nicholas Church, tower of the Austin Priory Church, and mural paintings and coffin-slabs in Gorleston Church. The seals of Flegg Hundred, the Blackfriars, Lothingland Hundred, and a personal seal found in the burial-ground of the Convent of the Augustines, are worthy of the illustration given to them. The arms and portraits which meet our eyes at every turn of the pages are well cut and fairly well reproduced, the latter from originals probably of uncertain degrees of excellence.

Among the Yarmouth worthies whose names and portraits are included in the history are Dr. Mackenzie, Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, Sir Edmund Lacon, Sir James Paget, Rev. Francis Turner, Sir John Homfray, Richard Fuller, Sir Robert Walpole, and T. W. King, York Herald; and these have biographies attached to them, which Mr. Palmer has treated in an original way. A large quantity of illustrations might have been procured by the author from the beautiful collections of Dawson Turner in his copy of Blomefield's *Norfolk*, preserved in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum; and, indeed, it seems likely that from some unforeseen cause these collections have not been made to contribute so much towards the pictorial elements of Mr. Palmer's work as we should have expected. Perhaps in any subsequent issue, or in the form of an appendix, the volumes we refer to may be noticed at some length, and some selection of the illustrations they contain made, and reproduced in a convenient form.

The following works on archæology and kindred subjects are either just published or announced as ready for issue :

Norse Mythology; or the Religion of our Forefathers. Containing all the Myths of the Eddas systematised and interpreted; with an Introduction, Vocabulary, and Index. By R. B. Anderson, A.M.

Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen: Beschreibende Statistik im Auftrage d. kaiserl. Oberpräsidiums v. Elsass-Lothringen hrsg. By Prof. Dr. Frz. Kraus. Strasburg, 1876. Vol. i, Part I; with 109 illustrations. 8vo.

Histoire des Eventails (History of Fans). Avec nombreuses gravures d'éventails artistiques, historiques, de diverses époques et de tous pays. By S. Blondel. 8vo. Paris, 1875.

Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte der griechischen Schrift und zum Studium der griechischen Palæographie. By Wilh. Wattenbach. Fol. 20 Photolith. plates. Berlin, 1876.

Anglo-Saxon and Old-English Vocabularies; illustrating the Condition and Manners of our Forefathers, as well as the History of the Forms of Elementary Education, and of the Languages spoken in this Island from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., etc. Second edition, edited, collated, and corrected by Richard Wulker.

Histoire de la Peinture Flamande depuis ses débuts jusqu'à nos jours. By A. Michiels. 10 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1876.

Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall. By William Bottrell. With illustrations by Mr. Joseph Blight. Second Series. Among

the numerous contents are : Celtic Monuments of Boleigh and Rosemodrass.—The last Cardews of Boskenna, and the Story of Nelly Wearne.—Castle Treen and its Legends.—Traditions of Parcornow.—Legends of St. Levan.—A Legend of Pargwarra.—A Tinner's Fireside Stories.—Old Songs and Nicknames.—West Country Superstitions.—Devil's Money.—The Wreck of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel.—Ancient Bridal Customs.—Ancient Rites at Madron Well.—A Legend of Pengersec.—Notes, illustrative Anecdotes, etc.—Miracle-Plays.—And Glossary of living Cornish Words and local Terms.

Palæographical Society.—The following extracts from the Report for 1875-76 are of interest to students :

“The end of a third year finds the Society in a position which promises to realise its first aims. Increasing interest is shewn in its scheme of work. The truth and delicacy of the facsimiles are admitted to be beyond the reach of any other process of photographic printing. The generous co-operation of foreign scholars has given a wide field for selection of MSS. ; and the addition of an Oriental Series secures the illustration of an important branch of palæography with which, on the first institution of the Society, there seemed a difficulty in dealing. In the past year the full estimated number of Plates has been issued, and they include not a few of the very highest interest. Greek palæography has received a due share of attention, as many as eight Plates having been taken from six different MSS. ranging from the sixth to the thirteenth century. Of these, four are either actually dated or can be referred to a precise time. The facsimiles from the *Iliad*, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, will be specially valued as exhibiting a beautiful character of writing, and as correcting the false rendering of the illustrations in the printed works, by which alone these early drawings have been previously known. Latin uncial writing has been further illustrated by examples from MSS. of the fifth and sixth centuries. The Plate from the MS. of Josephus, probably of the seventh century, in the Ambrosian Library, is of value as an instance of the use of Roman cursive characters in MSS. of general literature. Perhaps among the most attractive of the Plates are those from the *Book of Kells*. The delicate lines of the elaborately ornamented initial letter are reproduced with remarkable clearness, considering the condition of the MS. ; and the facsimiles of the different characters of writing already given, and to be presented in the Part next to be issued, will be important for comparison with other early productions of the Irish school.

“English caligraphy is represented in two Plates of the pre-Conquest period, and two others of the middle of the thirteenth century, and a facsimile has been given from a Wycliffite Bible of the time of the first

edition. Other examples will be selected for this last class of MSS. in order to give data for determining the age of the many copies of works of Wycliffite literature with some certainty. In what particularly regards English palæography, it probably is not known to many that the Trustees of the British Museum are now publishing photographic facsimiles of their fine collection of ancient English charters. Two Parts, comprising documents from the seventh to the end of the ninth century, have already been printed; and in these two Parts some sixty charters are given, nearly all of them, it is to be remembered, bearing precise dates, and exhibiting varieties of writing often of singular beauty, and of great value for comparison with undated English MSS."

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THE EARLY SAINTS OF WORCESTER.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

WHEN our Congress was held at Wolverhampton some two years since, I was solicited to lay before that goodly gathering of *savans* a brief notice of a few of the leading saints more or less intimately connected with Staffordshire; and it is now proposed to recall to memory, in like way, certain religionists linked by birth, education, or other circumstances, with the lovely county in which we are now assembled. If Worcester be not so numerically rich in saintly beings as is the land we visited in 1873, it can at least boast of certain ecclesiastics who exercised a mighty influence in their day, who have left their mark upon the page of history, and whose names are as familiar to us as household words, albeit their deeds are little thought of.

Worcestershire, as an integral portion of Mercia, must from necessity have felt in some measure the effects of the events enacted in other provinces of Crida's kingdom; but it was not until the establishment of the see of Hwiccia by King Ethelred in 679, and the accession thereunto of its third bishop, that what may be termed a local saint appeared upon the scene; and that saint was no less a man than Egwin, or Ecgwine as he is otherwise called, whose prelatie rule extended from 693 to 717. This famous ecclesiastic wrote his autobiography, which, though lost in its entirety, has evidently furnished the material for all subsequent lives of the saint. Egwin was closely allied by birth to the royal house of Mercia, he held a proud position in the Church,

and *appeared* eminently pious ; yet with all these advantages he seems to have been under a cloud, and it is much to be feared was greatly addicted to fibbing,—at least no one in our day would give credence to *his* miracles upon his sole and unsupported testimony. We do not know for certain what crimes he was charged with, but they were of a nature calling for the interference of the King and the Pope, the latter summoning him to Rome to hear what he could allege in his defence. Egwin, ere he commenced his long and then perilous journey to the capital of Christendom, caused a smith to lock a fetter about his ankle, and casting the key into the Avon at a place then called Hruddy Pool, set forward on his route. On reaching the shores of the Tiber he offered up his thanks to heaven for having so far protected him, and his companions busied themselves in fishing in the river, and lucky they were in landing a salmon which on being opened displayed within it the very key they had seen sink beneath the surface of their native Avon. Egwin straightway related this miracle to the Pope, which His Holiness accepted as easily as the fish had the key, and feeling assured that such a miracle could only happen to a man without guile, at once sent the crafty prelate back to his bishopric with a declaration of his innocence. This legend gave rise to one of the charges in the arms of the Abbey of Evesham, which are, *azure*, a chevron composed of chain, and couped between three mitres, all *argent* ; at the dexter end of the chain, a padlock of the last. Another of Egwin's miracles relates to the foundation of this renowned Abbey of Our Lady ; but as the story of this ancient house will be told by an abler pen than mine, it is needless to cite it here. Florence of Worcester tells us,¹ “ St. Egwine, the third Bishop of the Hwiccas, died on Thursday the third of the calends of January (30th Dec.), the fifteenth induction.” The Saint was buried in Evesham Abbey ; and in spite of all his reputed faults his name was duly inserted in the Calendar, and his festival celebrated on January 11, and churches are dedicated to him at Church Honeybourne and Norton, both in the county of Worcester. Effigies of St. Egwin are rarely seen, but one is chiselled on the front of an elegant Norman lectern exhumed from the ruins of the ancient Abbey, and engraved in May's *History of the Town of Evesham*.

¹ S. A., 717.

Twelve bishops presided over the see of Wigorniensis ere another saint came to the front. The prelate referred to was the notorious Dunstan, whose story is so well known to us all that nothing more is here required than a mention of the dates which mark its progress from the cradle to the grave. Dunstan was the nephew of St. Elphege the Bald, Bishop of Winchester. His father's name was Herstan; his mother's, Cynedryda; and he was born near Glastonbury, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the year 925. His high connections introduced him to the court of King Athelstan, from whence, after flirting awhile with the ladies, he was expelled, his departure being accompanied by a good ducking in a pond, received at the hands of certain young gentlemen. Much of Dunstan's education was acquired at the Monastery of Fleury in France, where he imbibed that love for the monks, and hatred towards the secular clergy, which distinguished his future life, and rendered him so baneful to the best interests of his country.

In 942 Dunstan became Abbot of Glastonbury; but his power and influence extended far beyond the precincts of this religious establishment, and his arrogance and insolence increasing with his years, he was at length, in 955, banished the land by King Edwy. Crossing to the Continent, he was hospitably received by Arnulf of Flanders, who assigned him lodgings in the Abbey of Blandin (St. Peter's at Ghent). Edwy's successor, King Edgar, recalled Dunstan to England in 957, and he was soon after promoted to the see of Worcester, and thus merits mention among our local saints. In 958 Dunstan was, by the favour of his sovereign, chosen Bishop of London, and in 959 ascended the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury.

From the time Dunstan had a brain-fever in his boyhood, until the close of life, he did his best to make the world believe that he was on the most intimate, if not the most friendly, terms with the Devil, who he declared appeared to him in various shapes and sizes, the most formidable and insidious manifestation being that of a lovely maiden. During one of the assaults which the foul fiend, in female form, made upon the virtue of this most modest Saint, the latter was busy at his forge, and, heating his tongs red hot, suddenly seized the enemy by the nose and held him fast. This, the Prelate's most famous encounter with the Prince

of Darkness, is depicted in an early sixteenth century window of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in which Dunstan appears, mitred and nimbed, seated in a chair of state, and the unfortunate fiend striving to free himself from the determined grip of the victor. The struggle between the Saint and his unwelcome visitor may also be viewed at Westminster in a niche in the upper tier of statuary on the north side of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. This same event formed the motive of the sign of "The Devil and St. Dunstan Tavern" within Temple Bar, as is shown by the little tokens of John Wadlow issued in the middle of the seventeenth century; and this wonderful contest between Vice and Virtue is rendered familiar to us by the oft repeated quatrain,

"St. Dunstan, as the story goes,
Once pulled the Devil by the nose
With red hot tongs, which made him roar
That he was heard ten miles or more."

A more circumstantial narrative of this wonderful event is given in the following verses :

"St. Dunstan, in his height of glory,
At least so runs a monkish story,
Did with strong hand and courage stout
Once hold old Satan by the snout
With red hot tongs all through the night.
It was a dread and fearful sight.
He lashed about his pointed tail
Like thrasher with his ponderous flail.
He wreathed, he stamped, he swore. His roar
Was heard afar o'er hill and moor;
For full a hundred miles around
Did spread the terror-striking sound.
He gnashed his teeth, his eyes flashed fire,
His breath was like a furnace dire,
His sweat was worse than scalding steam
Evolved from some mephitic stream,
His blood gushed from his finger-tips,
Scorched were his forehead and his lips,
His nose was seared, its bone was broke,
The walls were blackened by his smoke.
Fatigue, consuming thirst and pain,
Made him to curse with might and main;
And when the Fiend once more was free,
He blasted heath and flower and tree,
Dried up the rivers and the wells,
Made valleys mountains, mountains dells,
Rent the firm rock, tore the wide earth,
Strangled the infant at its birth,

And with the stench of brimstone foul
He poisoned many a mortal soul."

If tradition is to be credited, the veritable pair of tongs mentioned in the above poem, with other implements and utensils appertaining to the Saint's smithy, are to this day preserved in Sussex, and to which allusion is made in Mr. Roberts' interesting paper on Mayfield, printed in our *Journal*, xxiii, pp. 333, 345, 365.

Dunstan's grand fight is not his only dealing with the Devil which has been chronicled in verse; witness the following doggerel in which the Prelate's sobriety and moral character are sadly impugned:

ST. DUNSTAN IN HIS CUPS.

"St. Dunstan was a rollicking fellow,
And did strange tricks when he was mellow.
He spied two moons when others saw one,
And fancied the Devil at him poked fun;
But was nought save the juice of the grape
That conjured up the Devil's shape.

One day the Saint was out on a spree,
And invited a lass to take seat on his knee;
And when he rolled home, at midnight dark,
He vowed in his life he ne'er had such a lark,
For he had hugg'd the Devil in maiden guise,
And made him cry with both his eyes.

He'd so touselled the Fiend, and made him tremble,
He verily thought his next imp might resemble
Some holy prelate of high degree,
Such as then did fill his own good see;
And then he hickuped, and 'gan to snore,
And the grave monks whispered, '*He is as afore.*'"

According to Florence of Worcester, Dunstan died on Saturday, 14th of June (19 May), 988. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral; but the pious monks of Glastonbury gave out that they were in possession of his relics. To settle the question the Saint's tomb was opened on April 20, 1508, when there was found within the leaden coffins, and placed on his breast, a tablet of lead inscribed "*Hic requiescit Sanctus Dunstanus Archiepiscopus.*" St. Dunstan's name occurs in the Calendar under May 19. Eighteen churches in England are dedicated to him, six being in Middlesex, and the same number in Kent, the other half-dozen being spread over the country, one being at Mayfield in Sussex, another at Cheam in Surrey. The *Aconitum Napellus*, or

Monkshood, is sacred to St. Dunstan; and this Prelate is the patron of the Goldsmiths' Company.

There exists in a MS. in the Bodleian Library a curious full-length portrait of Dunstan, believed to be by his own hand. He appears kneeling before, or rather at the left side of, our Blessed Redeemer; and if the countenance in the picture bears any resemblance to the Saint, he must have had a most unprepossessing visage with an awfully sinister expression. The forehead is villanously low, the nose hooked, the corners of the mouth drawn down, and the chin round and prominent. A seated figure of the Saint, engaged in writing, is given in our *Journal* (xiii, Plate 2), from a MS. of the thirteenth century.

But enough of this highly talented but most crafty churchman, who had for successor in the see of Worcester St. Oswald, his friend and fellow-labourer in revolutionising the Anglo-Saxon Church, and bringing it under the dominion of Rome. Oswald was the nephew of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him was made canon of the old minster there. From Canterbury the Saint passed over to France, and entered the Abbey of Fleury; but at length returned to England, and Dunstan procured his elevation to the see of Worcester, A.D. 960. The new Bishop and the old canons of the city soon began to disagree, and the Saint built a new church in opposition to the old one of St. Peter, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and gathered around it a colony of monks from Fleury. Dunstan, the better to secure the triumph of his Ultramontane principles, contrived to have the archbishopric of York bestowed on Oswald in 972, so that the Prelate held the two sees simultaneously until his death, which occurred at his favourite Worcester in 992, the event being thus recorded by Florence: "St. Oswald, the Archbishop, departed this life, and soared to the blissful kingdom of Heaven, in the fifth indiction, on Monday the 2nd of the calends of March (29th Feb.), and was interred in the Church of St. Mary at Worcester, which he had built from the foundations." When the Cathedral of Worcester was rebuilt, in 1218, the Saint's remains were removed into it with those of St. Wulstan, and the sacred edifice rededicated to the Blessed Virgin and the SS. Peter, Wulstan, and Oswald. The festival of the latter Saint was held on February 28, and the commemoration of his translation on October 15.

The very last name which the Anglo-Saxon Church added to the saintly roll was furnished by the see of Worcester, and to it must we next direct attention. Wulstan, or Wolstan as his name is sometimes spelled, was the son of Ealstan, a pious thane, who had for wife one Wulfgeova, a lady pious as himself. Our Saint was born at Long Itchington in Warwickshire, A.D. 1008. He studied at Evesham and Peterborough, became a monk by the persuasion of his mother, and in due time was made Prior of the Cathedral Monastery at Worcester, and in 1062 was elected twenty-fifth Bishop of that ancient see. Wulstan received the pastoral staff from the hands of Edward the Confessor, and falling into disgrace soon after the accession of William of Normandy to the English throne, he was bidden to resign this ensign of ecclesiastical authority. This he stoutly refused to do, and his refusal was justified by a miracle, for going to the tomb of the Confessor at Westminster, he laid his staff upon it, saying, "I will not yield it up. If St. Edward list, he may." King William, Archbishop Lanfranc, and others, tried to take up the staff; but all to no purpose. It had become riveted to the stonework of the holy shrine, and no other hand but Wulstan's could free it from the spot. This miracle proved that the Saint was, after all, the right man in the right place, and so he continued Bishop of Worcester until his death on the night of Saturday, January 18, 1095, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty-seven. St. Wulstan rebuilt his Cathedral after its ruin by Hardicanute, and in it were deposited his remains; and in the presbytery is preserved an ancient stone coffin which is said to be his. The festival of St. Wulstan was celebrated on January 19th, and his translation on June 7th.

We now come to the last personage who is worth mentioning under the head of Worcester saints, a real native of the county, and one which the county may be proud to number among her sons, considering he was the latest English Bishop who received the honour of canonisation. Richard de Burford, surnamed "De la Wych", from the place of his nativity, Wyche (now Droitwich), some four miles from Worcester, was born in 1196, and showed an aptitude for learning from his boyhood. He studied successively at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, and on his return to England was elected Chancellor of the first named University.

Richard accompanied Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury into banishment, and remained abroad until the death of his friend, and his own elevation to the see of Chichester in 1245. His election to this important dignity was distinguished by a miracle, for he by some chance fell with the chalice in hand, but none of the wine was spilt, hence the sacred vessel is regarded as one of the emblems of St. Richard of Chichester.

This Prelate was no favourite of Henry III, but at the King's request he commenced preaching a crusade, and journeyed to Dover on this war-mission, where he died in the hospital called "God's House", on the 3rd day of April 1253, in his fifty-seventh year. By his own wish Richard was buried in a humble tomb in the north transept of Chichester Cathedral; but his remains were subsequently translated to a sumptuous sepulchre, of which an engraving is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1847, p. 258. It is an altar-tomb, on the top of which lies the mitred effigy of the Bishop, his head supported by angels, and his feet resting against a dog. An arcade extends along the front and ends of the tomb, filled with statuettes of six ecclesiastics and one knight, by name Richard de Bachedine, brother-in-law and treasurer to the Bishop. Florence of Worcester records, *s. a.* 1261, that "Pope Urban IV canonised St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, and appointed the third of the nones (the 3rd) of April to be kept as the day of his entombment"; and further, *s. a.* 1276, that "the remains of St. Richard, formerly Bishop of Chichester, were translated with great pomp, on the eve of St. Botolph (16th June), in the presence of the King and Queen of England and some other great personages." The sovereigns were Edward I and his beloved Eleanor of Castile. Though the body of Richard rested at Chichester, the wicked monks of Canterbury contrived to get possession of one of the poor Saint's arms, or at any rate of an arm which they exhibited as his. The church of Aberford, in the West Riding of York, is dedicated to St. Richard; and the kneeling effigy of this Bishop may be seen in the little *signum* engraved in our *Journal*, xxiv, p. 227.

Such is a faint outline of the career of five of Worcester's, we might almost say of England's, most renowned Saints, for with the exception of Thomas of Canterbury there are few who

could dispute pre-eminence with Egwin and Dunstan, Oswald, Wulstan, and Richard de Wych. Whether they deserved the honour of canonisation and the homage they once received, are questions about which opinions may possibly be for ever at discord. One thing, however, is certain, that these old Saints owe the old monks no thanks, for the romantic legends of the latter have cast such discredit on the acts and deeds of the former that we are tempted to turn from their so-called Lives, and marvel that there should have existed an age in which such tales could have passed current as veritable facts.

THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF ST. MARY, PERSHORE.

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WORCESTERSHIRE is rich in conventual remains, including the Cathedral of Worcester and the Benedictine Abbeys of Evesham, Winchcombe, Great and Little Malvern, and Pershore, so named from its place among the fruitful orchards of pears. In 681, Oswald, brother of Osric (the founder of Gloucester and Bath), erected Pershore for secular canons;¹ Egelward about 792 completed it;² it was refounded by Beornoth, in the time of Cenulph, destroyed by Ælfhere about the year 976, and again restored by Ethelward Wada and Oddo in 983, under Archbishop Oswald. King Edward and William I bestowed more than half of its endowments on Westminster.³ It is necessary to guard against the misrepresentations of the monastic chroniclers, who invariably represent St. Augustine introducing monks into the great churches of England, an anachronism of nearly 400 or 500 years. Lanfranc first ousted the secular canons from Canterbury, Gundulph from Rochester, W. de Karileph from Durham, Ethelwold from Winchester, Oswald from Worcester, in the reign of Edgar. At Norwich, Herbert placed his see and monks together. A little while before, John de Villula translated his see from Wells to Bath, and Robert de Limesey that of Lichfield and Chester to Coventry. At Ely, the secular canons were ejected by Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester. Oswald, who first introduced monks in his cathedral of Worcester in 969, no doubt brought them hither also and ejected the secular canons, as he did at Westbury.⁴ Ethelward Wada, duke of Dorset, possibly introduced Benedictines for a time.⁴ He brought the relics of St. Edburga from St. Mary's Abbey at Winchester, but Leland says that he

¹ Leland, *Coll.*, i, 283; v, 1; W. Malmesbury, p. 298; and Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.*, 5, DLXX.

² W. Malmesbury, lib. iv, § 162, p. 298.

³ See *Angl. Sac.*, ii, 201, 202, 262.

⁴ Leland, *Coll.*, i, 51; *Cod. Dipl.*, n. DLXX.

dedicated the minster to St. Mary.¹ It had been first known as the church of SS. Mary, Peter, and Paul. It is called St. Edburga's in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. Abbot Hewinton, on his resignation, is said to be Abbot of St. Mary's, and the church is called that of SS. Mary, Edburga, and Holy Cross. No doubt St. Edburga's was the popular designation in honour of the saint. In *Domesday* the Abbey is called St. Mary's. Habingdon says, "Here at first was a college founded for secular canons by Oswald, nephew of king Ethelred, about 680; but afterwards king Edgar, at the intercession of the bishop of Worcester, introduced Benedictine monks in 984. This abbey was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul". The seal has in the circumference "Sigillum B. Mariæ et S. Eadburgæ Virginis Persoriensis ecclesiæ". "The armes of this abbey was, as far as I can guess, a cross raguled."

It is interesting to observe that the following Benedictine churches retain their naves only in use—Malmesbury, Shrewsbury, Wymondham, Ewenny, Leominster, Binham, Chepstow, Tutbury, Deerhurst, Branfield, Thorney, and Lynn; and one nave aisle is still used at Croyland. On the other hand, the choirs only were spared at Milton, Little Malvern, Boxgrove, Usk, and here. Again, St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, Selby, Dunster, Sherborne, Great Malvern, Abergavenny, St. Bee's, Brecon, with the nunnery churches of Easeburn, St. Helen's Bishopsgate, and Romsey, have suffered but little curtailment. It would be difficult to assign any sufficient reason which would meet all these classes; there were I suspect monetary considerations which directed the spoilers, over and above any disposition on the part of the inhabitants, to take the alternative of sparing the parish portion in preference to retaining the eastern arm at the cost of such a loss to old associations. They are said to have purchased the present remains of the minster at a cost of £400. Here the western or parochial portion of the abbey church was dedicated to Holy Cross. The presbytery crossing and nave eastward of the reredos forming the conventual church of the monks. Henry III, in his grant of a fair, orders it to be held in the churchyard of Holy Cross; and the *Valor* of Pope Nicholas, 1291, men-

¹ *Coll.*, i, 278.

tions "Altare S. Crucis in Ecclesia conventuali de Persorâ sed parochiale". Adam de Hewington's chantry in the mortuary of Pershore is described as "in monasterio nostro sive in ecclesia nostra S. Crucis ad Altare quod situatum est in navi ecclesiæ nostræ ex parte australi in quadam capella".¹ In Feb. 26, 1345, Bishop Wolstan allows the foundation of the chantry by Sir Adam de Hewington for two secular priests at the altar in the chapel, on the south side of the conventual church of Pershore; the two chaplains to reside together in Le Peters, and receive nine marks of silver yearly.² It is erroneously said to be in the parish church of the Holy Trinity, according to the last authority.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* mentions two inappropriate churches, St. Andrew's and Holy Cross; the latter was in the west half of the nave, and took its name from the holy rood-altar in the rood-loft; thus we find oblations at the holy rood, in ordinary years, 2s.; and oblations to St. Edburga, 7d.³ Similar divisions of a Benedictine minster between the convent and parishioners, were made at Wymondham, Sherborne, Dunster, and Brecon. In other cases, a parish church was built on one side of the nave as at Leominster and St. Alban's, and at a late date at the west end of Sherborne; or in a transept as at Chester. The more usual course was to erect a detached parish church.

Views of the Abbey are given by Dingley; by Styles in his history of the church; and Dr. King, *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. iv, pl. ix, xi, pp. 100, 106, and in vol. iv of the *Reports of the Associated Architectural Societies* there is a paper by Mr. Hopkins of Worcester, with a plan.

The first notice of the building mentions the entry of the monks into a new church, after a fire, in 1020: "Introitus fuit Persorensis novæ ecclesiæ post combustionem, et terræ motus subsecutus est."⁴ Oddo, builder of Deerhurst and a benefactor of Tewkesbury, again restored the church, and dying on August 31, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and Florence of Worcester, who calls him Agilwin, was buried in the Lady Chapel in 1056. He was appointed earl of the western counties in 1052. A fire inflicted some injury upon the older buildings, and in 1102 the monks re-entered the church. Abbot Turstin, who

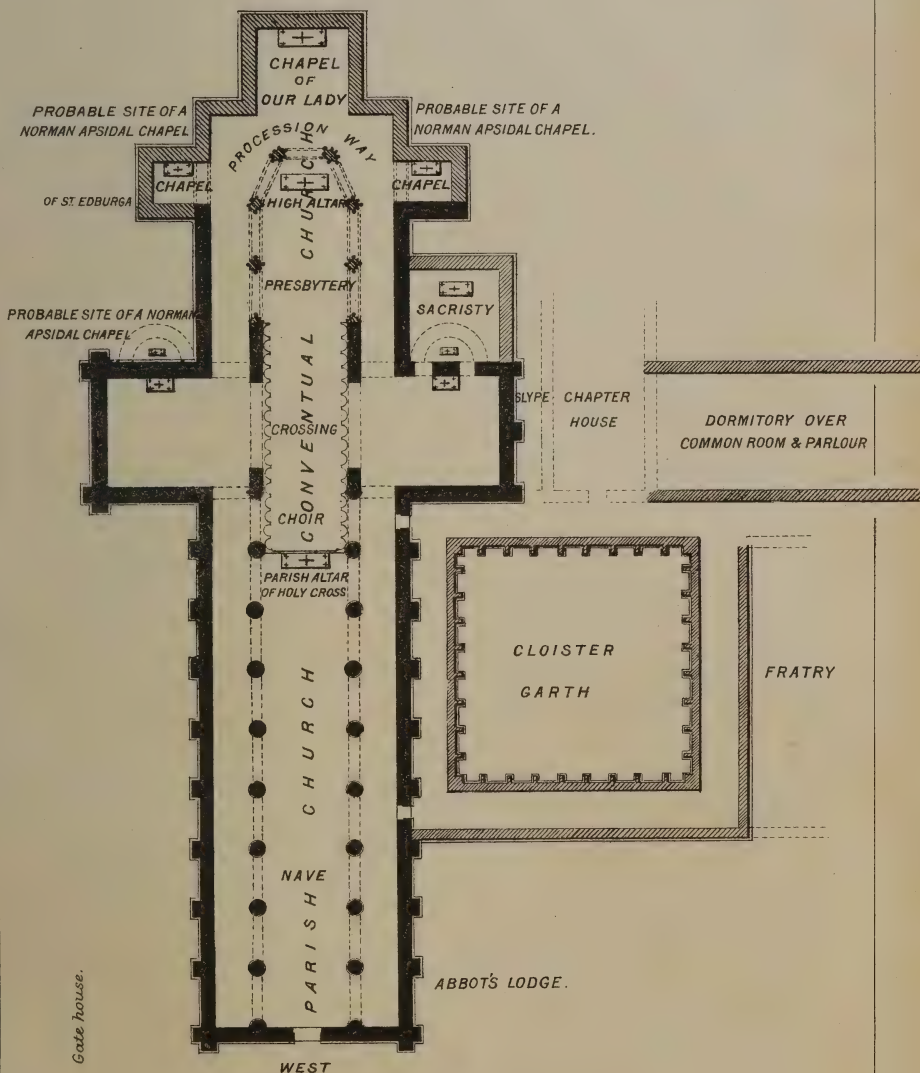
¹ Fo. 34.

² Prattinton MS., and Lansd. MS. 578, fo. 10 (21).

³ *Val. Eccles.*, iii, 261.

⁴ Leland, *Coll.*, i, 242.

PERSHORE ABBEY.





died in 1087, had been a monk of Gloucester, which was in process of construction in 1089-1100, whilst Tewkesbury was completed between 1103 and 1121, so that probably the same school of masons wrought on the great round nave-piers of the neighbouring churches. The south wing is of much earlier date, and the choir was rebuilt in the thirteenth century.

On St. Urban's Day, 1223, the eastern arm was destroyed by fire.¹ Application was made to the crown, and the King gave mandates for timber from the forests of Alweston, Fecham, and Kenefare, for the restoration of the church.² 1223, "Abbatia de Persorâ cum maximâ parte villæ, xiii Cal. Junii conflagravit."³ Again the patient monks repaired it, and in 1239 Bishop Cantelupe, of Worcester, consecrated the conventual churches of Great Malvern, Alcester, Winchcombe, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Pershore, no doubt in obedience to the Cardinal Legate's recent constitution.⁴ 1239, "Episcopus dedicavit conventuales ecclesias de Majori Malverniâ, de Winchecumbâ, de Alencestriâ, de Teokesbriâ, de Gloverniâ, et de Persorâ." Henry III in 1227, granted a fair on St. Edburga's Feast (July 7) and two days following, to be held in the Cemetery of Holy Cross, which, by the letting of the ground and shops, would necessarily bring in large sums to the building fund. Since 1830 the fair has been removed into the town, and kept in June. In 1259 the Lady Chapel was still in progress. "In Capellâ S. Mariæ Persoræ cum veteribus fundamentis deturbatis ad novum pavementum construendum terra foderetur."⁵

King Edward I visited Pershore for eight days in 1281, and again in 1294.⁶

The old enemy reappeared in 1288. An accidental fire became a fierce conflagration, and reduced the Monastery and nearly the whole town to ashes.⁷ It burst out, April 22, in the bakehouse and brewhouse, and spread to the *clochere* [bell-tower], and well nigh burned the whole church.⁸ 1288, "viii^o Cal. Maii, ignis veniens de incendio pistrini et bracini Persorensis clocherium primo invasit, et totam ferè cremavit ecclesiam et de villâ plusquàm xl. mansiones."⁹

¹ Leland, *Collect.*, i, 242.

³ *Ann. Wigorn. A. S.*, i, 486.

² *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 554.

⁴ *Ang. Sac.*, i, 491; *Ann. Worc.*, iv, 430.

⁵ Leland, *Collect.*, i, 244.

⁶ *Ann. de Wigorn.*, iv, p. 516.

⁷ *Chron. T. Wikes*, p. 116; *Ann. de Oxneiâ*, iv, 314.

⁸ *Ang. Sac.*, i, 509; iv, 495.

⁹ *Ann. Wigorn. A. S.*, i, 50.

Our last historic notice is that the church, in 1299, was reconciled, on June 25, by John Bishop of Llandaff, as the church-keeper, deceived by a woman's counsel, offered strange fire in the holy place.¹ Habingdon records a few arms of benefactors in the windows—Beauchamp, Warwick, Clare, Le Despenser, Vampage, Russell, Atwood, and Boteler. The church, when complete, probably measured 250 feet long.

The *nave* was of ten bays, 180 feet long, and about 60 in breadth. The ridge-line of the nave was depressed below the first storey of the lantern, against which the weather-moulding is delineated in distinct outline. Part of one bay of the north side of the Norman nave was standing, with apparently a large round-headed arch of the wind-storey or alure, having shafts in the jambs. Carey's view in the *Monasticon* represents the fragment of the south wall of the nave-aisle still standing, with a portion of a window. The two eastern pillars of the central arcade are circular, and high above them is seen the round head of the great Norman western arch of the tower. On either side are the round heads of two lofty arches springing from tall round shafts, which once opened into the aisle. The pitch of the transept-roof was so much raised that the weather-moulding in an ungainly manner shews off diagonally the lower portions of the windows of the lantern. The cloister-door is of the close of the thirteenth century, and of beautiful proportions, with foliated capitals on one side, and moulded on the opposite shafts.

The *transept* was 160 feet long by 40 feet broad. It resembles the earliest Norman work, with large joints, and wanting ornament and mouldings. The south wing only remains. On the exterior the front shews a peculiar arcading. Perpendicular windows have been added on the south and west sides, when two others were inserted in the south choir-aisle. The groined vault, added also in the fifteenth century, bears the rebus of Abbot Newton, 1413-56, and the arms of Boteler, as corbels and shields.²

The shallow, aisleless transept had probably an apsidal eastern chapel to each wing. On the south side the great Norman arch was filled up, and a new entrance made to a square-ended and vaulted sacristy chapel which had cano-

¹ *Ann. de Wigornia*, iv, 541; Hanning, App. 676.

² Pegge's *Sylloge*, Pl. xviii, pp. 75, 76.

pied base-arcading of great beauty. Traces of this adjunct may easily be distinguished. The sacristy was on this side at Norwich, Durham, St. Alban's, Worcester, and many churches.¹ There is an effigy of a knight (? Harwell), of the middle of the thirteenth century, with his feet once upon a hare, and grasping a horn, to shew that he held lands by cornage-tenure, or horn-geld, as Mr. Bloxam has pointed out.² It is placed on a stone coffin which was found in the Cemetery on the north side of the church. The creature has disappeared, and some authorities say that it was a wyvern, and the monument erected over the grave of a Harley. Habingdon says this monument was "in the north side of the quyre, somewhat rayised from the ground; the leggs crossed, and at his feete a hare. 'Tis a received tradition that his name was Harley, sometymes lord of a place in the parish called Hareley." Over this, on the same side, is curiously written in ancient letters, "M. C. bis bino triplex x addere Quarto—Anno Willelmus Domini Newton fuit abbas. H., a tree, VI. an., a king's head crowned, XII., W., a crosier staffe, A., an abbot's head mitred, XXII."

The Tower.—The lantern-tower, 28 feet square, and rising 36 feet above the roofs, from Norman pillars, bears a strong resemblance in its upper storey to that of Salisbury (c. 1331). It has two Decorated windows, each of two foliated lights, with a trefoil in the head, set in each face of its lower storey. The upper storey, which has an embattlement (a rare feature in Decorated work) at the junction, and a north-west stair-turret, exhibits four beautiful canopied arcades of four arches each, under a quatrefoil, and divided by pinnacled shafts in each face; the central piers being pierced for light, the rest forming panels or orbs. There are eight bells, one of 1814, the rest dated 1729.

The Choir.—The ritual choir no doubt extended into the nave westward from the stalls under the lantern, the whole eastern arm, of four bays, forming the presbytery.

The Presbytery.—The eastern arm of the minster (now 102 feet in length) and of four bays pure Early English, bore some resemblance to Tewkesbury and Gloucester, as it terminated in a triquetral apse, but the lateral and square-ended chapels are not radiating but form a kind of choir transept, thus humbly following Worcester and Rochester.

¹ See my *Dictionary of Sacred Archæology*.

² *Journ. Arch. Inst.*, xx, p. 158.

The aisles have pointed windows as in the clerestory, with flying buttresses, three courses of sets-off, and rounded pinnacles. In two bays upon the south side perpendicular windows were inserted to compensate for the obstruction to the light caused by the erection of the sacristy. The clerestory has a battlement over a Pointed stringcourse and crocketed pinnacles. The clustered pillars with a round abacus, in the choir and presbytery of moulded pier-arches, are nearly the same as those in Worcester Cathedral, and clearly the work of the same school of masons. The pillars have detached shafts of black slate, four inches in diameter, and in lengths of five or six feet, fixed to the pier by iron cramps. They show a round abacus and clustered shafts. The triforium, a mere alure, is merged into the clerestory, which shows broad single lancets on the exterior, but an internal range of lofty triplets within. The vaulting has large bosses of delicate foliage—the vine, the palm, and the willow—and is of the Decorated period. The vaulting shafts spring from corbels high above the pillars set in the centre of the spandrels.

The north-east chapel is of the time of Henry III or King John; with drain and aumbry. The corresponding chapel on the south-east is of the date of Edward I.

In St. Edburga's chapel on the north side, in Dingley's time, was the effigy of an abbot, since removed to the east end of the south aisle. These arms are near it: between three cups a ram tripping, with these initials, R. S. (Robert Stanway); over a door on the south side were 1, a plain cross; 2, a chief indented.¹ Dr. Prattinton calls the cups Chessrooks. The canopied effigy rests the head upon a mitre in token of retirement from the office of abbot; it is laid on a quatrefoiled taul. Near it is a slab stripped of its brass. The arms really appertain to a fifteenth century monument, which has been made to do duty as a doorway. They are sometimes described as a hare between three cups, and in the spandril there is certainly an eagle preying on a hare. The effigy is probably that of Stanway's predecessor, who resigned in 1479, hence the former conjunction in place. Habington says, "In a chappell on the north side of the quire, now changed into a schoolehouse, is in the highest pane of the west window, *Gu.*—thré cupps

¹ Comp. Lans. MS. (c. 1660), 919, fo. 53.

covered, or, supported with an angel, Boteler. Under an ancient arch lyeth a religious man pourtrayed in his habit, with a large tonsure and a myter under his head."

Over the tomb is some panelling and tabernacle work, which Dingley says was "seen on the north side of the high altar; it formerly belonged to the stalls. The woodwork consists of four panels with canopies and foliage, with w. n. and a pastoral staff between the letters; a mitre between a° xx°, and a sceptre with H. vi^a a° xii°." It is of the Perpendicular period like the old chest, the curious reredos in the Norman arch of the transept, and four complete stalls with their misericords still standing.

The arch opening into the *Lady Chapel* had shafts of blue limestone. The presbytery aisles were extended like a vestibule into square ended chapels on either side (as at Chichester and Chester) beyond the great apse. They are delicate Early English work, a few portions of the Transitional period remain. It is probable that the later choir was erected upon the old foundations, as the apse is not only rare in the Early English style but here is not accurately set out.

There was a *Chapel of St. John Baptist*, with an endowed chantry for singing the "Johnys Masse", and mention is made of *St. Michael's Chapel*.

The Precinct.—Of the conventual buildings no record has been preserved, and the only notice of them occurs in the following extracts:—In 1269 the whole monastery is said to have suffered great damage by storms of wind; and in 1327 was said to be impoverished by grants of corrodies and its situation upon the high road; the church and bell tower and greater part of the monastery had been destroyed by fire, the nave was in ruins, the refectory, dormitory, infirmary, and hostellary, were in a dangerous state, and the convent was burdened with debt.¹

The approach to the Abbey church was called the Lichway or Path of the Dead. The name of Lichtun or Litten for a cemetery long survived at Chichester and elsewhere; and appears at Lichfield. The cemetery or Church Gate was on the north-west side. All the neighbouring parishes within eight miles laid their dead within this yard. A chapel of St. Andrew stood in the cemetery of the monks, which

¹ Prattinton MS.

was not the same as the parish church now standing eastward of the minster. The cloister garth was on the south side of the church. A vineyard, as at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and many other abbeys, is known to have existed here.

St. Andrew's Church, in the patronage of Malvern Abbey, was rebuilt and dedicated by the Bishop of Worcester in 1147.¹ It had been erected by Edward the Confessor to accommodate the tenants of the Abbey of Westminster. In 1241 the church was appropriated to the Abbey of Pershore, and so the convent was relieved from the "oppression of the Abbot of Westminster and Guy Beauchamp",² who was included by name in the chantry of Adam de Hervinton. This grant was confirmed in 1327, and the curate and parishioners of Holy Cross on every Rogation Day made their processions duly through it to shew its subordination. The other inappropriate churches were—Mathon; St. Peter, Worcester, given in 1327; Hawkesbury; Aldermaston, given by Bishop Henry of Worcester, confirmed 1269; and Bradwey, confirmed in 1384 by the Prior of Worcester.

The arms of the Abbey were, 1, a cross raguly; 2, *sable*, on a chevron between three ant-hills *or* (each having on it four ants proper), three holly-leaves *azure*.

The abbots sat on the right hand of the Bishop of Worcester in synod.

LIST OF ABBOTS.

984. Ealdbright, or Folbert, of whom Eadmer tells a wonderful tale, how that he rose up from his bier, and declared the merits of St. Oswald and the glory of Benedict in the unseen world.³ He died Aug. 2, 988.

1032. Briethege, Bishop of Worcester, 1034. Died Dec. 18, 1038.⁴

1044. Alfrie.

—— Roger, died 1074.

—— Edmund, died June 23, 1085. He attended the Council of London in 1082.⁵

—— Tunstin, monk of Gloucester, died 1087.⁶

1087. Guido, deposed in the Council of Westminster in

¹ Madox, *Formulare*, p. 293.

² Leland, *Coll.*, i, 242.

³ Leland, *Coll.*, i, 240; *Angl. Sacra*, ii, 201; *Ann. Wigorn.*, iv, 369.

⁴ Hoveden, i, 89; *Dec. Script.*, 78, 180, 469.

⁵ Hoveden, i, 139; *Dec. Script.*, 212.

⁶ *Dec. Script.*, 213; Hoveden, i, 139.

1102, probably as an alien ("*francigena*").¹ He died in 1137.²

1138. William.³

1140. Thomas, died 1161.

1162. Reginald, died 1174,⁴ as in the *Annals of Worcester*, iv, 383.

1170. Roger.

1175. Simon de Ambresley, died at Bermondsey, May 12th, 1198.⁵

1198. Anselm, monk of Reading, died 1203.⁶

1203 (?). Simon, confirmed on All Saints Day at Worcester.

1204, Nov. 1, Gervase or Gilbert received benediction at Worcester. Died 1234, on Easter Day.⁷

1234. Roger de Radeby or Rudeley, received benediction at Worcester. Died 1251.⁸

1249, March 19, Eler, monk of Fécamp, Prior of Cogges. Resigned Oct. 24, 1262. He was well received in Wales by Prince Llewelyn, in 1255, upon collecting money for a crusade.⁹

1263, Nov. 12, Henry de Bideford or Bedford.

In 1265 William de Whitechurch, monk of Pershore and Abbot of Alencestre, became Abbot of Evesham.

1274, Dec. 3, Henry de Caldewell, sacrist, died at Lege Manor, March 6, 1289.

1289, March 12, William de Leghe, cellarer, received benediction at Urthenden.¹⁰ He was summoned to Parliament in 1295 and 1299. The King was a guest in 1294.

1304, June 5, William de Kervington. Resigned in 1340.

1340, Nov. 21, Thomas de Pyrton, cellarer, died July 3, 1358. Edward III borrowed one hundred marks for his French wars in 1346.¹¹ He died July 3, 1358.¹²

1349, Aug. 30, Peter de Pendock. Resigned Aug. 8, 1363.

1363, Sept. 23, Peter de Bradwey.

¹ Hoveden, i, 169.

² *Ann. de Theok.*, i, 46; *Dec. Script.*, 228, 1660.

³ *Ann. de Theok.*, i, 46.

⁴ *Dec. Script.*, 553; *Ann. de Theok.*, i, 51.

⁵ Lansd. MS. 963, fo. 90; *Ann. de Theok.*, i, 51, 56; *Ann. de Wintonia*, ii, 67.

⁶ *Ann. de Wigornia*, iv, 389, 392.

⁷ *Ann. de Theok.*, i, 57, 93; *Ann. de Wigornia*, iv, 392, 409, 425.; Lansd. MS., 963, fo. 90.

⁸ *Ann. de Wigorn.*, iv, 425; Lansd. MS., 693, fo. 90.

⁹ Lansd. MS. 963, fo. 90; *Ann. de Wig.*, iv, 440; *Ann. de Theok.*, i, 156.

¹⁰ *Ann. de Wigorn.*, iv, 500.

¹¹ Ro. Claus., 20 E. III, p. i, cl, 22a.

¹² Prattinton MS.

13... Nicholas, rector of Bellbroughton, March 28, 1411; Besley, Dec. 18, 1396; Suffragan of Worcester, 1392-1411, being Bishop also of Dunkeld; Chancellor of Hereford diocese, 1404. He consecrated three bells at New College, Oxford, on Oct. 19, 1400. He was succeeded at Dunkeld by John in 1421.¹

1379, Nov. 17, Thomas Upton. The churches of Edlington, Broadway, and St. Peter's, Worcester, were appropriated to the Abbey.

1413, June 3, William de Neunton or Nevington. Died Feb. 14, 1450.

In 1427 John Lockyer, for defamation of the Abbot of Pershore, was condemned to be whipped three times round Worcester Market on market-day, and as many times round the parish church of Pershore on Sundays, having only his shirt and breeches on, and having a wax taper of six pounds weight, which he was to offer after the reading of the Gospel, and beg the Abbot to scourge him as a penitent.

1456, April 22, Edward Hert; resigned April 15, 1479; buried in the Abbey.

1479, April 26, Robert Stanway; buried in the Abbey.

1497, Aug. 27, John Pypleton; died 1504.

1504, March 25, William Compton, monk of Tewkesbury; confirmed by Ralph Halesdon, vicar of Cropthorn and Bishop of Ascalon, at the high altar. Mathon Church was appropriated in 1512. His rebus was, *or*, a tun, on a chief *sable* the letter W., and a comb of the first. Prattinton says these were in a hall built by him at Kadegrift.

1527, Oct. 16, John Stonewell, D.D., Suffragan and titular "Poletensis"; Prior of Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Buried at St. James' Longdon, July 1553. Arms, *sable*, between three wells, on a chevron *or*, three leaves proper; on a chief of the second a crown *gules* between two parrots.

On August 20, 1534, the subscription to the King's supremacy was signed by John Poletensis, Abbot; John Fladbury, Prior; Robert Cheltenham, Subprior; Richard Langley, Firmarer; John Bradney, Sacrist; James Brereton; Richard Mathon, Chanter; Gilbert Burton, Kitchener; Thos. Pepulton; John Compton, Almoner; Will. Worceter, Subsacrist; Thos. Pershore, third Prior; John Ledbury, Keeper of the Chapel; John Candycroft; Richard

¹ Ro. Scot., i, 933; ii, 347; my *Scoti-Monasticon*, 213.

Alcester, Sacellan ; Thomas Upton ; William Hauksbury, Succentor ; Andrew Streynsham, George Evysham, Thomas Walcott, Richard Beerley. The seal shews St. Eadburga holding a chalice and a book, and veiled.¹

The Abbot received a pension of £160 a year, and “omnia illa domos et edificia vocata Le Gallery et Le New Lodgings, unum gardinum et duo pomaria una cum stagnis”; and pensions were granted to one monk, £13 : 6 : 8 ; to another, £10 ; to a third, £9 ; to a fourth, £8 ; to a fifth, £7 ; to four others, £6 : 13 : 4 ; and to five more, £6.² Twenty-eight were in receipt of annuities and pensions in 1553, at an annual cost of £122 : 6 : 8.

The King granted to William and Francis Sheldon “totum scitum nuper monasterii de Pershore, ac etiam omnia, domos, edificia, structuræ, lez Galoreys, Newe Lodgings, cameras, orrea, stabula, columbaria, ortos, pomaria, gardina, stagna, vinaria, aquas, piscarias et piscationes”, and also “Persnore Feyre”.³ The grant cost £480 : 5 : 3. The pools may be compared with those of Evesham and Malvern. The Abbey maintained a hostel at Oxford, and I shall have to make some observations on the subject in a subsequent paper on Winchcombe Abbey.

The Church has been restored by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, R.A., and it is to be hoped that some day excavations will be undertaken to lay bare the ground-plot of the conventual buildings. Every monastic site is part of the unwritten history of England.

As a curious supplement to this paper I may add a few new particulars with regard to the treatment of the conventual sites by Henry VIII, in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentation, now in the Public Record Office, as they illustrate papers on Croxden, Newstead, and other abbeys in this *Journal*.

“*Fines or Compositions for the Toleration and Continuance of some of the Monasteries*” (c. 38 Hen. VIII ?).

Co. Lincoln. Kymbe, £200 ; Austin canons. Styxhold, £21 : 13 : 4 ; Gilbertine.

Co. Stafford. St. Thomas beside Stafford, £133 : 6 : 8 ; Austin canons. Croxden, £100 ; Cistercian. Roocetter, £100 ; Austin canons. Hylton, £66 : 13 : 4 ; Cistercian.

¹ Prattinton MS., vol. xxvii.

² Prattinton MS.

³ Orig. Ro., 36 Hen. VII, n. 103, Sept. 8.

- Co. Suffolk. Brusyard, £60. See next section.
 Co. Warwick. St. Anne's, Coventry, £20. Polesworth, £50; Benedictine nuns.
 Co. Derby. Dale, £166 : 13 : 4; Premonstrat. canons. Repyngton, £266 : 13 : 4; Austin canons.
 Co. Hereford. Wormesley, £200; Austin canons. Lymbroke, £53 : 6 : 8; Benedictine.
 Co. Chester. St. Mary, £160; Benedictine.
 Co. Northants. St. James, Northampton, £333 : 6 : 8; Austin canons. Delapré, £266 : 13 : 4; Benedictine nuns.
 Co. Leicester. Wollescroft, £166 : 13 : 4; Austin canons.
 Co. Notts. Newstead, £233 : 6 : 8; Austin canons. Bewald, £166 : 13 : 4; Carthusian (Bella Valle). Wallyngwell, £66 : 13 : 4; Benedictine nuns.
 Co. Hunts. Huntingdon, £133 : 6 : 8; Austin canons.
 Co. Bucks. Bytlesden, £133 : 6 : 8; Cistercian.
 Co. Westmoreland. Shape, £266 : 13 : 4; Prem. canons.
 Co. Devon. Powslowe, £400; Benedictine. Canonsleghe, £200; Benedictine nuns.
 Co. York. Charterhouse, Hull, £233 : 6 : 8.
 Co. Hants. St. Mary's, Winton, £333 : 6 : 8; Benedictine nuns.
 Co. Dorset. Byndon, £300; Cistercian.
 Co. Wilts. Laycock, £300; Benedictine nuns.
 Co. Northumberland. Anwyke, £200; Prem. canons.
 Wales. Whiteland, £400; Cist. Nethe, £150; Cist. Stratflere, £66 : 13 : 4.

PURCHASERS.

- Co. Rutland. Broke, Austin canons; Anthony Cope, £845 : 10.
 Co. Wilts. Stanley, Cist.; Sir Edward Baynton, £1,200.
 Co. Norfolk. Pentney, Austin canons; Thomas Mildmay, £327; and part of its manors, called Graces, Sir John Styleman, one of the justices, £229 : 15. Carhay, Benedictine nuns; Sir John Shelton, £668 : 2 : 1.
 Co. Northampton. Catesby, Cist.; John Arley, £400. In exchange for half of the manor of Ricard's Castell, co. Hereford.
 Co. Suffolk. Bedlingfield, Bened.; Sir Edw. Bedyngfeld, £561 : 19. Bursiard, Minoreesses of St. Clare; Nicholas Hare, £266 : 13 : 4.
 Co. Northampton. Canons Ashby; Sir Francis Baynton, £790 : 3 : 4.
 Co. Essex. Panfield, Bened.; Sir John Capel, £192. Hatfield Pevyrrell, Bened.; Giles Leegh, £360. Tobye, Aust. can.; William Berners, £240.
 Co. Huntingdon. Sawtre, Cist.; Rich. Crunwell, £1,700.
 Co. Lincoln. Sempringham and Haverholme, Gilbertines; Edward Lord Clinton, £2,916 : 17 : 1. Newborough, Prem.; Sir John Markham, £615 : 10. Staynfeld, Ben.; Sir Robert Turwell, £737 : 6 : 8. Newstead, Austin canons; Richard Manders (who bought also Gokwell), £400.
 Co. York. Nonmonkton, Bened.; Lord Latymer, £1,687 : 16 : 8. Drax, Aust. can.; Marmaduke Constable, £200.
 Co. Leic. Bradley, Aust. can.; Thomas Newell of Holt in the Mount,

- £372 : 5. Gracedieu, Cist. nuns; Humphrey Foster, £50.
 Ulston, Aust. can.; John Harrington of Exton, £1,553 : 8 : 9.
 Co. Hertford. Wymondley, Aust. can.; Thos. Nedeham, £350. Sop-
 well, nuns; Rich. Lee, £88 : 3 : 4.
 Somerset. Worspring, Aust. can.; Sir John Sentlowe, £423.
 Hants. S. Denys, Aust. can.; Francis Dawtre, £584. Southwick,
 Aust. can.; John White, £251 : 13 : 4.
 Notts. Felley, Aust. can.; Will. Boolles, £236 : 10. Thurgarton, Aust.
 can.; Will. Cooper, £510 : 6 : 8.
 Cumberland. Calder, Cist.; Dr. Thos. Legh, £243 : 5.
 Co. Derby. Beauchief, Prem.; Sir Nich. Styrlay, £223.
 Co. Stafford. Ronton, Aust. can.; John Wyseman, £435 : 11 : 8.
 Co. Cambridge. Anglesey, Aust. can.; William Hynde, Serg. at Law,
 £649 : 13 : 4.
 Sussex. Robertsbridge, Cist.; Sir William Sydney, £220.
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GLEANINGS FROM CHURCH RECORDS OF BRISTOL.

BY JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE BRISTOL
MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

IN a note to a striking passage in *The Excursion*, Wordsworth takes occasion to allude to the finely expressed sentiments to be found in some of the ancient foundation charters of abbeys. One of these he quotes: "Considering every day the uncertainty of life, that the roses and flowers of kings, emperors, dukes, and the crowns and palms of all the mighty, wither and decay, and that all things with an uninterrupted course tend to dissolution and death, I therefore", etc. This touching exordium the poet reproduces in the lines we have hinted at—

"So fails, so languishes, grows dim, and dies,
All that this world is proud of. From their spheres
The stars of human glory are cast down :
Perish the roses and the flowers of kings,
Princes, and emperors, and the crowns and palms
Of all the mighty withered and consumed."

In the troubled reign of King Stephen no "star of human glory" shone more conspicuously in the realm than Robert Earl of Gloucester, the son of the preceding King. He was the most powerful baron of his age, the second man in England, and the first subject; if subject he could be called, for he defied, defeated, and subjected the King himself, and confined him in chains in his massive stronghold at Bristol. Somewhere about Castle Street in that city is a spot of ground where this famous warrior ceased to live. It is said that he died without confession or absolution, and somewhere on the site of the chancel of St. James' Church is a spot where his body was interred. That he was buried in St. James' Priory we have not only the testimony of all historians of the time, but there exists an original document of the twelfth century wherein Earl William, his son, expressly states his father to be buried there, and with filial affection makes many benefactions on behalf of his spiritual welfare. The existing nave of the church is precisely that through which the funeral procession of this feudal chieftain swept,

and we cannot but picture to ourselves the black-robed prior and brethren conducting the hallowed rites with dirges, psalms, and knells, uplifted crucifixes, flaming torches, and waving censers.

About twelvemonths since, a workman digging within the precincts of the former chancel, and upon or near the spot answering to that of the interment of Robert Earl of Gloucester, came upon what he interpreted to be the skeleton of a monk. Viewing these mortal remains in the light of so much money, or rather as so much drink, he converted them first into one, and then into the other, and in the latter form swallowed whole the so-called ancient monk; but who, indeed, was possibly the illustrious Gloucester himself. A finger-ring was found at the same time, which I believe is still in existence.

Several original deeds of William Earl of Gloucester, son of the great Robert, are preserved, in which he confirms to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, or to St. James' Priory, Bristol (a cell to that house), numerous benefactions in lands, etc., the original donation, for the most part, of his father. One of these documents (a model of legal brevity, being comprised in less than five short lines of writing) assigns to the monks of Tewkesbury the tithes of his town of Bristol and of his fair at the Feast of St. Michael, to be paid to them yearly without hindrance or delay. This deed is attested by Hawisa, his Countess, and others.¹

Parenthetically we may remark that the spot at the bottom of Bath Street, known as the "Counterslip", was originally called "Countess' Bridge", and was so named from this point on the bank of the Avon being connected with the Castle on the opposite bank by a bridge or ferry, probably of the Countess Hawisa's provision. That the word is a corruption of Countess' slip or ferry is certain, for by a deed dated 1307, Roger le Proute of Bristol grants to Gilbert Pokerel land in the parish of Temple, at Countess' Bridge, adjoining the river Avon.² The word "Back", as found in the Welsh Back and St. James' Back, is also explained by a deed of the year 1403, when John Everton grants to John Lyons three shops in the suburb of Bristol, upon the back of the water of the Frome, on the corner of the street called Brode-mede, between the tenements of William Wormester and John Palmer.

¹ MS., Bristol Museum and Library.

² Ibid.

It is pleasant, in these hard, matter-of-fact, and money-making days, when all our actions and ideas are so clarified from the dross of sentiment and romance, and are only valuable in proportion to their susceptibility of being alchemised into gold, to look back into a time when the worth of a thing was not always, in practice, what it might bring in the market. We have lately witnessed, indeed, a splendid act of munificence at Bristol, in the free and unconditional gift of a mansion-house to the Mayor and Corporation without even the nominal tribute such as was exacted in mediæval times, of a garland of roses or a pair of white gloves. But this is an exceptional act of generosity. It is, therefore, curious to see the frequency with which houses and lands were in olden days granted away without any material advantage being reaped, but for the love of God or man only, though sometimes for some inconsiderable donation or service. For instance, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, one Apelina grants to Walter, the porter of the Priory of St. James, a certain piece of land between Redland and Fresh Mead for the yearly tribute from the receiver of a pair of gloves or a penny. Whether gloves in those days had a special value we hardly know, but there is a document signed by John de Lidyard, Mayor, A.D. 1270, in which Thomas le Blount grants to John, the cook of the Prior of St. James, a pair of gloves, which he receives annually from John Wellis, for a piece of land adjacent to St. James' churchyard. That a parchment indenture, attested by the first dignitaries of the town, should be required to confirm the yearly donation of a pair of gloves, seems to us out of proportion. A not much more serious matter to be committed to a vellum indenture was one of about the year 1270, concerning a dispute between the Abbot and Convent of Tewkesbury and the Prior and monks of St. James on the one part, William Adrian, burgess of Bristol, on the other, in reference to the payment of six gallons of ale which the Prior of St. James, Bristol, had been accustomed to receive for a certain tenement in the parish of St. Peter's. At length, at the petition of some honest men of Bristol, the dignified question was debated in the presence of the Lord Abbot of Tewkesbury, the conclusion being that William Adrian should engage for himself, his heirs, and his tenants of the house in controversy, to pay faithfully and

without guile to the Prior of St. James six gallons of ale, to be received from any public tavern whatever.¹

We lately visited Keynsham, and were not a little charmed with the exquisite though fragmentary remains of what these architectural relics declare to have been, when standing in completeness, a fair and stately Abbey. Its history is almost as fragmentary as its material structure. Upon its dissolution the abbot and fifteen monks deserted allegiance to the Pope, and subscribed to the King's supremacy. Keynsham, with its Abbey and rectory, became part of the jointure of Katharine Parr. Just before the confiscation of the house, John, Abbot of the Monastery of the Blessed Mary and the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of Keynsham, as he is styled, and the Convent of the same place, dated, under the conventual seal of the Monastery, 1st Sept., thirtieth year of Henry VIII, demised the granges of Westover and Estover, etc., with the rectory of Keynsham, the tithes of Charlton, Whitchurch, and Bridlington, to John Panter, Gent., for the term of eighty years, for £36 yearly return. Furthermore it was agreed that John Panter and his assigns shall have and receive twelve conventual loaves and twenty flagons of conventual ale every week, in as ample manner and form as Robert Sterege and Arthur Player before had, or 12*d.* in money every week during the said term; and that the same John Panter and his assigns shall have power to shred, cut, and carry away, the boughs and underwoods, etc. The site of the Monastery was afterwards demised to John Panter for a term of years at £1:6:8. Rentals in roses are of frequent occurrence. We have elsewhere mentioned instances in reference to houses in Wine Street. One example will be sufficient. Thus in 1350 Adam le Tonsure sells to Walter de la Pole his croft in Redland with the repayment to himself of a rose in the time of roses, and 6*d.* to the Priory of St. James. Or tenures are by payment of wax, or in the spice named "cummin". For instance, in 1267 Robert de Kerdiff grants to William Selke, rector of All Saints, Bristol, a rental of 2*s.* reserved out of a tenement in Scadepul Street in the parish of St. Stephen, Robert himself to receive half a pound of cummin in return. This 2*s.* rental was applied by William Selke for finding a lamp to burn all night in his church of All Saints. Simi-

¹ MS., Bristol Museum and Library.

larly in 1356 there is a deed of concession from Simon, the rector of St. Audoen, and others of the parish, to Walter Frampton, to make an arch, etc., between the church and the Tolsey, he rendering yearly a pound of wax to burn before the image of the Blessed Virgin at her altar in the same church for ever.

In the matter of curious or jocular tenures, as they are sometimes called, we may mention one as late as A.D. 1551, when Henry Braine, lord of St. James (he bought the Priory buildings at the dissolution), and his son, grant to William Edon and his wife Jane and daughter Mary, as long as they lived, a messuage with a garden surrounded by a wall, on the summit of Brandon Hill ("in summo vertice montis vulgariter nuncupatum Brandon Hill"), for the annual rental, to Braine and his heirs, of a chick at Michaelmas.

While touching upon this so-called lord of St. James ("dominus de Sanct. James"), we may advert to another deed in relation to him, which indicates either a regular or an exceptional custom at his period, that of paying debts at the church font. In 1560 Robert Brayne, being bondsman to Matthew Smythe in the sum of £200, it is expressed by the deed in question that if he shall pay £100 at the font of Temple Church, London, between two and four in the afternoon of All Saints' Day, 1564, he shall be discharged from further claim.¹

While speaking of money, "the root and crown of things", we may mention that a curious evidence of the function of the Jews as money-lenders is the frequent mediæval use of the word "Judaism" as synonymous with mortgage. Thus, in 1220 one Agnes, daughter of Aylward Young, grants land and house in the corner of St. James' churchyard to her daughter Margery, for which William Fitz-Nichols gave 20s., and acquitted his land of "Judaism", that is, redeemed the mortgage.

We have, under the date 1245, one of those not unfrequent instances, in the middle ages, of the gift to the Priory and monks of St. James, by Idonea Ganseil, of a villein or bondsman, John Fitz-Ailwin, with all his family and what belonged to him,² together with seven acres of marsh-land, on some spot of which he resided, and therefore was given away with it. According to Coke, so absolutely did these

¹ MS, Bristol Museum and Library.

² Ibid.

English slaves or serfs belong to their owner that a "villein could have no appeal of robbery against his lord, for that he may lawfully take the goods of the villein as his own."

As is well known, at least locally, the Mayor and Corporation yearly, on Whitsunday, attend Redcliff Church in ceremonial state. This custom dates back to 1494, when William Mede, who had been three times Mayor of Bristol, gave a tenement, the rent of which was to pay for an annual Pentecostal sermon, and for strewing the church with flowers and rushes. It was, and is, a sort of "flower sermon". In searching into the records of St. James' Priory, we find that it was likewise the practice for the civic dignitaries there to go once a year, in full pomp of office, to celebrate the yearly "mind" or commemoration of John Spycer; the father, perhaps, of Richard Spycer, who in the middle of the fifteenth century lived on the Welsh Back, where the beautifully carved portal of his residence may yet be seen. The Mayor and his friends, it appears, did not disdain to receive payment, or, in more splendid language, pecuniary compensation, for their pious attentions. The details of the expenses of one of these obits are curious and characteristic :

"A.D. 1486.—First paide to the Priour of St. Jamys *xiid.*
 Item to iii of his brethryn prests *xiid.*
 Item to vii secular priests *iis. ivd.*
 Item to the parish clerke for rynging at dirige and masse, *iid.*
 Item to the bedeman of the towne *iiid.*
 Item to the maire of Bristowe *vs.*
 Item to the shriffe of the same towne *iis.*
 Item to the ij bailyes of the said towne *iis. viiid.*
 Item to the towne clerke *xvid.*
 Item to the sword bearer *vid.*
 Item to the mayor's sargeants *iid.*
 Item in *iiii lbs.* wax made in *iiii* tapers for the *ii* heres *xxiid.* Of the which tapers the priour to choose and have *ii* of them & the procurators the other *ii* tapers yearly.
 Item in bread to the dole for the pore pepill *xis. viiid.* ob.
 Item in offerynge of the masse of requiem *id.*
 Item to the parish preste to have them in the bede role by the year *iiid."*

It may be observed that *11s. 8d.*, the largest in amount of these items, for dole to the poor, is a very creditable apportionment of the expenses.

While speaking of St. James' Church it may be of some interest to adduce a copy of an original deed for the construction of a reredos to the high altar, after the manner of

one at St. Stephen's Church. The cost was to be £105, with £5 additional as a gratuity if the work were satisfactorily accomplished within five years. A carpenter's wages at the time were not more than 7*d.* a day, so that the price agreed to be paid would represent not less than £700 in present value of money.

"This indenture made the xxvj day of the moneth of february in the yere of the Regne of kynge harry the vijth after the conquest of Englund the xiiijth betwene Robert Rickard and Richard Bird Baker procurators of the parysshe church of Seynt James in Bristowe John Swayne Thomas Keynes Thomas Prout and Willm Nele by the consent & assent of alle the hole parysshon's of that one party And Richard Rydge of in the Countie of Stafford And Roger Rydge son the seyde Richard of the seyde Towne and Couunte kervers of that other p'ty wytnesseth that the seyde Richard Rydge and Roger shalle sufficiently make or do to be made to the seyde Church of Seynt James A Reredose at the hygh auter there after the forme and effecte of a reredose beyng at the church of Seynt Stephyns of Bristowe at the high auter there in all maner werkmanshippe to be as good or better. And to aryse in height w^t iij stoyes of pryncypall ymages And secundaryes to fulfill after the height. And in brede from walle to walle And in height upwards to the wallplates of the seyde church of seynt James. And from the reredose to the formost part of the Rode lofte to be sett w^t pryncypall Bemes as nede ys. w^t a flatt Roofe clene sylde and to be broght on paynes after the wydnes. And every payne crossede w^t rechements. And at every crosse a knotte clene wrought. And from the syloure downe to the fote of the crucifix to be clene fylede withouten knotes. And the seyde Richard Rydge And Roger shalle fynde al maner stuff to the seyde werke perteynyng except yryn werke. And the seyde Richard and Roger to bryng or cary the seyde werke and sett hit upp at the forseide church of seynt James by Ester come v yeres next comynge after the date of this present wryttinge upon their owne proper costes and charge And the sayde Robte Rickard and Richard Bird And their successours procuratours shalle pay or do to be payde to the sayde Rychard Rydge and Roger for the seyde werke so sufficiently done v score li. and v li. of lafull money of England and other v li. in Reward yf the seyde Rychard and Roger deserve hit And to be payde under this forme. That ys to say xx li. at seallyng of this present indentures xx li. at Crystmas then next comyng And at that Crystmas xij monthes (after) xx l. And when the seyde werke ys brought to Bristowe xx li. And when the seyde werke ys alle fynysshede And clene sett upp xxv li. And v li. to their rewarde yf they deserve hit And do their werke treuly after their covenant."

For further account of these church records, the reader is referred to a paper on "Original Documents relating to Bristol and the Neighbourhood", by W. de G. Birch, in the *Journal*, vol. xxxi, for 1875, pp. 289-305.

NOTES ON MONUMENTAL SLABS, LUDLOW CHURCH, SALOP.

BY JAMES T. IRVINE, ESQ.

WHEN the Association, in the autumn of 1867, visited the town of Ludlow, from the abundance of interesting objects no time was left for more than a very slight examination of the smaller items in the fine parish church of St. Lawrence. Few, therefore, probably saw the collection of fragments of monumental slabs brought to light during the restoration of the building, and now preserved in the floor of the south aisle of choir. Some slight record of them, for preservation in the pages of our *Journal*, may serve to extend the general knowledge of the building then obtained, several of the fragments being of interest.

The first, probably of Norman date, found in the floor of the south porch, consisted of about two-thirds in length of a sharply coped slab which had covered the remains of an abbot or prior, the lower portion of the pastoral staff remaining along the ridge.

2nd. A curious fragment of a head-stone of late Norman date, found used as a wall-stone in the west wall of the churchyard. The top had been rounded, and the surface been sunk out so as to leave a flat strip round the edge. In the centre had been left a cross very much resembling a consecration one, the ends terminating like the blade of an axe. This was surrounded by a circular band of ornament, forming a sort of flat saw-teeth moulding not unusual at this date. Head-stones of so early a date are rare.

3rd. A fragment of a slab of the local blue stone with portions of an incised figure of a person (?). But nothing remained to fix date or subject in a satisfactory manner.

4th. A fragment from the centre part of an exceedingly rich and very beautiful Early English slab closely resembling in design that found at Hereford Castle, under the foundation of the stairs to the library ; and also the example from Mansel Gamage churchyard, engraved in the *Journal* of the

Royal Archæological Institute, from an excellent drawing by our member, Mr. T. Blashill. It is worthy of note that others less rich remain in a district extending from Hereford thus far north, and all more or less agreeing in the want of inscriptions, and in the design and treatment of the ornament, being obtained from wrought ironwork, the designer most likely being a blacksmith as well as mason. In the Ludlow fragment a flat step of iron seems to be placed along the margin, from which a brattishing of leaves spreads inwards towards a central *pillar* of open scroll-metalwork, the angle-standards of which throw off scroll branches, between each of which is placed a leaf similar to those at the edge of the slab. Unfortunately neither the part containing the cross at top, nor the ornamental base, was recovered.

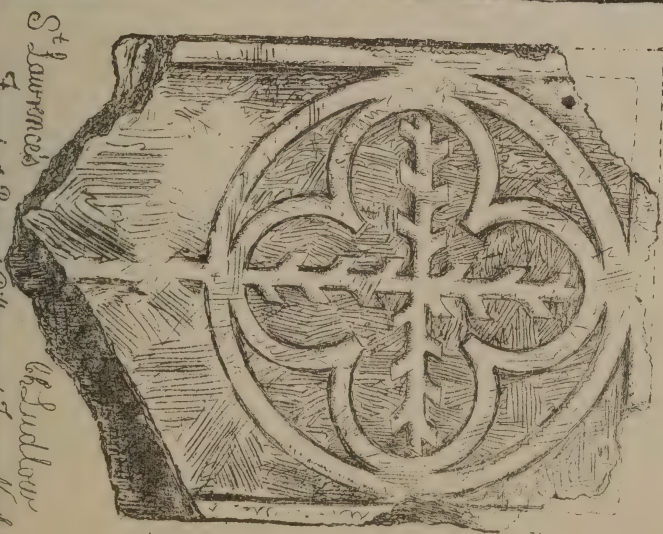
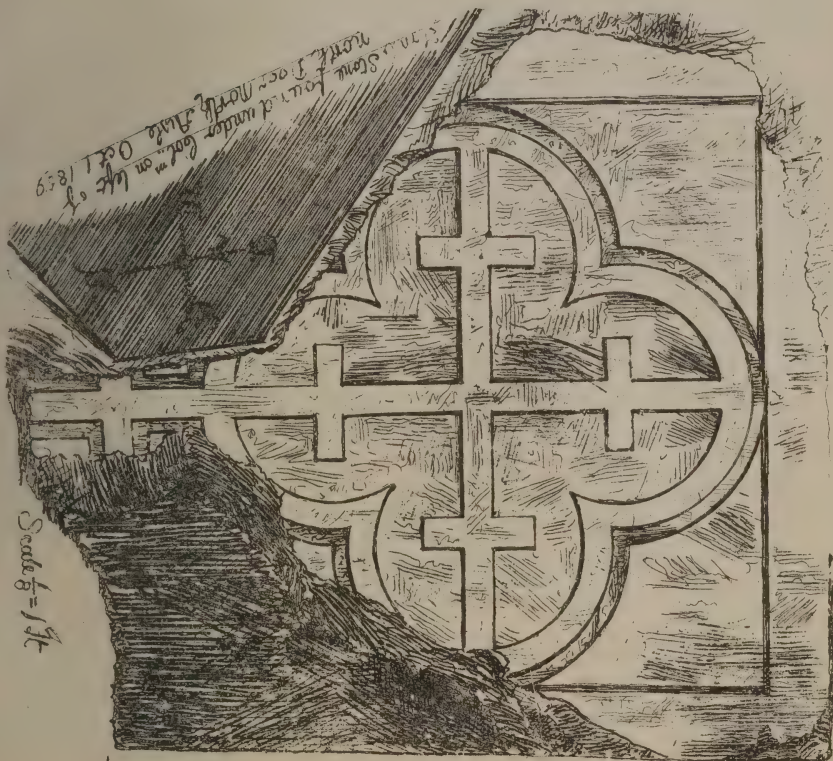
Another Early English slab of good design, and similar to one at the Saxon church of Stanton Lacey, had been used as a foundation-stone under the middle buttress of the south choir-aisle, where it still remains.

5th. The top part of a slab having the face sunk so as to present in relief a quatrefoil containing a Templar cross. (See figure on left of Plate.) Crosses formed of linen, of a similar shape, were found on the top of the wooden coffin of Johanna de Bohun, when exposed in the Lady Chapel, Hereford Castle. She died 1327; but this tombstone must be of earlier date.

6th. The bottom portion of a very beautiful slab of early Decorated date. The stone of the cross rose from a Decorated quatrefoil filled in with very fine and unusually treated foliage. From the stem of the cross had sprung similar branches at different heights.

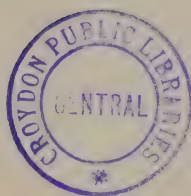
7th. A fragment of the top of a cross-slab. At the top of the incised stem there had been a circle containing a quatrefoil with ornamented cusps, within which was a plain cross, its arms terminating in convex shapes like the section of half a globe.

8th. In the east wall of the chancel, behind the reredos, is a very remarkable low side-window, through which the Sanctus bell was rung, so as to be heard in Corfe Street without the north gate of the city. The small chamber to it is covered by a slab bearing a cross of a very unusual shape, on each side the stem of which had been objects



St Lawrence
found at base of pillar near tower North side

See also Stone
No. 27. 1863



which, from the decaying state of the surface of the stone, cannot now be recovered. The width at top and bottom had been equal.

9th. The upper part of a cross-slab ; date, late Decorated or early Perpendicular. This slab had been also of equal breadth from top to bottom. A circle at top contained a quatrefoil in which was a cross ragule. (Qu. Nevill.) See etching, slab on right.

10th. The lower part of a late Perpendicular slab with base of cross incised, commemorative of a proprietor of Dodmoore, now a very curious, old (1600), half-timbered house near the town. Of the inscription there only remained in letters, in relief, on a sunk ground, **DODMOORE** *cui'* **at**

11th. A Purbeck marble slab with indent of brass, lying in footpath in churchyard.

12th. Ditto, in front of door to St. John's Chapel.

13th. Fragments of a similar slab found where Baup's chantry stood, west of entrance-door.

14th. Slab in south nave-aisle having indent of brass for inscription round edge, with symbols of Evangelists at corners ; a cross in brass up the centre, bearing a crucifixion at top with a label over ; at base, two kneeling figures with labels proceeding out of their mouths, and four detached small labels scattered on each side.

15th. Small fragments of two slabs with indents, found in nave floor.

16th. One very large slab, found near site of old pulpit, had indent for inscription round edge ; and in centre, indents of two large figures, of which that on the south side of the slab had been the wife,—suggesting that she had been an heiress, or of higher rank than her husband. May not this have been the monument mentioned by Leland as that of Hosier, the founder of the almshouses alongside the churchyard ? It is now placed below the tiles, close to the chancel-step.

17th. Two fragments found at plinth to screen of south aisle of choir. The indents were circles, not shields.

18th. One slab with indent of man and his wife, in St. John's Chapel, of Perpendicular date.

19th. One slab in floor of parvise, with indent of a knight, also of Perpendicular date.

20th. A beautiful incised slab in same floor, bearing a cross, the arms terminating in maple-leaves.

21st. In the Warwick Chapel, at east end of south aisle of nave, was found the rich plinth of a table-tomb, now placed below the east window of south choir-aisle.

22nd. Fragments of quatrefoil-panels of a rich Perpendicular table-tomb, now preserved at base of east window of the above aisle.

23rd. Several fine fragments of a remarkably beautiful monument of early Decorated date, whose pointed panels contained fine painted figures taken out of chancel-walls, where they had been used as wall-stones, and in which others may still be recognised by their blue colour. At present these last are preserved at the Ludlow Museum.

ON THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF HAYLES.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

WE are standing among the broken arches of a building whose history occupies an important place in that of our country, and the acts done here had much influence in making it. It is not generally known that there is a record of a church here in the middle of the twelfth century. Fosbroke, quoting *Reg. Par. de Winchcombe*, states that Ralph de Wincestre, who had seized almost the whole of the district during the wars of Stephen, fortified a castle at Hayles, and built a church. The monks of Winchcombe vehemently objected to the consecration, since Hayles was part of their land ; but Ralph deprived them of their necessary supply of provisions till they came to a settlement, which they did after many long and dry fasts, and Hayles was declared a mother church. Geoffrey Lucy is mentioned as having a grant of land here, which for his political opinions was afterwards ordered to be transferred to Rob. de St. Walery ; but after the battle of Evesham it was found that Ingelardus Duty held the town of Hayles, which was once Camerarius de Tankerville's. King Henry III gave it to his brother Richard, the celebrated Earl of Cornwall, and afterwards King of the Romans, who founded Hayles Abbey A.D. 1246, and it had the great distinction of being a mitred Abbey. There is a record that his son, Henry of Almain, was baptised at Hayles in 1235. If this was not at Hales Owen in Shropshire, it must have been in the Norman church of Ralph de Wincestre.

Matthew of Paris records the foundation thus : "After the solemnities of the dedication were completed (that of the Abbey of Beaulieu, Hants, 1246), Earl Richard took from the bosom of that church about thirteen monks." Further on Matthew of Paris says thirteen brothers and twenty picked monks, "to the great loss of Beaulieu", to inhabit a religious house of the Cistercian order, which he, the said Earl, had founded and built at his own expense, for the redemption of his soul, in a suitable situation near the Abbey of Winchcombe, and which he had abundantly en-

dowed and enriched in accordance with a vow he had made when in danger by sea. It is said further on that he was coming from Gascony, and with difficulty reached a port in Cornwall. The *Annals of Waverley* confirm this date.

Matthew Paris, under date 1251, describes the dedication of the church : "On the 9th of November, which was the Feast of St. Leonard, Earl Richard solemnly, and at a great expense, dedicated the church of Hayles. The King and Queen were present at the said dedication, and almost all the nobles and prelates of England. There were thirteen bishops who all celebrated Mass on the day of the dedication, each at his own altar, and the Bishop of Lincoln solemnly chanted Mass at the great altar. This was on a Sunday, and the nobles feasted sumptuously in company with the bishops and others, who ate meat, whilst the religious men took their places and refreshed themselves with large quantities of fish of various kinds. There were there also more than three hundred soldiers. Indeed, if I were to describe in full the grandeur of that solemn and festive meeting, I should be said to be exceeding the bounds of truth. When I, Matthew Paris, desired to be informed upon the matter in order that I might not insert falsities in this book, the Earl with unhesitating certainty informed me that, when all expenses were reckoned, he had laid out ten thousand marks in the building of that church, adding this remarkable and praiseworthy speech, 'Would that it had pleased God that I had expended all that I have laid out in the Castle of Wallingford in as wise and salutary a manner!' The Earl gave the monks the manor and a thousand marks ; and the King, £20 annually." This important record has been quoted by several writers ; but it is desirable to be given here by reason of its distinctness, and also for its valuable reference to the thirteen altars. These indicate a building of importance, having an equal lateral arrangement of six altars to the north, six to the south, with the thirteenth for the high altar.

This event is similarly recorded by Capgrave,¹ who gives the date 1250, as do the *Waverley Annals*, but the *Annals of Tewkesbury* and those of Worcester alike say 1251. The church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints, and was for monks of the Cistercian order.

Richard, King of the Romans, and his Queen, both lie

¹ *Chronicles of England.*

buried here. He died in 1271, and she in 1261. The *Annals of Dunstable* confirm this date; but those of Osney, Waverley, and Worcester, and the *Chronicle* of Thomas Wykes, say 1272. The royal Earl died at Berkhamstead, and his body was brought to Hayles in great pomp, attended by three monks. His heart was buried in the church of the Friars Minors in Oxford.

Henry, the son of Richard, before referred to, being murdered at Viterbo in 1271, his corpse was carried to London at the end of the same year. His heart was nobly enshrined at Westminster, beside the coffin containing the relics of Edward the Confessor; but his body was brought to Hayles, and buried here.¹

Edward, Earl of Cornwall, another son and heir, was also buried here with great solemnity in 1300. King Edward I and a great concourse of noblemen attended the funeral.

A great fire occurred at Hayles in 1271, and the Abbey Church was consumed, and also most of the surrounding buildings, the dormitory, cloister, and refectory. The total loss extended to eight thousand marks. The church was speedily rebuilt, since it was again dedicated in 1277, on the 6th of January, by Godfrey Bishop of Worcester.

We now meet with notice of the relic, as it was called, the exhibition of which has brought such well merited disgrace on this house. Edward Earl of Cornwall noticed among the treasures of the Kings of Germany a small gold box with an inscription that therein was contained a portion of the blood of our Blessed Saviour. He purchased part of the contents, and brought it to England. He bestowed a third of it on the Abbey of Hayles, and the other two portions apparently on the House of the Bonhommes at Ashridge. The date of the gift is stated to have been 1270, and it was certainly in the newly built church at the period of its re-dedication; and in 1295 this relic appears to have been placed within a shrine. The *Chronicle of Hayles* says that it was authenticated by an account written by Pope Urban IV to accompany it. To the credit of the Bonhommes we find but little, if any, notice of their portion of the bequest; but that at Hayles was exhibited to crowds of eager and deluded devotees who flocked from all parts of the country, and made offerings and worshipped it.

As years elapsed the fame of this thing was great in Eng-

¹ Capgrave, *Hist. Illust. Henr.*, 179; also *Annales Winton.*

land, and many an affirmation was made by "the blood of Hayles". It had, however, so many competitors for the attention of the superstitious that we cannot but be oppressed with a sense of the way in which religion in the middle ages was overladen with them. "Out of this fountain" is the indignant protest of Lord Cobham in 1413, "have gushed out so many prodigious lies in church legends, in saints' lives, in monkish fictions, in fabulous miracles, in false or forged relics, as in pieces of the holy cross, the blood of Hayles, in our Lady's milk, in the nails of Christ, which they made to a great number."

Englishmen, however, could not all venture to speak thus boldly without fear of the consequences, and we find that some were proceeded against through having doubt as to this relic. About 1509 Roger Brown of Coventry was also accused "that he was a heretic, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Hayles, but God Almighty". About 1518 Sir John Drury, vicar of Windrish, was also proceeded against, one of his servants having been made by oath to declare against him : amongst other things that "when he had been at the Lady of Worcester, and at the blood of Hailes, which had cost him 18 pence, he had done as an ill husband that had plowed his land and sown it, but nothing to the purpose ; for he had worshipped man's handy-work, and cast away his money." This system of eaves-dropping and terrorism seems incredible to us of the nineteenth century.

These cases were early in the seventeenth century. At that time the relic had lost none of its sanctity. Hugh Latimer testifies this in one of his letters to Master Morice : "I dwell within a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles."

At last this fraud was exposed to all the world. The examination of the religious houses (30th Henry VIII) led to the inspection of the relic by a commission appointed for the purpose. Their report is still extant, and I have transcribed a copy of it from the rare facsimile pamphlet printed by Hearne :

"Pleasith your lordshipp to be adv'tysed that according to the Kyngis gracys comyssyon to us dyrected berynge date the fourth day

of October in the xxxth yere of his reigne. We Hugh Bysshopp of Worcester, Henry Pryor of the Monastre of Worcester, Stephyn Abbott of the Monastyre of Haylez, and Richard Trayce, Esquyer, the xxviith day of October in the yere above sayd, have repayryd to the sayd Monast'ye of Haylez, and ther accordynge to the tenor of the sayd comyssion have vewed a certeyne supposyd relycke cauld the blod of Haylez, which was inclosed within a rownde berall garnyshid and bound on ev'y syde with sylv', which we causid to be openyd in the presence of a greate multytude of people. And the sayd supposid relyck we causid to be taken out of the sayd berall, and have vewed the same beinge within a lytle glasse. And also tryed the same accordynge to our powers, wittes and discretions by all meanys. And by force of the view and other tryalls thereof we thinke, deame and judge the substance and mattier of the sayde supposyd relycke to be an unctuowse gume colouryd, which beinge in the glasse appeiryd to be a glisterynge redd resemblynge partly the color of blod. And after we dyd take owt part of the sayd substaunce and mattier owt of the glasse, then it was apparante glisterynge yeolow color like ambre or basse gold. And doth cleve to as gume or byrdlyme. Which mattier and fayned relicke with the glasse containgnye the same, we, the saide comyssion's have inclosyd in redd wax, and sousigned it with o'r seales, and also we have lockyd it in a coffre with *twoo lockys, remaynynge by dede indentyd with the saide Abbott of Haylez. The key wherof thon is comyttid to the custody of the said Abbot, thothir to the saide Richard Trayce.*¹ Wherefore we desire your lordeshippe that we may knowe furthir the Kyngys gracyouse plesure herein to be done, which we accordynge to o'r moste bounden duetye shall accomplishe withe all o'r endeowre and diligence."

This document is signed and sealed by all the parties. The excitement which this discovery must have made throughout England cannot be over-rated; and it must have been increased when the relic was, on being sent to London, exhibited before crowds of people at St. Paul's Cross, where it was destroyed, I believe, in 1539.

To the excitement attending upon this exposure I attribute the popular error that this was the blood of a duck renewed weekly, and only visible to those pilgrims who had been absolved and had made handsome offerings; that the phial was thin on one side, that its contents could readily be seen, but thick on the other; and therefore the contents could not readily be seen by those whose offering had been small, and who obtained the view through the thick side. This is gravely related in books of almost contemporary date, and I cannot think that it owes its existence to Thomas' *Pelegrin Inglese, or Apology for Henry VIII*, in which the story is related in full. The MS. is at Lambeth Palace. I much prefer to think that the story arose thus than that

¹ The portions in italics are erased in the original.

there is any foundation for it. The *Fantasie of Idolatrie* devotes a verse,—

“To the holy blood of Hayles,
With your fyngers and nayles,
All that ye may stretche and wyne;
Yet it woulde not be seen
Except you were shryven
And clene from all deadly synne.”

There is a pamphlet in folio, printed by Pinson, on the blood of Hayles, but it is so rare that I have been unable to see a copy of it, and it is not in the British Museum.

The Abbot (whose name does not occur, by the way, in Browne Willis' list of the Abbots)¹ acted with considerable prudence. The relic-case having been left standing in its old place, he applied to Cromwell for leave to remove it lest it should hurt the consciences of any beholders, and therefore “I beseech for licence that I may put it down, every stick and stone, so that no manner of token of that forged relic may remain.”

There exists a letter from the King's commissioners for the surrender of abbeys, to Lord Cromwell, which relates the surrender of Hayles, and is very interesting.² It states that they found the Abbot had the house and grounds well furnished and in good order, the lands ready sown with wheat, and the arable well husbanded. “He surrendered the house with such discreet and frank manner as we have seen no other do better in all our journey.” The jewels, plate, and ornaments were ready, “and the garnishing of a shrine wherein was reposed the counterfeit relic in times past.” By this it appears that the shrine had been demolished, but the binding of it preserved. The valuation at the dissolution was £357 : 7 : 8. Pensions were granted to the brothers, who were twenty in number, in addition to Stephen Sagar, the last Prior, who had £100 per annum and the house at Coscombe, which appears to have been a country house, so to speak, of the Abbots.

Spelman says that after the dissolution the greatest part of the estates were granted to Lord Admiral Seymour. On his attainder it reverted to the crown, and after changes (which he records) it passed into the hands of the Lord Tracey.

¹ This list is given in Tanner's *Notitia*. Appendix by Browne Willis.

² MS. Cotton., Cleop. E. iv. It is given by Dugdale.

In Atkyns there is a good view of a large house which then stood on the site of the Abbey, and incorporated into it. The house, the west front of which is shown, is an Elizabethan building of some pretension. The view was drawn and engraved by I. Kip. Bucks (S. and N.) have a view taken from the site of the Chapter House, and showing the cloister court much as it is at present; but the house, which stands above the western walk of the cloister, is perfect. The church, which is partially shown in Kip's view, has quite disappeared in this. There is a view of the Abbey in Lysons' *Gloucester*, which shows that in 1803 the house had almost entirely disappeared. An ornamental tower of entrance alone shown as left of it, and some broken arches.

Many works of art were removed from the site of the Abbey, and are elsewhere. Bigland relates that one of the halls at Southam is paved with encaustic tiles, many with heraldic devices, a rebus of Abbot Melton, and the name of Abbot Sagar. The arms of the Abbey occur in stained glass in Didbrook Church, which was rebuilt by Abbot William Whytchyrche about 1472. A subterranean passage is said to connect the site of the Abbey with Coscombe.¹

We are within the cloister-court, and it will be noticed that the broken walls around us are the only remains visible of this once magnificent building. They measure 132 feet from north to south, and 121 feet from face of the three arches which remain of the western walk to the wall of the chapter house. The north wall, which was that of the south aisle of the church, and all that remains of it above ground, is 5 feet 6 inches thick. The south-east cloister-doorway into the church is extant, and the curious arches along the whole of the south side of this wall will be noticed, and the spacious niches and stone benches they enclose were "carols". The east wall contains a double trefoiled arch divided by a blue stone column with a quatrefoil, once leading into the little chamber always found in Cistercian abbeys, just clear of the south transept. Then the five bold arches which lead into a vestibule; beyond which was the chapter house, now

¹ Rudder (p. 487), who gives much information as to the house and removal of an old chimney-piece, etc., to Todington. The armorial bearings noticed by Rudder no longer exist. The subterranean passage referred to appears to be more than a mere drain, for there were seats along it, the roof handsomely arched, and, as at Eltham Palace, iron gates were met with. The position still remains unknown.

entirely demolished. We then have two more arches, still going south, which led into the monk's common room. One of them is a circular arch enclosing a trefoiled one. Traces of the springing of the vaulting exist on the east face of this wall, and the doorway was above it. We now come to the south wall, and on its north face we find a beautiful four-centred arch with a richly panelled soffit, which enclosed the spacious lavatory. Next to this there is what has been a very fine Early English arch with several jamb-shafts and carved capitals. This was probably the entrance from the cloister-court into the refectory. It has been built into by a doorway of much later date. There is nothing on the south face of this wall, except a small locker of two unequal arches, beside this doorway, and a smaller series of three niches above what most probably was a drain.

The three arches on the west side are all that remain of the inner wall of the quadrangle. They are four-centred, and are most probably the work of Abbot Whitchurch. It will be noticed that the arches of the three walls of the cloister, which are very good and pure Early English of the 1250 work, have been cut into most unceremoniously to prepare them for stone groining of Perpendicular date. Corbels formed of angles bearing shields supported this. Some remain, and three others may be found built into the walls of some old cottages to the south-east.

Nothing remains of the house ; but the base of a stone cross or a sundial, and which is shown in Kip's view, still stands opposite where the entrance to the stables was.

There is, I believe, much below ground, and excavations would doubtless reveal to us the whole plan of the church (which was probably fully 220 feet long) and the chapter house. The remaining buildings appear to be generally of the age of the first erection, and not of the rebuilding after the fire of 1271. The little chapel described as built by W. Hobby, Esq., who was buried in it A.D. 1503, aged 103, is a small ancient building containing, probably in the pilaster-buttresses of the chancel, a portion of the Norman church of Ralph de Wincestre. The bell-cot may have been built after the fire, and the rest of the church dates from about 1350. It consists of a small nave, chancel, western bell-cot, and south porch. There are some good tiles within.

ON A STATUETTE OF SIR JOHN FALSTAFF IN THE BAILY COLLECTION.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

STRANGE indeed is it, considering the numerous characters and vast variety of subjects embraced in the plays of Shakspeare, that so few matters have hitherto been submitted to us which illustrate in any marked degree the writings of our great dramatist. His immortal name occurs continually in our pages. We gladly avail ourselves of his language to express our thoughts and feelings; and on a few occasions we have welcomed the exhibition of objects connected, or presumed to be connected, with the person and family of the gifted bard; so that it is not lack of will, but want of material, that has prevented a richer and more frequent display of objects bearing on his own history and the productions of his pen. I, therefore, feel grateful for being made the medium of introducing to your notice an effigy of one of Shakspeare's most popular, if not his most original, creations, Sir John Falstaff; and the exhibition of this effigy offers a fair excuse for our considering briefly the costume of the "fat Knight" as it ought to be, and as it is presented to us on the stage and by the pencil of the limner.

No one in our day believes that the archetype of Shakspeare's Falstaff is to be found in Sir John Fastolfe of Caistor, any more than they do that Sir Hugh Bardolfe, of the twelfth century, was the origin of the ruby-nosed Bardolph who is made to gather his forces before the house of Justice Shallow, in Gloucestershire, in the fifteenth century. Still the costume of the Sir John who fought at Agincourt would, if capacious enough, suit the brave fellow who "paid seven of the eleven" at Gadshill.

Sir John Falstaff makes his *début* in the first scene of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*; drinks, lies, and brags, through the first and second parts of *King Henry IV*; and has his death announced in the third scene of the second act of *Henry V*; so that his era is well defined, and consequently his correct costume is easily obtainable; and yet, from some

mysterious cause, artist and actor have for the last two hundred years persistently attired this ardent lover of women, sack, and money, in the fashion of the time of our second Charles.

It seems to have been a general practice to permit Falstaff to appear throughout the several acts of the three dramas in which he occupies so prominent a position, in the same costume ; but surely that which is appropriate for the gay civilian is utterly unfit for the soldier in the battle-field, wherein he should be equipped in armour of plate, with the border of his jupon cut to resemble foliage, and his bascinet encircled by an orle. But we are more interested in the civil than the military costume of Sir John ; rather with that in which he appears as the wooer of Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford, and the companion of Prince Hal and Bardolph, ancient Pistol and Nym, at the *Garter* at Windsor, and the *Boar's Head* in Eastcheap, than amid the din and struggle of hostile armies on the Plain near Shrewsbury. Taking for granted that Sir John flourished in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, we should expect to see him "strut his hour upon the stage" in a somewhat low-crowned hat with a broad brim brought to a point in front, and turned up round the back ; his body clothed in a tunic or gown reaching to about the knees, buttoned down the breast, and belted at the waist, and with its lower edge foliated ; the hanging sleeves of extravagant width, composed of stuff of a colour differing from that of the body of the garment, and with the shoulders overlaid with a narrow ornamental band ; the hose fitting tightly over the nether limbs, and the pointed-toed boots rising slightly above the ankles. How different is this habiliment from what we are familiar with in the portraits of old actors and their successors upon the London boards !

I have before me a 12mo impression of a copper-plate by Pratlent, published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green, August 28, 1814, entitled "Sir John Falstaff, engraved from an original painting 200 years old." The costume of this sedent figure is evidently that of the middle of the seventeenth century, the prototype of the knight's wardrobe through succeeding ages. We see the broad-brimmed hat turned up on the left side with a jewel, and loaded with feathers. The doublet is buttoned down the front, the skirts

reaching a little below the hips; the trunk-hose hang loosely about the legs, as do also the great broad-toed boots with their wide, turned-down tops, which seem to rise within five or six inches of the knees. Ascending to the neck, we fail not to notice the Geneva bands so admired by the Puritans, but so ill in keeping with the gay hat which covers the knight's flowing locks. A broad belt intersects the portly trunk of the knight about the region of the stomach, and is secured by a large oblong buckle, such as was in vogue during the reign of Charles II. The last garment to mention is the gown, or more properly jerkin, which descends in folds nearly as low as the knees, and has rather loose sleeves with broad cuffs; or these sleeves may possibly belong to the doublet, the outer covering being merely provided with arm-holes. At the left hip depends a basket-hilted sword, about which more anon.

Prince Hal, in the first part of *King Henry IV* (ii, 4), calls our hero "that old white-bearded Satan"; and in the second part of the same play (i, 2) the Lord Chief Justice speaks of Falstaff's "white beard"; so that there cannot be a doubt that he ought to come before us with "a great round beard like a glover's paring knife", to employ the words of Dame Quickly in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (i, 4); yet this curious old picture we are considering represents the knight with shaven lip and chin, and Hayman, Gravelot, and Edwards, follow suit in this singular conceit. It may be well to mention that I have been informed that in years gone by there was a painting very similar to the foregoing displayed as a sign on the front of the *Sir John Falstaff* Tavern on Deptford Green.

Above the portal of the old Boar's Head Tavern, in Great Eastcheap, was a pair of enriched brackets, each supported by a figure; one of them representing Prince Henry, the other Sir John Falstaff. They were carved out of oak, stood about 12 inches in height, and are briefly noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of January 1834, p. 93, at which time they were the property of a Mr. Thomas Shelton, who lived in the neighbourhood of this old temple of Bacchus.

We now come to the motive of this communication, the curious and highly interesting statuette of Sir John Falstaff in the Baily collection. This spirited and well wrought effigy is of carved oak, 10 inches in height, and evidently a

production of the second half of the seventeenth century. The sculptor, whoever he may have been, evidently had his heart in the work, and paid considerable attention to its details, so that the costume of the knight is worthy of consideration from head to foot. The hat, rising high in front, is adorned with a button or jewel, and over-arched with a feather. A ruff surrounds the neck, and from beneath it descends a broad, straight band with its end cut into the outline of a fleur-de-lys. This band seems to be intended as a covering for the buttons of the doublet, for it can scarcely be meant for the long ends of a cravat. The sleeves of the doublet are puffed at the shoulders; and in addition to the buttons, this garment is secured at the waist with a broad belt and square buckle. The shirt is puffed out between the lower edge of the doublet and the upper edge of the trunk-hose. The wide-topped boots fit somewhat loosely about the lusty legs of the jolly knight. He wears what seems to be a short cloak rather than a jerkin, and which in a great measure covers the right shoulder. A basket-hilted sword descends across the back of the figure from the left hip. The cuff of the gauntlet-glove is full and hanging. The right hand grasps the stem of an ample wine-cup,—no doubt intended as a representation of Dame Quickly's "parcel-gilt goblet"; and the left is raised as if suiting the action to the words of some merry song. This effigy stands on a thin narrow base, and has a screw-hole in its flattened back, indicating that it was secured to a flat, upright surface. How it was originally employed no one can tell us, the only link in its history now obtainable being that it was purchased by the late Mr. J. W. Baily at Newcastle some twenty years since.

In the first described representation of Sir John both hands are unencumbered; in the statuette we have just viewed he holds a goodly cup or goblet; and we have now to confront him equipped with sword and buckler, the hero of Gadshill fight, and "as valiant as Hercules".

Vauxhall Gardens were formerly adorned with a number of oil-paintings, some by Hogarth, the rest by Francis Hayman, two of the latter's productions presenting events in the career of Sir John Falstaff. We will not tarry with the scene wherein the knight is tumbled into the buck-basket, and half hid among the foul linen, but pass at once to that

in which he narrates his prowess in a chamber in the Boar's Head Tavern. In this the painter has delineated the "fat rogue" standing between Prince Hal and Poins, both of whom wear three-cornered hats, and are attired like gentlemen of the reign of George II; the beardless knight being decked with his usual broad hat and feather; but his belaced doublet has a very waistcoat-like look about it, his breeches are tied with bows about the knees, and his stockings and boots seem ready to slide down his legs. His sword has a basket-hilt, and his target a spike jutting from its centre.

I know not if Hayman intended his Sir John as a portrait of James Quin, but the porcelain statuettes produced first at Chelsea, and subsequently at Derby, are reputed to represent this famous actor, who appeared as Falstaff in the Lincoln's Inn Theatre in 1718. These statuettes are of two sizes, the tallest being 15 inches, the shortest 12 inches in height. In both the garments are richly coloured, and the sword and buckler resplendent with gold.

Earthenware statuettes of still smaller size, and of inferior workmanship, were produced at some other manufactories, and one of these is in the collection of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, who kindly permits me to place it before you. This figure, with its thick base of two strata,—the upper green, the lower white,—measures about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Sir John here stands forth in a black hat with white feather, and lilac and white check waistcoat or doublet with broad flowery border, encircled by a black belt with square buckle. The tunic or jacket is of a somewhat lilac hue, the trunks green, the black boots having white tops, and the white oval buckler a verge decorated with fifteen black bosses; and we must not omit to mention that the knight's *brown* beard is well set off by a white ruff or frill.

The Rev. Francis Fawkes, in his song of "The Brown Jug", makes the potter construct the vessel out of the mortal remains of Toby Filpot; but some twenty-seven years back the *figulus* succeeded in converting the whole person of Sir John Falstaff into an ale-jug; but we cannot say much for his success, save in respect to the face, which is a capital bit of modelling. This iconic vessel is of cane-coloured ware, and represents the "huge hill of flesh" seated in a sort of tub-chair. The hat constitutes the rim and lip of the jug, and on either side of it falls a lappet, the fringed edge

of which rests on the shoulders of the burly figure. The tight breeches are buttoned at the knees, and the boots are sadly out of proportion to the fat legs thrust into them. A mere apology for a cloak is thrown over the left shoulder ; and the cruel designer of this quaint vessel has placed in the right hand of the thirsty toper what more closely resembles a mustard-pot than a wine-cup ; and in lieu of a sword makes him rest his left hand on the top of a clumsy walking-stick, which, with the apparently withered arm, forms the handle of the jug. Can this shillelagh be intended for the cudgel wherewith "sweet Sir John", as Mrs. Ford calls him, is to "awe Master Ford"? Though it be a club, and not a sword, it is a reminder that there is something to be said respecting the basket-hilted weapon which is the almost constant companion of our hero both on and off the stage.

In the fourth scene of the second act of *Henry IV* (Part I) Falstaff calls attention to his "sword hacked like a hand-saw"; and in the fourth scene of the second act of the second part of the same play he exclaims, "Give me my rapier, boy." The word sword conveys with it no definite idea as to the precise character of the weapon ; but it is far otherwise with the title of rapier, the use of which dates from the reign of Elizabeth, and which had a long straight handle set in the centre of a cup-shaped guard, crossed by quillons, either straight or deflected towards the point of the long slender blade. Now the weapon with which Falstaff is almost invariably provided resembles what is popularly called a Highland claymore, but which, according to Demmin, is in reality the Venetian *schiaivona*, which came into vogue at the end of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century, and therefore totally out of place in the hand of a personage who is supposed to have flourished in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Why is it, then, that Sir John should be so persistently represented with a so-called claymore? The only reason I can suggest for this anachronism is that William Cartwright, or some other personator of the "fat knight" in the second half of the seventeenth century, appeared on the stage girt with this formidable weapon, and that his successors followed his example, and that draughtsmen and statuaries imitated what was thus set before them.

As to the knight's buckler, all that can be said is that in outline it would do as well for a Keltic *tarian* as for a Highland *targaid*; but the spike in Hayman's shield seems to fix this particular example to the sixteenth century.

After scrutinising the representations of Sir John Falstaff which have been submitted and referred to, two conclusions are forced upon us, the validity of which, few, I venture to think, will be inclined to question. First, that the costume in which the knight appears is of the middle of the seventeenth century; and secondly, that each succeeding copy of a copy manifests a decided decline in the skill, taste, and accuracy of the artist. The "original painting, 200 years old", and the fine oaken statuette in the Baily collection, are among the earliest and best personifications of our hero within knowledge, the earthenware jug being one of the latest and worst effigies which have come before us. Hard is it to say why this decadence should have taken place, for there is as yet no waning love for "sweet Sir John". He is still our especial favourite; still figures away among the Twelfth Night Characters; still serves as a publichouse sign in Houndsditch, Old Street, Brydges Street, and Kent Street, Borough; still welcomed with rapturous delight whenever he shows his portly person on the stage; and should the day ever arrive when Sir John Falstaff shall pass from our sight, shall fade from our thoughts, and find no bidding-place in our hearts, it will indeed be a sorry time, remembering as we do the warning words uttered by the brave knight,—

"Banish plump Jack, and banish all the world!"

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF NAILSEA COURT, Co. SOMERSET, WITH GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK BROWN, RECTOR OF NAILSEA.

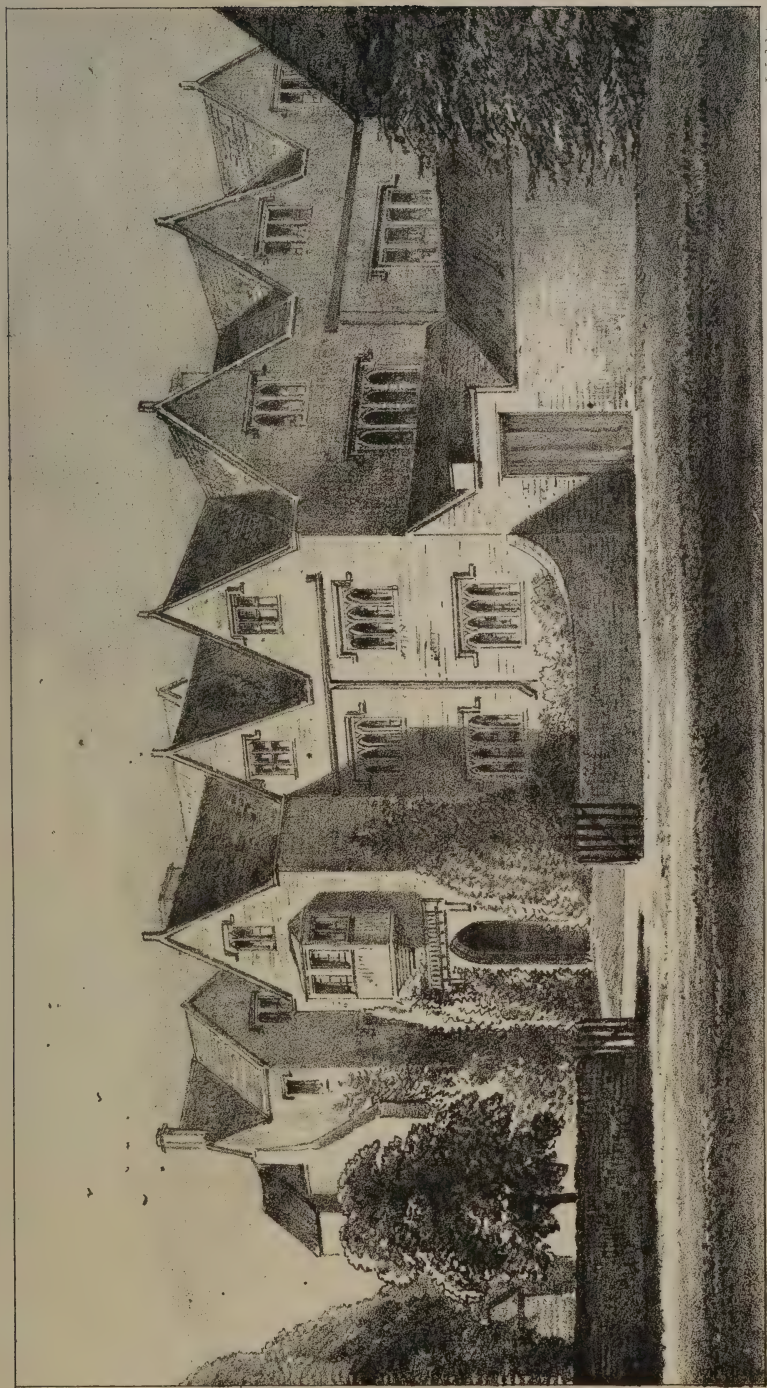
THE family of De la Mere, or Bythemore, were of note in the county of Somerset in the reign of Henry I. They were possessors of the manor of More, or Meor, in the parish of Mark. They also had lands in the parish of Yatton Wraxhall. In that rare (privately printed) Anderson's *Genealogical History of the House of Ivery*, 1742, there is a very long genealogical history of the family of Bythemore, as they were the ancestors of the Percevals (the family of the present Earl of Egmont), to illustrate whose history the book was written. In the British Museum are several original documents connected with the Bythemore family, some witnessed by members who do not occur in Anderson's pedigree.

Add. Charter 5445. Grant by Elias le Frye, brother of Roger le Frye, to Walter de Cheney, in co. Bucks, and to Alice his wife, of a tenement "super Naylsy", for four marks. Dated Edward II.

Add. Ch. 5450. Deed, in French, by which Nicholas de la More conveys to John de la More and Christina his wife, lands, tenements, rents, and reversions, in the manor of Wraxhall, co. Somers., which Robert de la More purchased of Elys le Frye of Naylsy. Dated at Wraxhall, 5th of Edward III (A.D. 1331). The seal bears a bust and a legend.

Add. Ch. 5451. Grant by Christina, wife of John de la More of Wraxhall, to her son Richard, of lands and tenements which Sybilla atte Hulle and Roger atte Fenne formerly held under the manor of Wraxhall. Dated at Wraxhall, 10th Edward III, A.D. 1336.

Add. Ch. 5433. Grant by Nicholas de la More to William de Pyggesleigh, parson of the church of Backwell, and to Adam le Nyweman, carpenter, of certain lands "super



NAILSEA COURT



Naylsey". Witnessed by John Perceval and others. Dated at Wraxhall, 11th Edward III, A.D. 1337.

Add. Ch. 5434. Grant by the above mentioned William and Adam to Richard de la More, and to Sybil his wife, of all their goods ("bona") existing "super Naylsey". Dated at Wraxhall, 11th Edward III, A.D. 1337.

Add. Ch. 5458. Indented grant by Nicholas de la More of Wraxhall-juxta-Gordeyn, to Robert le Leche, and to Joanna his wife, of Nailsea, of certain tenements in Nailsea for their lives, at a yearly rent of 13s. Dated at Wraxhall, 25th Edward III, A.D. 1351.

There are other similar deeds proving that the Bythemores, or Delamores, had property in Wraxhall and Nailsea. I will commence with the first of the family, who by his marriage added so much to its rank and wealth. George de la More, in the reign of Richard II (about A.D. 1380), married Joan de Harptree, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Gournay, lord of Overwere and Alwarton, near Oxbridge, in Somersetshire. The Add. Ch. 5466 is a grant by George de la More, and Joan his wife, to Robert Hulman, and to Alice his wife, of a tenement in Nailsea for their lives, at an annual rent of 13s. 4d. Witnessed by John Halle, John More, etc. Dated at Nailsey, 7th Henry IV, A.D. 1405. To this is attached the seal of arms of the grantor, viz., on a chevron three mullets. This George had two sons, William and Bartholomew. The latter, with Mary his wife, being probably childless, settled the manor of Birdcombe and other lands of value in Nailsea, Wraxall, and Portishead, upon the son of his brother William, John Bythamore, and Alice his wife, 16th Henry VI, A.D. 1438.

William Bythamore. In the 6th of Henry VI, A.D. 1428, an order was issued by the crown to the sheriffs and justices of the different counties, whereby a certain number of men-at-arms were required to be chosen out of the most ancient knights and gentlemen of the respective counties, whose ancestors had borne coats of arms from times of antiquity, to appear before the King at Westminster in Easter week following, to serve him in their own persons for the defence of the realm, when this William Bythamore was one of those twenty of ancient birth and arms returned for the county of Somersetshire. By his first wife, Isabella, he had no children; but he married a second wife, Joan; and

although Anderson says he obtained a large landed property by her, he cannot state her surname. This is made clear by the Add. Charter 5467, an indenture in French between Joan, widow of Richard Warre, and Joan, widow of George Bythemore, relating to a marriage to be had between Joan, daughter of the said John Warre, and William, son of the said George Bythemore, 14th August, A.D. 1408. By this second wife, Joan Warre, William Bythemore obtained twenty-two messuages and a large estate in Nailsea, Wortheston, Brentknoll (called Balilborough), and Edin, in the county of Somerset; all which were vested in trustees,—Martin Jacob; Sir Theobald Georges, Knt.; Sir Richard Newton, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1446 (buried in Yatton Church); Sir John Warre, Sheriff of Somerset in 1415, and others. His son,

John Bythemore, lord of Nailsea, Overwere, Allerton, etc., married Alice, daughter of Isabella Fokey, *alias* Pedyll, of Bridgwater, 36th Henry VI (1458). He died in 1480, and seems to have granted away, for a time at least, the manor of Nailsea.¹ Add. Ch. 5472 is a grant by John Bythemore of Alwarton, and by William his son, to Henry Champneys, William Knyolle, and others, of the manor of Nailsea, in the parish of Wraxhall, in the 12th of Edward IV (1472). His son,

William Bythemore,² was born in 1442, and is mentioned as holding the manor of Nailsea under Sir John Deneband. He married Thomasine, and died between the 7th and 11th of Henry VII. His son,

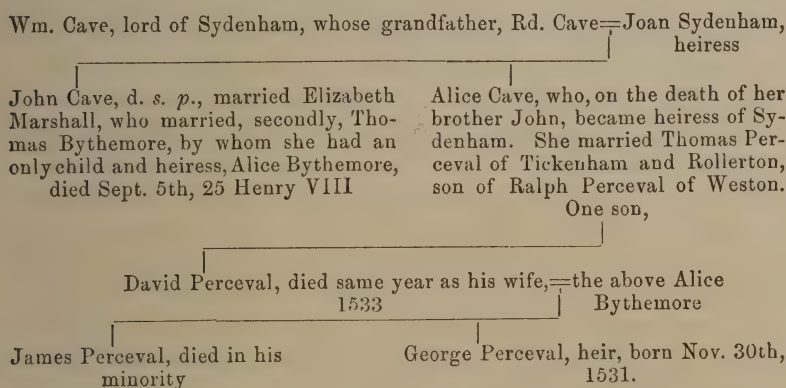
Roger Bythemore,³ lord of Nailsea, Overwere, Allerton, etc., had two wives. By his first he had Thomas Bythemore, his son and heir. By his second, several daughters and two sons, Richard and John. He died in 1541, and left his large estates in the hands of trustees, probably bequeathed

¹ The Rev. H. J. Ellacombe says: "I have a copy of a fine, 16th Henry VI, between John More and Alice his wife, and Bartholomew More his uncle, and Mary his wife, touching the manor of Birdecombe, or Birdcumb, with eight messuages and a mill in Nailsea, Wraxall, and Portishead."

² Add. Ch 5474, an indented charter, whereby Thomas Tremayle, serjeant-at-law, and John Wylton, rector of the church of Hutton, co. Somers., feoffee of William Bythemore's lands in Nailsea, and William Bythemore, demise to Thomas Whitey of Nailsea, and his sons William and Robert, one paddock of meadow land in the parish of Nailsea, for their lives, at a yearly rent of 1s. 6d. 5th January, 1st Richard III (1484). With the seal of arms appended.

³ Roger Bythemore was a trustee, with others, of the lands of Sir Edmund Gorges of Wraxall, Kt., 1511.

to his eldest son ; but the Nailsea estate was left to his two sons by his second wife, as Anderson specifies that he left three messuages, one cottage, one windmill, and various lands in Nailsea and Teckenham, for the use of Joan, his second wife, and her children ; Richard, who died in 1535 ; and John, who died in 1551, without issue, when the Nailsea estates devolved on George Percival. The manor of Nailsea was then held of the Poulett family. Roger's son and heir, Thomas Bythemore, born 1494, died 14 August 1524. It was through his marriage, and that of his daughter and heiress, that the Bythemore estates passed to the Percivals. He married Elizabeth Marshall of Ivythorne, whose mother was daughter of Sir John Fitzjames. She was the widow of John Cave, lord of the manor of Sydenham, near Bridgwater ; and after the death of Thomas Bythemore she married, thirdly, James Hadley. His only daughter, Alice, married David Percival. The connection will be best understood by the following pedigree :



George Perceval, lord of Nailsea, Tickenham, Sydenham, Rolleston, Overwere, which he sold in 1563 to Thomas Hodges of Wedmore, etc. He married in 1549, before he came of age, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Bamfylde of Soltimore, Devon ; and when he came of age, in 1553, it is recorded that his estates amounted to £2,000 a year, one of the largest at that time in the west of England.

His wife, Elizabeth Bampfylde, had a portion of two thousand marks on her marriage, which was deemed an insufficient dowry for marriage to so wealthy a man as George Perceval, who was then only eighteen. She was, however,

thought to be one of the greatest heiresses in these parts, both for family and fortune. Her elder brother, Edward, had died without issue; and Richard, the younger, being reported to be dead, she was thought to be coheir of the estates of St. Maur and Bampfylde. Her mother, Elizabeth, was a daughter of Sir Nicholas Wadham of Merrifield, co. Somerset. On the full age, however, of George Perceval, a man calling himself Richard Bampfylde, second son of the late Sir Edward Bampfylde, suddenly appeared, and gained over a woman who pretended to have been his nurse. She swore positively she knew him to be the person he affirmed himself to be, by certain marks on his body which tallied exactly with those of that Richard Bampfylde she had previously nursed. He had been employed in the lowest offices in the family of a private gentleman, and was at that time no better than a huntsman, and yet he obtained possession of the estate.

George Perceval most probably built Nailsea Court, and resided there. There his three children were born—Richard, of whom presently; Thomas, who died young, but whose baptism, in 1556, occurs in the Nailsea Register; and Elizabeth, who married Richard Gilbert, Esq. He died in 1599. He sold Nailsea Court and manor, in 1582, to Mr. Richard Cole; and the sale of this and other estates was in part the foundation of the large property which the Percevals (now represented by Lord Egmont) held in Ireland, and which formed the subject of a remarkable suit at law in the Irish courts, 1863. George Perceval then went to live in a retired and frugal manner at his mansion house at Sydenham, near Bridgwater. There goes a story of him, whilst he lived there (Collinson, 1796), that one night he was transported out of his bed-chamber through the barred windows of the old house, and by the marvellous power of some invisible spirit was carried through the air, and placed in the upper branches of a great oak, whose venerable head, at the beginning of the last century, still reared itself, not yet much decayed, at some distance from Sydenham House.

We arrive now at the history of *Richard Perceval*, the son of George Perceval, and one of the most noteworthy of that ancient family. Richard Perceval was born at Nailsea (most likely in Nailsea Court) in the year 1551, and was a man of extraordinary parts, but guilty of great extravagance in

the beginning of his life. He was educated at St. Paul's School, London, then the most celebrated seminary in England, whence he was sent to Lincoln's Inn to acquire some general ideas of the law, which was esteemed in those days an accomplishment of the highest description. In both his progress was brilliant; but his conduct so dissipated and disorderly that he incurred the severe displeasure of his father, George Perceval. He married, early in life, Joan, daughter of Henry Younge, Esq., of Buckhorn Weston, Dorset; but this so angered his father that he entirely abandoned him, observing that "as he had ruined himself by his riots, he might recover himself by his wits". Thus unnaturally cast off, Richard Perceval found means, by the credit of his reversionary estates and the assistance of his friends, to maintain himself several years, during which time he had three sons and two daughters; but at length, through a failure of resources, and the increasing expense of his family, he was obliged to quit this kingdom, and travelled into Spain, where he remained about four years. During his absence his wife and children were taken care of with much friendship by the families of Sir Richard Bampfylde and Roger Cave of Stamford, Esq. Richard Perceval being informed of his wife's decease, returned to England, hoping that, as now the principal cause of his father's displeasure had been removed, he might again recover his good opinion; but that hope proving delusive, his relations, particularly Mr. Roger Cave, who had married the sister of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, engaged on his side, and by that gentleman's means he contracted an acquaintance with Lord Burghley, who, being pleased with his talents, and moved by his misfortune, and having endeavoured in vain to procure a reconciliation with his father, determined to promote his fortune by employing him in the management of those state affairs which required the greatest trust and secrecy. Thus he continued till the year 1586, about which time the Spaniards were making vast preparations for the great Spanish Armada with which two years after they sailed for England. It so happened that an English ship chased in the Channel a Spanish vessel charged with letters from the Low Countries, which were understood, by intimation from abroad, to contain the greatest secrets. The Spanish commander, finding himself in danger, cast his papers into the sea, which

being happily taken up by the English, were brought to England and laid before the Privy Council. The contents were in cypher, and therefore not intelligible to any at that board ; but the Lord Treasurer proposed they should be submitted to Richard Perceval, who returned them the next day to Queen Elizabeth in person, deciphered, translated, and fairly transcribed in Spanish, Latin, and English. It was thus the English Government obtained the first certain intelligence of the designs of Spain, which were afterwards more fully explained in a letter written by the Pope to the King of Spain, of which Sir Thomas Walsingham obtained a copy out of the Pope's closet by means of a priest, his spy. The importance of the discovery was such, and the service of the person employed therein was so grateful to the Queen, that from that moment the road of Richard Perceval to honour and fortune was open and unimpeded. She assigned him a pension of eight hundred marks a year. Some time after he obtained an employment in the Duchy of Lancaster worth £400 per annum ; and Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and son of Lord Burghley, then Secretary of State, appointed him Secretary of the Court of Wards in England,—an office of much credit and great emolument. In the first parliament of James I, 1603, he became M.P. for Richmond in Yorkshire, which place he represented many years, and made a considerable figure in the affairs of trade, revenue, and other matters of public concern. In 1612 he was living at Cheshunt, Herts. In 1616 he was appointed Registrar of the Court of Wards in Ireland, where, after he had sold a considerable part of his English property, he purchased large estates, Kanturk, Dunhallon, etc., in the county of Cork.

He married, secondly, about 1600, Alice, daughter of John Sherman, Esq., of Ottery St. Mary, Devon, by whom he had two sons and two daughters.

Walter, his eldest son, born 1602, died without issue, 1624.

Philip, afterwards Sir Philip Perceval, born 1603, a very distinguished statesman, and ancestor of Lord Egmont, his second son, succeeded to his estates.

Richard, his third son, being very young, deserted his school, and falling into scandalous ways for love of an actress, associated himself with a company of strolling players, with whom he went to Canterbury, and was mur-

dered there in a drunken scuffle, in the eighteenth year of his age.

Richard Perceval died in Ireland, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew, Dublin. In the inscription on his tomb are these words, "Having, in the office of Registrar under the said commission, travailed with equal pain to himself and profit to his Majesty, for the space of 3 years, he was called away to pay another service before the Throne of the Almighty King of Kings, upon the 4th of September 1620, in the 69th year of his age."

I have said above that George Perceval sold the Nailsea Court estate, in 1582, to Richard Cole of Bristol. I must now give an account of the Cole family, as it remained in their possession nearly one hundred years.

The Cole Family.—In the Heralds' Visitation of the county of Somerset, 1623,¹ we find the following genealogy of the Cole family certified by the signature of Richard Cole himself in the Heralds' Book.

"William Cole lived in the time of King Edward III and Richard II, who came from Colchester in the time of the said King Edward III with a gentleman called Mr. Foskye, who was lord of Bradstone, near Baynham House, when the said W. Cole fell acquainted with a widow and married her, and dwelt there, the said farm now called Baynham Farm, but then called Avenscourt

Thomas Cole of Avenscourt, *t.* Henry IV and Henry V

Morrice Cole, ditto, *t.* Henry VI and Edward IV

Alice=Giles Dymeni
of Gloucester

John Cole of Newport,
Cornwall, Henry VII and VIII

Thomas
Cole

Edward, of
Avenscourt

Richard Cole=Alice Carr,
who died 1604; twice M.P.
and Mayor of Bristol, 1585;
M.P., 1593; bought Nail-
sea Court, 1582; *d. s. p.*,
1599

Thomas Cole of Wike, Glou-
cestershire,= Foocott, or
Gostlett, of Marshfield. It
appears from R. Coles' will
that Will. Cole, father of
Richard Cole, was his brother

John Cole,² 1623,
from whom de-
scended Christo-
fer Cole of Hen-
bury

William Cole,=Ann, d. and h. of John Ashe, Bristol, d. 1626; buried in Nail-
sea Church, according to the burial registration
Sheriff of
Bristol, 1604

Richard Cole, b. 1588, Sheriff of
Somerset, 1646,=Ann, d. of Sir A.
Hopton of Wilians. He died 1650

William Cole,
b. 1600, d. 1657

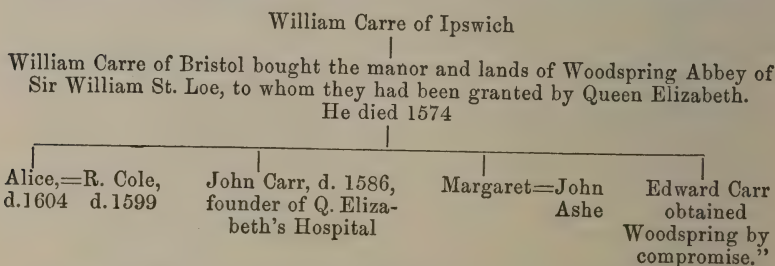
Ann Cole=W. Collins,
June 3, 1629.

¹ Harl. MSS. 1141, fol. 26b; 1445, fol. 45b; 1559, fol. 158.

² In Henbury Church, co. Glouc., are two monuments,—1, Chr. Cole of Charl-
1876 48

Richard Cole, who bought Nailsea Court in 1582, seems to have been a citizen of much wealth and consequence in Bristol. In Barrett's *History of Bristol*, and Seyer's *History* (1585 and 1593), Richard Cole, alderman, was, along with Mr. Thomas Hannam (Recorder), M.P. for the city of Bristol. 1685, the same year of his being in Parliament, he was Mayor of Bristol. During his mayoralty the following event is recorded as having taken place. "1586, March 17, the Earl of Pembroke came from Wells to Bristol to review the trained bands, and he taking the upper hand of the Mayor, notice thereof being given to the Queen (Elizabeth), she sent for him by post to court, and gave him a sore cheek, and he was committed to the Tower for a time, and further paid a fine for the offence." Richard Cole married Alice Carr.

From the Heralds' Visitation of the county of Somerset :



Alice Carr, the wife of Richard Cole, was the sister of John Carr, the wealthy soap-boiler of Bristol, the munificent founder of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital at Bristol. He endowed it with the manor of Congersbury and Wick St. Lawrence, who died 1586, and was buried in St. Werburgh's Church. Richard Cole died 1599. His will is in Doctors' Commons, London. His wife was Alice, 1604. Both bequeathed large sums in charity to the poor in Bristol. She mentions in her will her son Richard Cole ; but probably

ton, ob. 11 May 1689, aged seventy-six. Of his six children, Elizabeth, sole survivor, married R. Haynes of Abston. Arms, (i), a bull within a bordure engrailed, *sable*, charged with twelve roundlets; (ii), within a bordure a pomegranate. 2, Chr. Cole, gent., son of James Cole of Bristol, merchant, gave £1,000 for the Free School at Henbury. Ob. 1730, aged seventy. Arms: per pale *or* and *arg.* over all a bull *sable*, on a chief of the third, three bezants. A Christopher Cole married Mary Webb, 5 Jan. 1679. Benj. Willoughby, Esq., of Bristol, who died 1725, aged fifty-four (buried in St. Thomas Church), married Mary, daughter of Chr. Cole, junior, of Charlton House, Glouc., ancestor of the baronets of that name.

he died young, and the estate of Nailsea Court was inherited by William Cole, the nephew of Richard Cole, who resided at the Court. He was Sheriff of Bristol, 1604; married Ann, daughter and coheiress of John Ashe and Margaret Carr (see further on); and died 1626. Buried in Nailsea Church.

Richard Cole, his eldest son, succeeded to the estate, and lived at Nailsea Court. Born 1588, he was a county magistrate and High Sheriff of Somerset, 1646. He died June 7th, 1650, aged sixty-two. He married Ann, daughter of Sir Arthur Hopton of Witham Friary, near Frome, in Somerset. She died June 9th, 1650, only two days after her husband. Both were buried in Nailsea Church.¹

There is much that is interesting connected with this family of Hopton into which Richard Cole married; but it is here omitted on account of the restriction of space. Mr. Eliot Warburton, in his *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, mentions that Sir Arthur Hopton was one of the four knights bannerets who supported the royal standard when it was unfurled for the first time at Nottingham by Charles I, in defiance of the Parliament, 1642. This Sir Arthur was Mrs. Coles' brother. The barony of Hopton was entailed on him in default of male issue to his nephew, Lord Hopton, by letters patent, Sept. 4, 1643; but he died issueless, before his nephew, 1650.

In Warner's *History of Bath* there is a curious extract from the parochial books of the Abbey Church, in which it is recorded that the third time since the reign of Henry VIII the Abbey was repaired, viz., in the reign of James I. Towards these repairs various of the gentry connected with the diocese and county, being appealed to by Bishop Montague, gave handsome contributions, and their names and contributions are duly recorded. Then follows this entry:

¹ The monument in Nailsea Church mentions his son Samuel, who died at the age of twelve, 17 Oct. 1626; and his daughter Dorothy married Alexander Popham, Esq., 29 Oct. 1635, who died at the age of twenty-four, 2 Apr. 1643. Buried at the Gaunts in Bristol.

Oldmixon's *History of the Stuarts*, i, 121,—“A.D. 1633. When it was proposed to revive the Book of Sports, and every effort was made by Archbishop Laud to accomplish this object, so much evil it was found had arisen from the prevalence of Somersetshire revels, several of the leading men of Somerset drew up a petition to the King ‘that they might have favours and allowance to suppress all unlawful assemblies of church-ales, clerk-ales, bid-ales, and to punish all disorders then usually committed.’” Among the signatures to this petition we find that of Richard Cole.

"The Ladye Hopton of Witham Friery, and Robert Hopton, Esqre., her son, with some other of her family, have given the great bell in the tower, which came to the sum of £160, viz. : Lady Rachel Hopton, £20; Lady Bacon (daughter), £20; Lady Hubbard, £10; Lady Fettiplace, £10; Lady Bannister, £20; Mrs. Cole, £5; Mrs. Bingham, £5; Mrs. Stanton, £5; Mrs. Morgan (granddaughter), £10; Lady Mackworth, £5; Mr. Robert, son, £20; Sir Ralph Hopton, grandson, £10; Mrs. Thomas Hopton, £5; Mr. Arthur Hopton, £5."

Mrs. Cole of Nailsea Court was thus the aunt of the celebrated royalist General, Lord Hopton. We know not which cause her husband espoused during the civil wars. They died within two days of each other, in 1650.¹ They had two children : 1. *Samuel*, who died young, 1626, aged twelve.

2. *Dorothy*, who married at Nailsea, Oct. 29, 1635, Alexander Popham. In the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, there is an inscription to the virtuous Dorothy Popham, late wife of the Honourable Colonel Alexander Popham. She was the daughter of R. Cole of Nailsea. She died 1643. "Also Alexander, son and heir of Alexander and Dorothy Popham, buried 1642." The father of John Locke, the philosopher, was steward and court-keeper to Colonel Alexander Popham at Pensford.

Apparently, as Richard Cole left no children, the Nailsea Court estate devolved on his brother, *William Cole*,² born 1600, died 1657. I cannot find any mention of his wife, so perhaps he never married. His name occurs as Registrar in the Register of Marriages in the parish of Nailsea in 1655, when the ordinance of marriage had become a civil contract. "The intention of marriage between William Cotell and Jane Whitinge was published in the parish church of Naylsey upon the several Lord's days, to wit, the 8th, 15th, and 22nd days of April 1655, according to the Act of Parliament." The above named were married the 28th of May 1655. Signed "William Cole."

Probably at William Cole's death, in 1657, the estate of

¹ Seyer's *History of Bristol* records that in 1643 there were "under sentence of war, Nath. Fiennes, Governor of Bristol; Richard Cole, and others"; and in 1644 that "King Charles came to Bristol, and pardoned all concerned in the legal murders excepting Fiennes and Richard Cole."

² William Cole is mentioned in Nichols' *Coll. Topogr.*, i, 288, as purchaser, together with Will. Collins, of a parcel of the manor of Wells, in the sale of Bishop's lands, 1647-1651. William Collins married, in Nailsea Church, Ann Cole, sister of Will. Cole, 3 June 1629. William Cole is named among the commissioners for Somerset, in an Act of Parliament for assessment on England, at the rate of £60,000 per month for three months, towards maintenance of the Spanish war, 1657.

Nailsea Court came to William Collins, Esq.,¹ who had married, June 3, 1629, Ann Cole, sister of Richard and William Cole, as according to an old rate-book of the parish of Nailsea, dated 1679, we find a Richard Collins² rated for Nailsea Court, the names of the landowners in those days being always inserted in the parochial rate-book. In 1685 Mr. Collins' heirs are rated for the Court.

In 1698 the estate must have changed hands, as the name of Nathaniel Wade, Esq., and, 1704, Major Wade, appear as rated for the Court; and in 1717, Mrs. Wade.

In the year 1851 some correspondence took place in the Bristol papers relative to this Wade, in connection with an account of the *Duke* and *Duchess* privateers which were fitted out at Bristol, in 1705, to act against the Spaniards. They were under the command of Captain Woodes Rogers, a well known sea-captain at that period. They took a valuable ship, *The Marquis*, containing, besides money and many other things, five hundred bales of Pope's Bulls (sixteen reams in each bale) intended for South America. In these ships Captain W. Rogers also brought away Alexander Selkirk from Juan Fernandez, whose papers being put into the hands of Daniel Defoe were drawn out into the story of *Robinson Crusoe*. He also took a Manilla ship containing some valuable presents intended for the Queen of Spain; among them some very curious china and articles in tortoise-shell, then (1851) in possession of Mr. Henry Charles Harford, whose grandfather was well acquainted with a Mrs. Daniel, a daughter of the celebrated Major Wade, from whom he gleaned several particulars respecting Captain Woodes Rogers.

This Major Wade was a very prominent man in Bristol. Wade Street, near Frome Bridge, is named after him. His military rank was, doubtless, derived from his service in the train-bands, the militia of that period. He favoured the cause of the Duke of Monmouth in the reign of James II, and accompanied that ill-fated nobleman from Holland. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Sedgmoor, and sent to

¹ Inscriptions on the Cole monument in Nailsea Church record the death of Mary, daughter of William Collins and Ann his wife, sister of Richard Cole, who died 12 Sept. 1647, in her first year; and of William Cole, brother and heir of Richard Cole, who died 22 Feb. 1657, ætat. fifty-seven, at whose charge the monument was erected.

² Richard Collins, who owned the estate in 1680, was son, or nephew, or grandson of William Collins above mentioned, and Ann his wife.

the Tower, where King James used to visit him in order to induce him to betray the names of those persons connected with Monmouth's rebellion. Wade's family contrived to send him the names of those who had been beheaded, in the plaits of his linen, which was washed in the city; and these names he could, of course, from time to time give the King without injury to any one; and the King, thinking that Wade had given him what information he could, at last pardoned him. Wade then returned to Bristol, and became there a great partisan of James II; and it was through his means that the King most illegally removed from office some of the Town Council, and substituted others of different political opinions. Seyer, in *The History of Bristol*, says: "The contriver of all this mischief, a crafty and intriguing man, Nathaniel Wade, was rewarded with the office of Town Clerk." In 1681 he was practising as a barrister in Bristol. In 1711 he was Steward of the Sheriff's Court.

It is most likely that Wade's family occupied the Court house, as during the period of their possession of the property some individuals of that name were married in Nailsea Church. Thus in 1701, April 22nd, John Collins of Wells was married to Mary Wade; in 1717, Thomas Wade married to Ann Lovell.

The name of Daniel, probably the same family an individual of which married Wade's daughter, occurs frequently about that period in the Nailsea register of baptisms.

In the overseers' accounts for the parish of Nailsea occurs: "1700. Item. Paid Major Wade's Clarke for drawing the spines" (*i. e.*, the subpcena), "6 pence." 1704, April 17. "We do nominate and appoint Major Wade, Esqre., for his estate in Nailsea Parish, to find a churchwarden and overseer for the said parish."

There is a legend that Major Wade hung himself in one of the upper rooms of the Court house, which is still shown as the scene of the catastrophe.

The following occur in the rates' books as subsequent owners of the Nailsea Court property:—"1722, Mr. Christopher Appleby; 1725, Doctor Rogers; 1731, Madam Rogers; 1745, Sir Robert Knight; ——— [George Penrose Seymour]; 1795, Henry Cam Seymour; 1834, John Hugh Smith Pigott; 1846, Reginald Rodbard; 1864, Thos. Todd Walton, Esq., High Sheriff for the county of Bristol, 1872-3, and in 1873-4.

1551. Will of John Bythemore of Nailsea, in the Registry of Wills, Wells, Somerset :

"In the name of God Amen. The 30th day of Decr. in the 5th year of the noble reign of our Sovereign Lord Ed^d VI by the grace of God of England France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith and in right of the throne of England and Ireland supreme Governor. I John Bythemore of the Parish of Naylsey in the diocese of Bath & Wells, sick in my body yet the Lord be praised whole of mind and of perfect remembrance do make ordayne & constitute this my last will and Testament in the manner following

"Imprimis I commend my soul to God Almighty my body to Christian burial. Item. I do give unto the poor people halt lame sick & nedye householders the sum of £xx sterling which I will my Executors do pay in dealing of the same and that I give none of it unto valient Beggars and idle people that will not labour for their living but to such that do strive to live truly by the sweat of their brow whereof they shall answer before God for the good doing of the same Item. I do give and bequeath unto the reparation of the Church of Naylsey vis. & viiid. I do give and bequeath unto Richard Wale my wife's son for his mother and grandmother's bequests and for all their debts and duties due from me unto the said Richard Wale in full recompense of the same the sum of xi pounds sterling Item. I give and bequeath unto Henry Wike one of my executors and by this will do assign unto him all my right and interest & title lease & term that I have in Chelvey Park being and situated in the parish of Chelvey & County of Somerset with all manors & singular profits thereabouts belonging during the said term of years. Item. I do give unto my sister Mary Bythemore the sum of £8 8s. 8d. under the condition that she utterlie forsake the company of Elizabeth Powell being ill and naughty disposed neither succour her with any kind of sustenance or harbour and if the said Mary Bythemore do varie to this my will that then the said Mary is to have nothing and the said sum of £8 8s. 8d. be divided unto the poor in like manner & according to the tenour of my forementioned legacy. Item. I do give unto my sister Jane £8 8s. 8d. Item. I give unto my sister Elizabeth now leading her life contrary to God's laws with John Preston another woman's husband the sum of £4 sterling under this condition that she utterlie forsake and refuse the company of the said John Preston and afterwards live according to God's commandments if not to have nothing.....Item. I give to my sister Anne the rent due upon Richard Matthey for No Man's land & for Relief 6s. Item. I give towards the permission to take away the water from the meads & moor 11s.....Item. I give unto Sir William Saintlowe knight my best bedstead and featherbed with all the appurtenances belonging thereunto also my bay mare. Item. I give unto John Whiting the elder Thomas Witing and John Barry for their pains to be served.....unto this my last will and testament xis. to be equally divided between them.....Item. I do ordayne constitute & for God's glory do instantly desire my master Sir John Saintlowe to be overseer to this my last will."

Made 1551. Proved 1554.

Will of Richard Cole, June 16, 1559. Proved July 17, 1599. Alderman of Bristol :

"I commend my soul to the mercy and grace of Almighty God, etc. My body to be buried in All Saints' Church Bristol in the grave where my first wyffe lieth in the north Ile of the same Church & then & there Almighty God to be praised & his word to be preached at the present time of the funeral. I do wholly give & bequeath to my well beloved wife all my manors lands tenements houses etc. in Nailsea Somerset Congersbury and Wick St. Lawrence and Samford which I lately bought of William Tynt for her life then to Richard Cole son of William Cole my brother which son Richard he had by his first wife the daughter of John Ashe Merchant after the decease of my said wife when he attains 22 years. If Richard should die then to William Cole Richard's father. I give my wife all my household stuffe & furniture of house linnen and naperie and utensils fully and wholly excepting such things as I shall give away by this my will both in my new dwellinghouse in Bristol and also in my house at Nailsea with all my swyne at the Friars and at Naylsey with the wood vinegar¹ and such provisions of the House and my will is that none shall come unto my dwelling-house nor into my House at Naylsey to trouble her saving for such wares and merchandize as shall be in my Dwelling-house or any part thereof. And I except all the Draperie in and about any part of my dwelling-house or my House at Naylsey and all table-boardes stooles forms benches all the bedsteads eight of the best chests which are now in my dwelling-house at Bristol all the chests at Naylsey etc. all to be removed after my wife's decease to him or them that shall have the inheritance. To Alice his wife £2000 part of this legacy to be all my stocke of living cattle and corn which I shall have at Naylsey at the time of my decease two closes of land in Kingston Seymour which I hold by lease of Mr. Samuel Norton a quarter part of the manors of Pryddy Batcombe etc. bought of William Younge and his wife Ellynore daughter of John Ashe which were lands of John and Thomas Ashe.....I give to every one to whom I was witness to their baptisms a piece of silver of 5s. of King Edward's reign etc."

The will of Alice Cole, daughter of William Carre, alderman, deceased, Jan. 20, 1604. To be buried with her deceased husband. Speaks of her dwelling-house at Bristol and house at Nailsey, and of Ann Aysshe, first wife of William Cole, as her sister's daughter. Leaves forty shillings to the poor of Nailsea; a dozen "apostles-spoons" to Maria Bromley; "to my servant, Peter Milton, one of my featherbeds at Naylsey with a boulster and one pair of blankets, a red thrumbed coverlett, a downe pillow, and two pairs of sheets of my own making. To Richard Cole my best neste of gilt bowles with a cover, my virginalls, and one cipress cheste full of boxes. To Anne Bromley a leetle cheste which is at Naylsey, of red wood, and a box of ruffles which is there also." It speaks also of William Snigg the elder, son of George Snigg, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

¹ Probably meaning cider.

NOTES ON THE RESULT OF FURTHER EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF NEWGATE.

BY E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SEC.

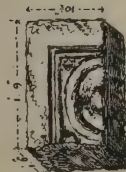
THE accumulated earth having been removed from the northern extremity of the massive wall supposed to be the City rampart, revealed the existence of two splayed angles, right and left of where the ancient arched passage ended at the external wall before mentioned. I was in time to have this shown on the plan published in the last volume (1875) of the *Journal*, but without explanation. It will be noticed that it has all the appearance of an external tower, and with the arch of the ancient passage is remarkable to find in such a position, buried as it has been for so many centuries. The course of the supposed City wall has not been traced beyond this abrupt termination, and it is possible that it may have extended more to the west. The workmanship was very good—the facing stones of hard Kentish ragstone being very neatly cut and jointed. The large size of the arch stones may be noticed on the elevation now produced, which shows how much the arch is below the base of the Roman cross-wall before noticed, and which appears to have stood on rising ground. This was cut through to its foundations, which were formed of large rough stones laid diagonally on the natural clay. This wall extends most probably further northward, beneath the site of the Giltspur Street prison. Its course northward was traced to the return wall shown on plan and on the section. This latter wall was found to go down a great depth, and a through single course of Roman bricks was met with over its whole extent, about 3ft. 6in. below the double course indicated on the section. The excavations reached the Roman level only at this point, and almost all the Roman pottery exhibited was found here. There was some difference in the appearance of the facing of the Roman wall and that of the supposed tower: the former being of Kentish ragstone roughly axed, with bands of bright Roman

bricks ; the latter of Kentish ragstone of the same size neatly axed and without bands, except at the springing, where there was one course. The arch, too, although formed of the same bright yellow stone as the passage, had its external face and part of the soffit very neatly worked to a fair face, and with a chamfer slightly hollowed. The contrast to the worn surface of the walls of the passage with the other part of the soffit of this arch was very apparent, and it may be supposed that the internal face would be less worn than the external. The conclusion I have come to is that this facing and the chamfer of the arch is a work of mediæval date, the stone being re-worked, and the chamfer cut in the ancient stone. The supposition of a reconstruction is strengthened by the fact that just at the junction of the passage with the external wall the former had only one ring of arch stones instead of two as elsewhere, and that the remaining one of precisely similar stone-work, as to the remainder, was backed up with chalky rubble. No Roman bricks were found in this portion of the wall except in small fragments built in. The passage extended beneath Newgate Street to some extent, and it was lately met with on laying the pneumatic tube to the Post Office.

Almost the whole of the passage is now removed, and the remaining part of the side wall is buried beneath the new buildings. On this account I have noted all details of the construction, since if this passage be of Roman date, as I affirm it is, one of the best preserved of Roman relics has passed away from us, and it is desirable that all evidence as to its date should be recorded. The masonry was in squared massive blocks, laid without much mortar on their joints, but well backed up with hard rubble, the lengths of each block were in some cases 4ft. 6in., 4ft. 3in., 3ft. 11in., the heights being 1ft. 7in. ; the arch stones were in long lengths, and 6in. and 8in. thick on the soffit.

This construction is altogether different from the usual mediæval masonry of rubble, or of ashlar work and rubble built together. Roman bricks were used in several places to fill in the joints of the arch stones. These had all the appearance of having been new and cut to fit their position in original construction, and not old material re-used in work of later date. In one position the arch sprang from Roman bricks solid and square, but which were broken

ANCIENT REMAINS ON THE SITE OF NEWGATE.



FRAGMENT OF CARVING IN HARD GRIT STONE

MODERN LEVEL OF CILTSPUR ST PRISON YARD.

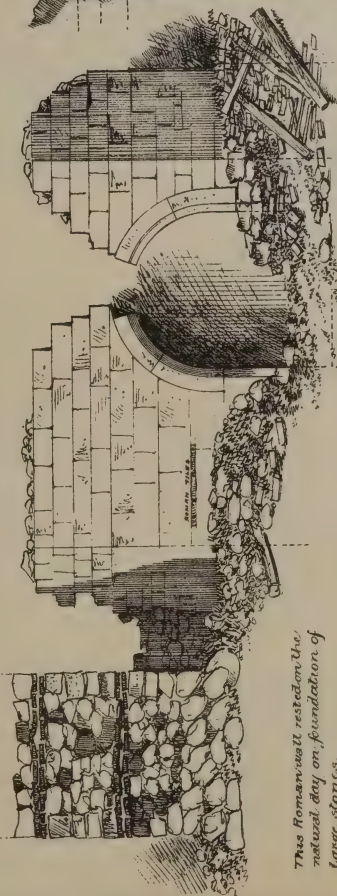
MODERN LEVEL.

PRISON YARD HERE

EARTH EXCAVATED.

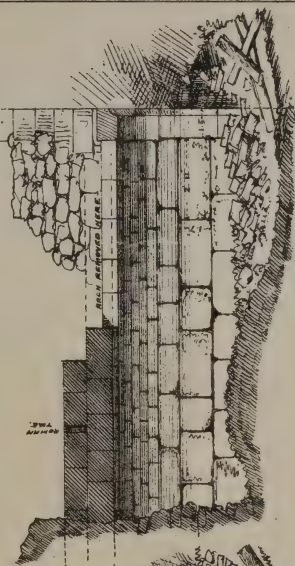
EARTH EXCAVATED

8. 0' 18. 3'



This Roman wall rested on the natural dry on foundation of large stones.

EXTERNAL (NORTHERN) FACE OF THE ARCH OF PASSAGE.



SECTION OF PART ONLY OF THE VAULTED PASSAGE.



before they would remove. The face of the stone was smoothed as if by rubbing with a piece of stone after being dressed. In several places the arched joints were made up by flat oyster shells carefully bedded in mortar. The mortar though hard had not the usual pounded bricks in its construction.

The springing of the continuous arch was not from a joint in the masonry as in mediæval work, but had the peculiarity of being worked out of the solid stone. The bed joints both to the side walls and arch were continuous throughout. The nature of the stone is very remarkable; believing it to call for much consideration, I venture again to refer to it. I have shown specimens to several masons of eminence, who all concur with me in believing it to be similar to Tisbury stone, but of a brilliant yellow colour. This record may be of much service for comparison with other discoveries. The labour of carting this material from so great a distance must have been very great. It may be added that Tisbury is about fourteen miles from Old Sarum, and that the latter station had direct communication with the great Western Road into London, and that whatever may have been the course of the Roman Watling Street, this roadway must have had direct entry through the Roman Gate on the site of Newgate, the traces of which, after so many centuries, have just been opened to view.

West of the large wall and projecting from its face, a massive block of rubble, formed of small chalk and some Kentish rag, was uncovered for a width of 11 feet. It was more below the ground level than any of the other walls, and part of it had evidently been cut through at early date, since it was found buried beneath very black earth, with some of the pottery which I produce.¹ Was this the base of a Roman tower projecting from the face of the wall? Various other walls of varying sizes and construction were recently met with and are indicated on the plan. I exhibit some more specimens of rough pottery of Roman and of later date.

¹ The final discoveries were:—That the east wall of the passage, as well as the west, was of great thickness, the former being about 13 feet along its whole extent. The wall 5 feet thick, indicated on the plan, (page 78, vol. for 1875) was built upon it. Also, that the ancient passage had been closed in mediæval times by a cross wall of rough rubble, and apparently filled in. Two unused encaustic tiles were found among the rubbish which closed it, and one of these bore the arms of Richard, King of the Romans.

ROMAN REMAINS AT NEWGATE.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

THE discovery by Mr. Loftus Brock of solid and extensive remains of Roman masonry at the west end of Newgate Street, on the north side, of which he has furnished us with excellent plans and descriptions, induces me to offer some suggestions as to the uses of the buildings of which these foundations formed a part, and I must preface my observations by a survey of what has been written about the Roman walls and city, in order to extract what is nearest to the probable from the many theories which have been advanced on the subject. Very little, if any, Roman work exists above ground in the portions of the old wall which still remain in different parts of its circuit, but as repairs and alterations in subsequent ages have been made upon the Roman foundations, the course of the wall remains the same, and I would advise a personal survey by following the streets, some of which by their name, and others by their inclination, enable us to trace the line exactly.

To begin where the Tower marks the extent of Roman London eastward, the modern Postern Row shows no Postern-gate now, which fell down from decay in the 15th century, but a good portion of the wall, about 40 feet in length and 25 feet in height, still stands to mark its course northward at the back of the houses in Trinity Square; and another portion is met with again at the back of Barber's bonded warehouses, in the basement of which the Roman foundations of the wall can now be conveniently seen. The wall then stretched up the line of Jury Street, having Vine Street on the east, near which Dr. Woodward (Letter to Hearne, 1711) saw the lower range of a tower in the vineyard behind the Minories,¹ composed of stone with layers of brick,

¹ This street derives its name from the Sisters Minoresses of Saint Clare, whose convent was outside the City wall. The house which had been built upon its site was granted by Charles II to Colonel William Legge, who resided there, and died in it in 1672, and was buried thence with great pomp in the adjoining church of Holy Trinity, Minories; he was an ancestor of one of our late noble presidents. (Pennant. *Some Account of London*, 1793.)

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after the Roman manner, and said it was the most considerable remain of Roman workmanship then extant in any part of England that he knew of, being 26 feet in height. Crossing Aldgate, where the Old Gate once stood which led eastward to Bethnal Green and the *Trajectus* at Old Ford, we may note in passing the two Roman cemeteries outside the walls on each side of the road from the Old-Gate, in the localities now named Goodman's Fields and Spital Fields. The remains in the latter, discovered in 1576, and the relics, such as the monumental stone erected by his wife to a soldier of the 6th Legion, found eastward of the Minories in 1787, and a similar one to a soldier of the 24th, near the lower end of Whitechapel Lane in 1776,¹ as well as the sarcophagus found in the Minories, and now in the British Museum (described in the *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 161), all testify to these Roman cemeteries.

The wall was continued from Aldgate² up the whole length of Duke Street and Camomile Street, at the end of which was Bishop's-Gate, the great exit northwards, and we have now described nearly a quarter of a circle. A Campus Martius of the Romans is supposed to be represented in modern times by the old Artillery Ground, and there were remains found in 1723 which indicate a Roman cemetery outside this gate.

Dr. Woodward examined the foundations of London Wall in Camomile Street, at the end next to Bishopsgate, in 1707.³ He ascertained the foundation of the wall at this place to lie 8 feet below the surface, and to the height of nearly 10 feet it appeared clearly to be of Roman construction. It was compiled alternately of layers of broad flat bricks and of rag-stone. The bricks lay in double ranges, and each brick being 1 3-10ths in. in thickness, the whole layer, with the mortar interposed, exceeded not 3 inches. The layers of stone were not quite 2 feet thick of our measure. The wall up to this height was 9 feet in thickness. From this height of about 10 feet the original wall had been demolished, and the rest of the structure ascending 8 or

¹ Charles Knight's *London*, 1841.

² Near Aldgate lived and died John Stow the able historian of London city and its remains.

³ This description of the Roman work should be compared with an excellent view of the foundation of the wall exposed near Postern Row in 1852, which is given in the *Journal* (vol. viii).

9 feet more, though of the same thickness, was evidently a comparatively recent work. He found the mortar not near so hard as in the part below.

The entire wall from the foundation, therefore, was about 27 feet in height, of which about 19 feet were still above ground.¹

By following Wormwood Street we continue in a straight line westward by a street called London Wall, where a portion of the old wall is still to be seen close to the church of Allhallows. A larger portion of this existed up to 1666, extending 714 feet from the north end of Winchester Street, nearly to the spot where Moor-Gate stood. See engravings by J. T. Smith (*Ancient Topography of London*, 1810).

We now arrive at one of the more modern gates leading at one time to the open moor, where so many medieval and other remains have been exhumed. Beyond Moorgate westward, the street still continues in nearly a direct line, under the name of London Wall, to Cripplegate. A portion of the wall is still to be seen, adjoining the church of St. Alphage. Cripplegate Buildings point to the spot where the old gate stood. St. Giles' Church was outside the wall, which now turns to the south-west, and comes to Aldersgate near the church-yard of St. Botolph, continuing southward at the back of Christ's Hospital and round upon Newgate Street, which it crossed at right angles, where the remains now discovered stand at or about the spot where New Gate stood.

The wall then follows the course of the Old Bailey a little to the eastward of it, and the line of it can be traced in the yard of the Warwick Arms, an inn of the 17th century, in Warwick Lane, whence it proceeds to Ludgate, the gate standing at the point of division between Ludgate Hill and Ludgate Street, west of St. Martin's Church, and the wall then ran down to the Thames in a straight line to where the castle of Montfichet stood up to the date of 1276.—(*Matt. Paris.*) As to this western side of the wall it is believed to have once been carried in a direct line south from Aldersgate, crossing the middle of the area where St. Paul's Cathedral now stands, to the Thames, because remains have been found of it along this line in sinking a shaft at Pater-

¹ Charles Knight's *London*, 1841.

noster Row,¹ and I believe in Queen Victoria Street last year. This is also confirmed by the fact that a Roman cemetery existed at the north-western side of St. Paul's, which must have been outside the then boundary of the City.²

In this cemetery Sir Christopher Wren found Saxon graves lined with chalk stones in general, though some enclosed stone coffins. Deeper still were the ancient British graves, in which were found ivory and wooden pins in abundance, of about six inches long. In the same row, but deeper, Roman urns were intermixed at the depth of 18 feet or more. Upon searching still deeper for the natural ground the surveyor observed that the foundation of the old church lay upon a layer of very close and hard pot-earth, and he concluded that the same ground might be trusted again. However, he had the curiosity to dig wells in several places and found this hard pot-earth to be about six feet thick and more on the north side of the churchyard but thinner and thinner, and upon the declining of the hill, scarcely four feet. Beneath this he found nothing but dry sand.³

The southern or river frontage was probably guarded by a wall, if not continuous, at least strong enough for defence, and necessary because the banks were then less steep than they have since become, and could be reached in parts by fords at low water; it does not appear, however, that remains of such a wall have been found. Now, as to the history of the wall, we have no actual account of it by the Roman classical writers, and in the fifth century it fell into the penumbra of the eclipse of history which prevailed more or less for seven hundred years, and we must therefore fall back upon the foundation stones of the wall itself to obtain a clue to the first builders. As to documentary evidence, Fitz-Stephen, in the reign of Henry II, is said to be the first writer who mentions the wall. The City of London is conspicuous by its absence from history during many centuries, and therefore we are unable to substantiate its claim to walls at the same early period as York, Chester, and Caerleon. The theory hitherto adopted has been, that

¹ Charles Knight's *London*, 1841.

² A monumental stone was found near Ludgate Hill after the fire of 1666, dedicated by his wife to one Vivius Marcianus, a Roman soldier of the 2nd legion. (Horsley, *Brit. Rom. Tab.* 75.)

³ John Noorthouck's *New History of London*, 1773.

because Boadicea burned London it could not have had walls in the time of Claudius and Nero ; and because the Franks made an easy entry into it after the murder of Allectus, it must have been an open town in his time ; and because Theodosius when he restored tranquillity to Britain left the camps and forts in a good state of defence, therefore he probably first fortified London with a stone wall, about A.D. 379. It is further argued that at the earlier periods it was rather in the interest of the Romans to leave London open for the encouragement of free trade, and procuring by this means abundant supplies for their armies ; while it is maintained that at the latter period it was necessary to make a strong fort of London against the continued attacks of the Saxon invaders and native chiefs. These arguments seem to me invalid, and it may be replied that if under Claudius and Nero the vallum and ditch were the only fortification to the camp, yet when the whole country was subdued under Vespasian, and the north and west pacified, it is very unlikely that the usual scientific rules would have been neglected for the permanent defence and occupation of so important a military position as that of London city, which at this time would have been thoroughly taken possession of and occupied by Roman official personages and others.¹

Abundant evidence is afforded of the state of civilisation in London, and of the elegance of its edifices, by the numerous foundations of buildings, mosaic pavements, and baths which have been excavated ; and now lastly by Mr. Brock's masonry, which displays a refined system of aqueducts for supplying the City with water. The City proper being occupied by soldiers, and the magnates both civil and military, it is not unlikely that the native and trading population, as well as the stores of goods were located in Southwark. Ptolemy, writing in the reign of Trajan or soon after, places London in Kent, that is south of the Thames ; and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna indicates it as on both

¹ Even at the earlier period, Tacitus says London was "maxime celebre", from the number of its merchants and its traffic, and because Suetonius Paulinus abandoned it to Boadicea, it does not follow that it was not walled and fortified, but the Roman general feared there were not soldiers enough to man so extensive a place, though he had 10,000 regular troops with him at the time, but he judged their safety to be the first consideration after the recent fatal experience of Petilius. (*Tac. Ann.* xiv, 33.)

sides of the river. As the suburban population increased they would occupy the shores of the Thames and Fleet river on the west, and where the long street outside the City to the north still goes by the name of Old Street.

No argument can be deduced from the entry of the Franks after the murder of Allectus, because it is probable they were admitted by the defection of the troops favourable to the barbarians, who had been drilled and commanded by their late popular Emperor Carausius whom Allectus had killed.

To go back to the first occupation of London by the Romans, the most probable theory of the many set forth is, that the high ground of Leadenhall Street would first have been occupied, and a Roman way made to lead up to it from Belen's-gate to the hill of Apollo Belenus, who seems to have been a Celtic god connected with iron or *chalybes* brought down in the streams.¹ The Romans called him Apollo, because they considered the sun to be the producer of metals. The prætorium was probably near the spot where at the intersection of the four streets Leadenhall Street terminates in Cornhill, and it has been considered that the Wal-brook, a streamlet flowing down into the Thames was the boundary of the camp westward. The authorities for Belenus-gate, apart from the similarity of the modern name, are Geoffrey of Monmouth and Layamon's Brut.

When Vespasian and Agricola had subdued the whole country, and had leisure both to Romanise and to fortify it, we may well expect to see the defences of London improved and rendered durable ; we shall then not be presuming too much upon the inferences of history to attribute the building of the first wall to the reigns of the Flavian emperors, when the west side of it extended from Aldersgate to the Thames as before mentioned. The four ancient gates of the Roman city were situated close to where four churches now stand, all dedicated to Saint Botolph, which were probably reared on the sites of Roman temples near

¹ On the Surrey side of the Thames chalybeate waters flowed more or less throughout the line of country extending to Bermondsey from Streatham, where a spring impregnated with iron and sulphur (noted in the days of Charles II) has been used to the present time, and the name and memory of a spa exists at Dulwich and at Bermondsey, and beyond the river Thames at Islington.

the gates, St. Botolph by Billingsgate ; St. Botolph Without, Aldgate ; St. Botolph Without, Bishopsgate, and St. Botolph Without, Aldersgate.

The tyranny of Domitian and recall of Agricola would put a stop to or retard improvements in Roman London, but with Nerva and Trajan a new era set in ; an era of road-making and of public works not only in Rome and Italy, but throughout the provinces ; accordingly it is natural to look for some evidence of such an epoch in our own history, and when we find that a man like Sextus Julius Frontinus had been sent over here as governor as far back as A.D. 75, the year after his consulship, a general, a jurist, a consular, a mechanician, though he was only with us three years, having returned to Rome in A.D. 78, we may be sure that much was accomplished from this time up to the end of Trajan's rule. Tacitus speaks of the military success of Julius Frontinus as a general in the west of England, and to him may in all probability be traced some of those scientific forts of which we had an example last summer in visiting Sodbury camp. The Via Julia along the south coast of Wales perpetuates the memory of his name. His deeds were greater than Tacitus cared to record, lest they should throw a shade over those of his successor Agricola, or the Emperor Vespasian, but he calls Frontinus "a great man, who supported the weight of his command as well as was possible."—(Tac. *Agric.*, c. 17). The prætorian way by the Old Kent Road seems to have been carried, as to its passage of the river, westward to Stoney Street, Southwark, and across to the Dwr-gate or river gate, where a projecting wharf¹ at Dowgate points perhaps still to the exact landing place, unless the Old Swan Pier is preferred ; but in crossing a river by a ford we must remember that a diagonal transit would be preferred to a direct one, and the passage would be up or down according to the ebb or flow of the tide. This was a more direct line to Aldersgate than by the Billingsgate passage. From Dowgate the road would take a north-westerly direction by Budge Row to the left of St. Mary Aldermary's Church and part of Watling Street, under the north front of Bow Church, where the remains of the road were found four feet

¹ A good view of this may be obtained from the foot-way on the iron railway bridge, which crosses the river from Cannon Street.

in thickness, and another portion in Cheapside, near Bread Street, and crossing at the end of Foster Lane, by the spot where Goldsmith's Hall now stands, it passed to the left of St. Ann's Church, proceeding thence to the Aldersgate, close to St. Botolph's Church. Through this gate the road led in a direct line by Pentonville, beyond the New River head, by Hampstead Heath and Hendon to Verulamium.

This seems to have been the old route, when probably an out-work or *præsidium* existed in the neighbourhood of Islington; and Mr. Nelson, in his history of that suburb, goes so far as to fix Battle Bridge as the spot where the action took place between Romans and Britons in A.D. 61. The road is traced at Hendon by charters of Edward the Confessor according to Camden, and charters of Edwy according to John J. Park.¹ Norden, in his *Speculum Britannicæ*, 1593, makes the road proceed over Hampstead Heath, and thence to an old lane near Hendon, through which it passed to Edgeware, thence it crossed over the Brokeley Hills, through part of Hertfordshire by Radlett, Colne Street, St. Stephen's, and St. Michael's, leaving St. Alban's half a mile to the east.

Dean Gale concurs with Norden's statement² as to its course away from London, but makes it enter the city at Port Pool, dividing there, and one branch going round by Westminster into Kent. This is to suit Ranulphus Higden's statement that the Watling Street avoided London altogether, diverging from the south out of the old road or Great Dover Street by the New Kent Road, through Newington to Stangate, Lambeth, and crossing the Thames at the Horse Ferry,³ proceeded to the west of Westminster by Hampstead to St. Alban's. This is a roundabout way thither from Canterbury, unless for the purpose of avoiding London, and is more like the arrangement of the Rome of Gregory to connect Canterbury, Westminster, and St. Alban's, than that of Trajan to unite Durovernum, Londinium, and Verulamium.

I have taken the probable course of the roads by comparing and analysing the data recorded by Leland from

¹ *Topog. of Hampstead*, London, 1818.

² *Ibid.*

³ Maitland refutes Higden as to the passage of the Thames and the road west of Westminster; he says the raised way pointing to the Horse Ferry was made by order of Parliament in 1643. *History of London* by William Maitland. London, 1739.

the older and the criticisms of later writers. Leland, in his itinerary (*Oxford*, 1745, vol. vi, p. 109), gives the account of Ranulphus Higden from his *Polychronicon*, and the MS. of the Cottonian library called "Eulogium on Roman roads" as the "most distinct and perfect," but it seems to me that until we give up the useless endeavour to make the Roman roads tally throughout their course with those which went under the names of Foss Way, Watling Street, Ermine Street, and Ryknild Street at a later period, we shall never get out of embarrassments greater even than those into which antiquaries were led by that "lord of misrule", the false Richard of Cirencester.

The Watling Street is nearer the old Prætorian way than any of the others in its long course, but then we must leave out its passage through London. If we trace the itinera of Antoninus on a map, we shall see how totally at variance his lines are with the four routes before referred to in their whole course, and if the Watling Street nearly corresponds in its main features, yet near London it is distorted like all the others to serve either the interest of the monks or the theories of historians.

At Newgate¹ there must have been a gate and road leading out by Holborn to the West of England by Spinæ and Calleva, whether this latter place answered to the modern Henley or Silchester.² We must recollect that out of the fifteen itinera of Antoninus no less than eight either start from, or lead up to, or pass through London. The solid old Roman road found at Holborn Bridge is one evidence of this gate and road, if any were wanted. The name of New Gate may have originated in those early times when the City was extended to distinguish it from the four original Gates before referred to; and we may hazard a conjecture that the prætorium at this time may have been removed near to that part of the main road where London Stone in Cannon Street marks the highest ground in that part of the City;³ the direction of Threadneedle Street

¹ According to a late author, Howell, it was anciently denominated Chamberlain's Gate. (Maitland.)

² Calleva is Silchester according to Sir R. C. Hoare; Vindomum is Silchester according to Camden; Calleva is Henley according to Gale.

³ A beautiful pavement discovered about the middle of Bush Lane is now preserved in the museum of the Royal Society. *New History of London*, by John Noorthouck. London, 1773.

would lead to Bishop's Gate, and the *pomærium* of the City would be extended westward by pulling down the wall from Aldersgate southward, and rebuilding it from thence to the spot where the foundations of buildings have now been discovered, and thence to the Thames in a straight line, enclosing in the Roman city the British hill where the worship of the Moon was probably replaced by that of Diana, and the Lud Gate would be erected as an exit westward to the Fleet river, and the shelving banks of the Thames, deriving, perhaps, its name from Leod-Gate or people's gate (the *porta del populo*), which would be rightly so called if the lower part of the hill and banks of the Fleet river were occupied by the native population. Etymological derivations, however, are very uncertain. Baxter (*Gloss. Ant. Brit. voc. Londinium*) says *Lod* in Saxon means aqueduct, and that the name of the gate arose from its abutting on the Fleet river, and I find the word *ladian* in Somers' *Saxon Lexicon*, used in the sense of emptying water, and *hladan* wheel, the engine used to draw water from wells. This being so, it strengthens the supposition that the tower discovered near Ludgate Hill in 1792 was connected with the water works.¹

The wall was flanked at intervals with various towers, of which fifteen² remained in Dr. Woodward's time, 1707; these have been called watch-towers, and the Saxon name *Burgh-Kenning* has been given them. The accounts we have of them are scanty. One is mentioned on the west of Houndsditch, at the end of Gravel Lane, which was three stories high, but sorely decayed and rent from top to bottom in divers parts. Eighty paces south-east of this towards Aldgate Mr. Maitland discovered another of the same construction, of the height of 21 feet, and much more beautiful than the former, built of stone with layers of Roman brick,

¹ A good view of this Tower is given by J. T. Smith (*Ancient Topography of London*, 1810), who says the stones of several sizes which composed it were "all goggled together and filled in with slush of hot lime, which cemented them so strongly that the workmen who lately took parts of them down were obliged to drive in wedges to get them asunder; their pick-axes being turned or blunted at almost every stroke. The corner stones were all chopped nearly square, of two sizes, and placed alternately".

² Of these there were—between Postern and Aldgate, 3; between Aldgate and Bishopsgate, 3; between Bishopsgate and Moorgate, 1; between Cripplegate and Aldersgate, 4; between Aldersgate and Newgate, 2; between Newgate and Ludgate, 2; total, 15. From Robert Seymour's *Survey of London and Westminster*. London, 1733.

and these as sound as if newly laid ; then there was the portion of one near Vine Street before referred to. The famous Barbican, a tower of some importance, stood outside the wall between Aldersgate and Cripplegate, but we do not know if this was Roman or on Roman foundations. On the west side there are notices of several towers, and the three noted ones on the south side ; but this discovery at Newgate Street, of remains undoubtedly Roman, places us at once on more certain ground. We have a Roman arch of very massive construction, which from its strength and position can only have been built to resist the great force of a subterranean river, and squared walls of great thickness and strength, for the plans and description of which I refer to Mr. Brock's paper and illustrations in the *Journal*. In Latin the same word *castellum* is used for a watch-tower, or a stone cistern which may be called a water-tower ; and fortunately, we have an elaborate treatise on water-works, and on the *Castella* of aqueducts, written by the very S. Julius Frontinus to whom I have before referred, and who was pro-prætor of Britain A.D. 75 to 78. *Castella* of this kind were often ornamental works, of which many examples still exist. I will give first a quotation from Stow about the ancient water-supply in this part of the town, and then some particulars from the words of the great *Curator* of water-works in Rome, S. Julius Frontinus, and must then leave to Mr. Brock and others learned in architectural construction to say if we cannot trace the use of the north-western water-shed as described by Stow to Roman times, and these works to the ingenuity of Roman engineers for supplying upon scientific principles the City of London with water. Stow says (*Survey of London, M. and D. edit. London, 1633*), "Anciently untill the Conqueror's time, and two hundred years after, the Citie of London was watred (besides the famous river of Thames on the south part) with the river of Wels, as it was then called. In the west suburb was also another great water, called Old-Borne, which had his fall into the river of Wels. Then there were three principall fountains or wels in the other suburbs ; to wit, Holy Well, Clement's Well, and Clarke's Well. Neere unto this last-named fountaine were divers other wels ; to wit, Skinner's Well, Fag's Well, Tode Well, Loder's Well, and Radwell. All

which said wels having the fall of their overflowings into the foresaid river, much increased the streame, and in that place gave it the name of Well. In West Smithfield there was a Poole in record called Horsepoole, and another neere unto the parish church of St. Giles Without, Creplegate". Here is just the flow which would be collected by the Romans into an aqueduct, and the water of the Old Borne, running from its source at about Holborn Bars down Holborn Hill, would still be below its original level at this spot on Snow Hill.¹ That the City was supplied with water in the times of Trajan on scientific principles no one can doubt who knows the system of the Romans in this respect, the importance of London City, and the activity of Trajan's government.

It was not alone such great works as the aqueduct of Segovia in Spain, or bridge across the Danube, or the entrenchment extending from that river to the Rhine, which occupied the attention of this really *pater-patriæ*, but I will just give two instances of his care for the less important towns of the empire, Sinope on the Black Sea, and Zara in Dalmatia. Pliny writes to him from the former of these two places in A. U. C. 856, to say that water is much wanted and might well be brought from a spot sixteen miles off. The emperor in reply says:—"As you have begun, my dear Pliny, still continue to inquire most minutely whether that particular place which you say seems a likely one, can properly sustain the edifice of an aqueduct. I cannot hesitate a minute in thinking that it is absolutely necessary to bring water to the colony of Sinope: and, if possible, it should be done by themselves, as being a circumstance that will conduce so effectually to the health and pleasure of the city.—(*Pliny*, x, epist. 73.) Here is also "the eye to business" of a practical man. Trajan hopes they would be able to pay for the aqueduct themselves.

¹ At the east end of the City the Langborne was probably carried in an artificial bed, for it could not have run up in the direction described by Stow, unless the level had been altered. He says, "Langborne water, so called of the length thereof, was a great streame breaking out of the ground in Fen-Church Street, which ranne downe with a swift course, through the street, thwart Grass Street, and downe Lombard Street to the west end of Saint Mary Wolnuth's Church, and then turning the course south, downe Shareborne Lane (so termed of sharing or dividing), it brake into divers rills or rillets to the river of Thames". Stow's *Survey of London*, by A. M. and H. D., page 10. London 1633.

The next instance is shown by an inscription given in Spon.—(*Misc. erudit. Antiq.*, p. 181. Lugduni, 1685.)

Colonia Iadera, now Zara.

IMP. NERVA TRAIAN.

PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT.

AQUÆDUCTUM COLON.

IN QUO DANTE IMPEN.

SACRATISSIMI PRINCI...

Where we see the emperor contributed to the expense of the aqueduct at Iadera. Surely, at this time he would have taken care that London should be properly fortified and supplied with water. Sextus Julius Frontinus was made Curator of the Aqueducts in Rome in A.D. 97, nineteen years after he had left Britain, and his *Commentary upon Aqueducts*, published three years after his appointment, is certainly not unfavourable to the supposition, that if he was not allowed to accomplish such a work as supplying London with water during his proprætorship, yet he must have formed the plan and directed its execution at least when Nerva and Trajan came to power, if the work had not been accomplished before. The latter emperor was a hard-working man like Frontinus himself, and Vegetius (lib. ii, cap. iii), in speaking of Trajan's victories, connected Frontinus with them by the fame of his writings, referring in this instance to the standard works of Frontinus on Military History and Tactics. The character of the man shows itself in the preface to his own work on aqueducts, where he says nothing is so improper as to delegate a duty to another which you ought to know how to perform yourself, and that in the matter of aqueducts he considered it of the first importance, as indeed in every other business, to understand thoroughly what you are taking in hand. I will now give a few particulars from his work on aqueducts which are applicable to their construction in any part of the empire. His dignity of *Curator Aquarum* was supported when outside the City by the insignia of Roman magistracy. Two lictors were to accompany him, three public servants, an architect, as well as scribes, accountants, heralds, and criers to the same number as were allotted to the magistrates who distributed the corn, and the same also inside the city, with the exception of the lictors. (See the S. C. given in Frontinus, *Patavii*, 1722, p. 176.)

To these may be added the army of artificers, who under the names of Villici, Castellani, Circuitores, Silicarii, and Tectores, had each their particular duties allotted to them. The *Castella*, which collected the water brought into them through the *Specus* or conduit, were the strong cisterns or water-towers from which it was distributed in pipes through the city. The conduits were of three kinds :—

1st. The subterranean.

2nd. The *substructio*, which was a conduit of which the lower part only was underground.

3rd. That elevated upon arcades.

The water was collected from the spring-heads into the conduits, and the *signinum opus* was much used to cement the masonry which came in contact with the water ; this, according to Pliny, was pounded earthenware compacted with chalk or lime.—(*Hist. Nat.* xxxv.)

Before entering the conduit the water passed into a *piscina limaria* that it might settle down and deposit the mud or impurities. Shafts of masonry were carried at intervals of an *actus*, or 120 feet, from the conduit to the surface of the ground for the purpose of ventilation, and steps led down to the water-course. These shafts were called *putei*.

The waters conducted into Rome were on different levels, and therefore could not all reach the highest parts of the city, and some places were much raised in their level by the accumulation of rubbish from the frequency of fires ; all this had to be guarded against. The levels were carefully calculated by instruments used for the purpose.

The *Castella* were divided into compartments, some of which were only filled from the overflow of the others into them, by which arrangement water could be economised in time of scarcity. From these *Castella* the water was distributed through the city in pipes, generally of lead, for public works, for private houses, and for the lakes. The water was measured out of the cistern by a *calix* or tap of brass inserted into it, and having the gauge of pipe and its use engraved upon it. These taps were to be not less than 12 digits long, and the diameter was according to the scale required. These *calices* were fastened on to the leaden pipes, *fistulæ*, of the proper scale or measure, which went by the names of *quinariæ*, *sextenariæ*, *septenariæ*, and up to *centumvicenariæ*, according to their diameters.

The quinaria derived its name (by one calculation) from the sheet of lead being 5 digits in width before it was rolled up and closed in; the diameter of this is given as 5-4ths or $1\frac{1}{4}$ digits (the digit being 1-16th of a foot, and the Uncia 1-12th); the most usual sized pipe, the quinaria, therefore had a diameter of about $1\frac{2}{3}$ in. The senaria would have 6-4ths or $1\frac{1}{2}$ digits, and the septenaria would have 7-4ths or $1\frac{3}{4}$ digits, and so on. The pipes were in pieces not less than 10 ft. long, and were very carefully soldered at the joints.

I have given these few particulars of the pipes because some thought to be Roman have been discovered not far from the neighbourhood, and a piece of one was exhibited to the Society by Mr. Edw. Roberts not long since.¹ The distribution for the public uses was for the camp, public works, games, naumachiæ (*munera*), and the lakes.

The lakes in the city were ponds of water to be used for the cattle to drink, for ablutions, and for putting out fires. The supply to private individuals was either paid for or was granted by special favour of the emperors.

Here is an inscription found on the Aventine Mount at Rome, showing the name of an individual who was to have two jets of water turned on for four hours:—

C. JVLI HYMETI
AVFIDIANO
AQVAE DVAE
AB HORA SECVNDA
AD HORAM SEXTAM

In horto S. Mariæ in Aventino, apud Grævium, vol. iv.

We have inscriptions of S^s C^{ta} for regulating the water supply, of which the following headings from Reinesius will give some idea.—(*Synt. Inscript. Antiq.*, Lipsiæ, 1682.)

1. No private person to draw off water, except what overflows into his ground out of a pond or lake.

2. No one to pollute the water given out to the public under a penalty of 10,000 sesterces (£80).

3. No one to draw off the overflow of the Castella, called the *Aqua Caduca*, except by special gifts of the emperor or of his predecessors, because this overflow is wanted, not only for the salubrity of the city, but also for cleansing the sewers.

¹ *Journal*, xxix, 185.

4. An act to permit materials to be taken from the lands of private individuals, such as earth, mud, stones, potsherds, sand, wood, or other materials, for repairing the ducts, cisterns, or arches of a certain aqueduct which is named.

5. An act commanding that certain spaces round the aqueducts should be kept clear of buildings and trees, and if there should be any of the latter they must be rooted up.

The abstention of Frontinus from references to his own public works in his writings, is quite of a piece with the character of the man. The estimation in which he was held by his countrymen is shown by a medal struck by the citizens of Smyrna to his memory, on which is the head of Frontinus, an honour rarely conceded to any but the Emperor himself. On the obverse of the coin is a river god.¹ It would be interesting to find it proved that one of his works was now brought to light in the nineteenth century; but whether he himself was the author of the waterworks in Newgate Street or not, his system and arrangement, as shown in his written work, would be adopted by those who came after, as he himself ventured to foretell and to hope for in his commentary.

The work of Vitruvius being written so long before the time we are describing, is a less certain guide for us on aqueducts than Frontinus, just as the military system described by Polybius is superseded by that for which Hyginus is our guide in the days of Trajan and Hadrian.

The age of Trajan was one of surprising activity, of thought as well as of action. The list of poets and authors worthy of the name of Roman, though perhaps wanting in all the manly vigour of the age of Augustus, still are models of the most refined language and ideas, and in many respects show a material progress in civilization. If Tacitus, in his old age, could have continued his histories, we might have learned something of the great public works in Britain, and more of Frontinus himself, of whom we only get casual notices, as in a few lines of Ælian,² or a letter of Pliny,³ or an epigram of Martial. This poet sang his regrets for the

¹ The coin is figured in the edition of Frontinus. Studio Johannis Poleni, Patavii, 1722, Tab. 8. It is also given in Spon, *Misc. Erud. Antiq.*

² "Frontinum virum nostro tempore consularem." Ælianus in *Tactica*, Cap 1.

³ "Adhibui in consilium duos, quos tunc civitas nostra spectatissimos habuit, Correlium et Frontinum." *C. Plinii Epist.* 1, lib. v.

pleasant day he had spent in the society of the great man in the quiet retreats of the watery Anxur, or on the shores of Baïæ, when deploring the hard labour which was grinding down the lives of both of them in Rome.—(Martial, *Epig.*, x, 58.)

Having now given some data upon which I have endeavoured to prove by historical inference, borne out by the recent discovery, that Roman London was both fortified with a wall and supplied by aqueducts with water in the times referred to, we arrive at what might have been expected from the analogous example of York, a fortified camp or city in the times of Trajan, or Hadrian ; let me say a few words on the remains. We have come upon one of those subterranean rivers which were the wonder of Cassiodorus in the sixth century, who says (*Lib. vii, epist. 6*) that to look at the solidity of the stones of the conduits which have borne the rush of water for so many centuries, you would suppose they had been natural cavities in the solid rock. Then we have in Newgate Street¹ a well which might have been originally a shaft for ventilating the channel of water at a lower level, with steps leading down for the purpose of repairs or clearing away obstructions. The name of *puteus* is given to these shafts,² and also to the ordinary wells. Then there are the remains of walls which may have belonged to one of the water-towers into which the water would come through the specus or solid conduit of which we see such a fine example in Newgate Street. In saying thus much of the solid masonry as the work, which is unmistakeable, of really Roman times, we must not lose sight of the inevitable fate of an aqueduct in the stormy period which succeeded the fall of the empire. The continuous stream of water once cut off ; the conduits would in some places be receptacles for stagnant waters ; the shafts from them would be used as wells ; the water-towers, when water no longer flowed into their cisterns, could only be converted into military works, and hence even the knowledge of their previous uses was lost. Stow's

¹ Pennant, *Some Account of London*, 1793, mentions a Turkish bath in Bagnio Court, Newgate Street, called the Hummums, corrupted, as he says, from the Arabic Hamman, signifying a bath. This, if not a direct successor of a Roman bath, was at least placed near the old source of good water supply.

² The form of these shafts is figured in the learned dissertation on aqueducts of Raphael Fabretti. *Apud Grævium, Antiq. Rom.* iv, p. 1684.

account of one supports this view : he says, "On the east side (of Alders-gate) is the addition of one great building of Timber, with one large floore paved with stone or tile, and a well therein curbed with stone, of a great depth, and rising into the said roome, two stories high from the ground ; which well is the onely peculiar note belonging to that gate, for I have not seene the like in all this Citie, to be raised so high". Then we have another testimony that "not many years since, on the left hand coming in at Ludgate, in the Residentiary's Yard at St. Paul's, was discovered a Roman aqueduct close adjoining to the wall of this city. Such another was found after the fire by Mr. Span, an ancient citizen in Holiday Yard, in Creed Lane in digging the foundations for a new building, and this was carried round a bath that was built in a round forme with niches at an equal distance for seats". (Mr. John Bagford's letter in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i.)

Our conduit at Newgate in mediæval times may have been used for water when it served the purpose ; at another time for a passage into the tower ; or may even have played its part as a dungeon for prisoners, or for many other uses. The water supply of the Romans, once disorganised, was freely supplied by private and parochial conduits till the New River works were opened by the Lord Mayor in A.D. 1613. Let us try to preserve the arch and the shaft or well. The citizens of London have an opportunity by taking measures for their preservation of storing up a link in their own pedigree, which connects them with the most flourishing age of ancient Rome, and at the same time of showing the same respect for high engineering talent which the citizens of Smyrna so clearly expressed when they coined a medal in honour of Frontinus, notwithstanding that Roman's well-known speech to his countrymen—"Erect no monument to me ; it is a useless expense. If I have deserved to live I shall never die." (*C. Plinii Epist.* 19, lib. ix.)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th, 1876.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A., *Honorary Draughtsman to the Association*, IN
THE CHAIR.

[NOTE.—The Meeting this evening was not held at 32, Sackville Street, but in the Lecture Hall of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Regent Street, by the kind permission of the Council of the Institute.]

The following Associates were elected :

Robert Bayly, Torr Grove, Plymouth.

J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., 16, Lockyer Street, Plymouth.

Léonhard Simion, Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13, Bedford Street, Covent Garden).

The following Associates were elected Local Members of Council :

Sir P. Stafford Carey, for Guernsey.

William Bragge, F.S.A., for East Riding of Yorkshire.

W. A. Tyssen Amherst, F.R.S.L., for Norfolk.

Walter Money, for Berkshire.

J. T. Burgess, F.S.A., for Warwickshire.

Herbert New, for Worcestershire.

J. Reynolds, for Bristol City and County.

H. J. F. Swayne, for Wiltshire.

J. T. Irvine, for Kent.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors, for the subjoined presents towards the maintenance of the Library of the Association.

To J. Evans, V.P., F.R.S., for "Note on a Proposed International Code of Symbols for use on Archæological Maps."

To the Society, for "Sussex Archæological Collections; General Index to vols. i-xxv, by Henry Campkin, F.S.A.," London, 1874. 8vo.

„ for "Archæologia Cambrensis," 4th Series, No. 25, January, 1876. 8vo.

- To the Society*, for "Domesday Book of Montgomeryshire ; being the Return of Owners of Land, 1873." London, 1876. 8vo.
- " for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. x, part 2, and vol. xi, part 1. 8vo.
- " for the "Canadian Journal," vol. xv, No. 1. Toronto, 1876. 8vo.
- " for "Ulm und Oberschwaben Korrespondenzblatt," No. 4.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the President of the Association, Lord Mount Edgumbe, had fixed the 14th of August for the commencement of the *Cornwall Congress*. On this day the Association would visit the ancient house, Cothele on the Tamar, by his Lordship's invitation ; thence proceed to Bodmin, where the inaugural address would be delivered. Mr. Brock also announced that a petition to the House of Commons had been unanimously adopted, praying for the rejection of so much of the Bill for the demolition of the ancient church of St. Werburgh at Bristol as would admit of the preservation of the ancient tower. Mr. W. K. Wait, M.P. for Gloucester, has promised to present this petition in due course.

Mr. Brock also said, " We have sent for exhibition an admirable specimen of a lady's girdle bag, which succeeded the Gipsires of earlier date. It has a margin with its hook to the belt, and mountings of massive gold, elaborately ornamented with *repoussé* work and chasings. There are minute figures of Venus with Cupid, Paris with the apple and his shepherd's crook, Minerva and the owl, and Juno with her bird of pride. The belt hook has a figure of Mercury. The weight of the gold is nearly six ounces, and the workmanship is that of the Low Countries, of the middle of the 17th century.

" The Hall mark has been identified by our Associate Mr. Lambert, and shows that it was made at Amsterdam. It belonged to Madame Catharine de Neuilly, a daughter of Mary Heyliger, a granddaughter of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex. It is exhibited by Madame de Segundo, who is herself a great granddaughter of the first owner. The bag is modern, but Madame de Segundo sends also the old one, which tells its own tale. It is of peach coloured silk adorned with spangles and gold, and is evidently the lady's own workmanship, to which loving hands have added its valuable mountings.

" There have also been forwarded for exhibition some further relics from Barking Abbey. The discovery of the site of the supposed Lady Chapel has already been reported. Further researches have revealed a grave exactly in front of the base of the altar, already described, and the plan shows the relative position. This has been cleared out, and the skeleton, which is that of a female, has been found in a very perfect condition. The interment is with the feet to the east and the

head to the west. A crystal ring mounted in silver was found among the debris filling the grave, and a letter L, probably part of the funeral inscription. This is Lombardic in its character, and probably of a date early in the fourteenth century. Both these are now before us, and also an early encaustic tile similar in pattern to others found in London. From an ancient Norman-French list of the places of sepulture of the Abbesses, given in the *Monasticon*, one of Anthony à Wood's papers now in the Ashmolean Museum, we learn that Dame Yolente de Sutton, who died in 1329, was buried before the altar of Our Lady of the Salutation in the Lady Chapel. We have reasonable grounds for concluding therefore that these relics are from her grave. I may add that the earth has again been carefully and respectfully replaced to cover the remains which it has protected for the last 500 years. We owe these discoveries to Mr. J. King of Barking."

Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., delivered to a very attentive and numerous audience an exhaustive lecture upon "Brittany and Britain," fully illustrated by upwards of one hundred coloured diagrams, which were hung around the Lecture Hall, and contributed in no unimportant degree towards the attraction of the attention of the large number of gentlemen and ladies who had assembled to hear the paper read. The syllabus of the paper was drawn up in the following terms:—

BRITTANY.—Its people, customs, and manners. Its ancient races, the cause of their settlement, their important functions in ancient times, their stupendous works, with the purposes and use; their identity shown geographically. Historical falsehoods cleared up. Modern retention of dress described by the oldest Greek authors; rouge; the ambrosial hair of British maidens—whence it is; classical pottery; dragon myths; dragon sacrifice; peculiar interments. The Green Demon of Quimper; identity of Breton and Welsh legends; and of Breton, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh ceremonials; Tumiach and Silbury. Great extent of ancient Breton influence. The first supremacy of the Ocean, British. Explanation of some of the sculptured stones. Enormous monoliths of Armorica; censure of the Church in council for the worship of them; the ancient mysteries practised, historical and botanical evidence of this, the customs still kept up; multitudinous human sacrifices; the serpent emblems of Greek, Etruscan, and British hypogæa. The probable erecters of the Carnac, the Carnac of Avebury, the Carnac of Merivale, discovery by the Lecturer of the Carnac of Scotland. Ancient Breton wealth, the arts, manufactures, and ship-building of a high class. The British navy grand even in the oldest history. Destruction of the Breton navy by Cæsar, the influence of this on modern history, and that of Britain in particular. *Le blanc cheval-de-mer*. A new Goddess. The people sold by Cæsar into slavery, the influence of this on the destruction of Rome; their reappearance, reacquisition of wealth and restoration of pursuits. Puy, Clermont, Vannes. The black Virgin of Mont St. Michel, the Black Virgin of Clermont Ferrand, the black Diana of Ephesus, the black stone idol of Elagabalus at Rome, the black stone idol at Mecca. The real cause of Cæsar's invasion of Britain never before explained.

On the conclusion of the reading, which was not brought to a close until a time which precluded any discussion upon the large number of controverted points introduced by the author, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Honorary Secretary*, said, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Phené for the contribution he had made to the literature of prehistoric archæology, and to the pages of a subsequent *Journal*, "Mr. Phené's very instructive paper brings before us so many points which have been touched upon so lucidly, that it is indeed a very modest statement he has made when he says a course of lectures, rather than a single reading, should be rightly given to the subject of these early prehistoric matters. In my opinion, I would go to further lengths, and boldly state that it requires a series of volumes, almost as ponderous as the very monuments they should describe, to properly place on record all that can be hazarded, conjectured, or theorized about these relics of the past. We must always, in treating of these things, bear in mind the comparative newness of the science of prehistoric archæology, which has sprung up vigorously within the last twenty or thirty years, before which time celts and polished stones were seriously believed by archæologists and geologists to be thunderbolts. With the aid of Mr. Phené one would not find it a very difficult matter to reconstruct the domestic economy of the prehistoric and earliest historic world, which, I may say parenthetically, appears to have been pretty much the same over all the inhabited surface of the globe. There is one point which I think is a very important one, and which merited a very prominent position in the author's remarks. It is the universal conventionalism of prehistoric culture. It must be taken that science is now on the threshold of classifying its immense discoveries with regard to the very remotest appearance of humanity upon earth; and this classification, when made, will, I firmly believe, be found to hold good, with very few and unimportant, if any, exceptions, for any locality. The constantly recurring similarity of dolmens, carnacs, grave mounds, dwelling caves, hypogæa, or *souterraines*, bone and metal and mineral implements, and in short every relic, large or small, must reasonably compel us to admit that the diverse races that now people the world's expanse had a common unity of origin. And thus, passing one by one along the chain-links of prehistoric history (if I may use such an apparent contradiction of words), we should more naturally expect to find similarity of constructive remains in Brittany and Britain, than to discover any very great distinctions between the oldest evidences which have been uncovered in these two adjacent lands."

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, Mr. Brock, *Hon. Secretary*, and many other members took part in the remarks which ensued, and the meeting terminated at a very late hour.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7th, 1876.

H. S. CUMING, V. P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were unanimously elected :

Herbert Appold Grueber, British Museum.

Mrs. Ann Mauleverer, The Hall, Armagh.

Rev. John Edward Wilson, 39, Royal Avenue, Chelsea.

The thanks of the Association were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the undermentioned presents.

To the Author, for "Remarks upon the Cover of the granite Sarcophagus of Rameses III in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," by S. Birch, Esq., K.R., F.S.A., D.C.L., LL.D. 1876. 4to.

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. iv, part 2.

„ for "Archæologia Cambrensis," 4th series, No. 26.

„ for "Journal of the East India Association," No. 4.

„ for "Ulm und Oberschwaben Korrespondenzblatt," No. 5. 1876.

„ for "Anthropologia," No. 3, vol. i. October, 1874.

The Proceedings of the Anthropological Society.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, *Hon. Secretary*, announced the discovery of ancient vaults at Jewry Street, Aldgate, and promised to lay correct drawings of the excavations before the Association at an early date. Mr. Brock also called attention to the ancient church of St. Mary Aldermary, in Queen Victoria Street, at the corner of Bow Lane.

It was officially announced that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, had graciously signified his intention of accepting the office of Patron of the British Archæological Association for the forthcoming Congress at Bodmin and Penzance. The announcement of this distinguished mark of consideration on the part of the Duke of Cornwall was received with great delight by the meeting, and the thanks of the Association were ordered to be conveyed to His Royal Highness.

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a medal of the seven bishops, upon which the Chairman made some remarks concerning its origin and adaptation. The acquittal of the seven bishops on June 29, 1688, was commemorated on a variety of medals, two types of which have already been noticed in our *Journal* (xv, 351). On some examples the portraits of the prelates are in profile; on others full-faced, as on the specimen produced by Mr. Adams. Mortier, in his *Supplément à l'Histoire Metallique de la Republique de Hollande*, Amsterdam, 1690, p. 221, has delineated a medal, on the *ob.* of which is a large profile bust of

GVIL. SANCROFT. ARCHIEPISC. CANTUAR, 1688; and on the *rev.* seven small circles containing the profile busts and names of the brave defenders of the church and state. An oil painting, formerly in Mr. Adams' possession, and now in the National Portrait Gallery, exhibits the busts of the seven bishops arranged as on the medals here referred to. And it may be added that portraits of these noble ecclesiastics are shown in a somewhat similar manner in prints by Gribelin, Oliver, Robinson, and Schenck. Two rare back-paintings representing the seven bishops are described in this *Journal* (xxix, 83).

Mr. J. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., forwarded the following paragraph respecting the armour ascribed to Prince Edward, as described at page 244. "The armour exhibited at the Meeting on the 4th of March has found a resting place in the Great Hall of Warwick Castle. The rust has been removed and the original polish restored. By its side is one of the gauntlets belonging to the suit, and the Earl of Warwick is anxiously searching for the remainder. It appears that the whole suit was at Tewkesbury when the repairs at the Abbey Church were begun, and it is affirmed that the churchwardens and overseers showed their love of the antique by dividing the armour amongst them. I may mention that the armour injured at the fire at Warwick Castle has been restored to nearly its original beauty. The horse-armour formerly kept at the lodge known as 'Guy's Horse Armour', has been matched, and now a complete suit adorns the Great Hall, surmounted by a knight armed *cap à pie*."

Mrs. Baily contributed two members of the mountings of a casket of the 14th century, discovered at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street, April, 1867. Both are of copper, originally decorated with Champlevé enamel. One portion is the drop-cover of the key-hole, consisting of two parts united by a hinge; that which was fixed on the lid of the casket is an unornamented fusi-formed plate; the pendent bit is a lozenge-shaped plate, and bears a grotesque animal with human face, the head being enveloped in a *caputium*, with a long twisted tail or *liripipe*, as this appendage to the hood was called, and of which examples are given in our *Journal*, vi, 272. This strange beast may be compared with the one on a 14th century tile engraved in this *Journal*, vii, p. 386, fig. 16. The other mount is a shield-shaped stud, charged with four fusils conjoined in fesse, such as occur in the arms of Blonville, Carteret, Denham or Dynham, Formans, Gifford, Knotford or Knotworth, Percy of Northampton, Pinkney or Pincheni, Plompton, and Toller. The shield may not relate to either of these ten families, but between the edge of the stud and the upper half of the sinister fusil is what appears to be a fragment of enamel of a dark leady hue, which may possibly have been intended for black, and if so, the arms may be those of Gifford, Giffard or Gyffard. *Sable*, four

fusils in fesse *Argent*. Some branches of this ancient Norman race bear for arms : *Sable*, three fusils or lozenges in fesse *Ermine*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a key-hole drop from a casket of late thirteenth century work, very neatly wrought of bronze. The portion which was secured to the lid of the box somewhat resembles a cross pomel with a stalk jutting from three of the bosses. The pendent cover is in the form of a cross patonce, such as is seen in the shield which the heralds have invented for King Egbert; it probably appertains to some foreign order, as there is reason to believe that this curious object was discovered in Italy. This specimen was formerly in the Bousfield Collection.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition an arrow or bolt-head of iron, discovered in Holborn in excavating for the pneumatic tube, April, 1869. The blade, which has lost a small portion of its apex, has two sharp barbs, rather unequally cut. The long stout stem next the blade is hammered into a somewhat flattish ovate form to aid in the attachment of a bandage, nearly the whole of the remaining portion being cylindrical and gradually tapering to a point which was driven into a wooden shaft. The present length is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but it must originally have measured about 13 inches.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the arrow-head submitted by Mrs. Baily was a type of the utmost rarity and the first of its kind ever brought to the notice of this Association. He had no hesitation in pronouncing it to be an incendiary weapon of the fourteenth century, and one which was cast from a powerful cross-bow. The use of fiery missiles dates from remote antiquity, and a figurative allusion is made to them by St. Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians, vi, 16. The Saguntines employed a large and ponderous dart called *falarica* or *phalarica*, which had an iron head a cubit in length, and a ball of lead at the base of the shaft, and to which flaming pitch and tow were secured. It was hurled by mechanical means, and its effects were most destructive. Virgil (*Æneid*, ix, 706) describes the gigantic Bitias falling beneath the weight of a fiery and thundering *falarica*, which pierced his stout shield of bull's hide and the double scales of his golden corslet. Dion Cassius (i, 34) relates how Octavianus strove at Actium to burn the ships of Mark Antony with fire-bearing darts (Βέλη πύρφορα) discharged from the bows of his archers. Among the various relics discovered with the debris of the Roman villa at Stanmore, Berks, and described in our *Journal* (xvii, 290), was a deeply barbed sharp-pointed tanged arrow-head, with a little perforation through its blade, which may have been designed for the passage of a fine wire to fix combustibles to the missile. Its small size, however, forbids the idea that it could have carried any large amount of fire with it like the *falarica* and *belos*.

The ancient incendiary weapons descended from classic to mediæval times, and are mentioned by early writers, and are occasionally found depicted in MSS. In the *Codex Aureus* of Saint Gall, a MS. of the ninth century, is a miniature in which is shown an equestrian soldier bearing aloft on his spear-point a great fish, from whose mouth issue flames, and which he purposes to hurl at a besieged place. This possibly gives us a representation of the renowned Greek fire, said to have been invented in the seventh century by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis, but which in all probability is of a far higher antiquity. Sir Samuel Meyrick, in his *Critical Inquiry* (i, 176), states that as early as the year 1320 mention is made of the *balista grossa de arganellis*; i.e., an arbalist or cross-bow furnished with tubes for ejecting the Greek fire; and in the illuminations of MSS. of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth century we find representations of beleaguered cities where the soldiers are armed with cross-bows charged with incendiary arrows. These mischievous missiles have rather broad barbed blades, and fusi-formed masses of inflammable material extending from a little below the head to some distance down the shaft, and a few examples of such arrows are preserved in German collections.

The arrow-head exhibited by Mrs. Bailly bears a sufficiently close resemblance to those just referred to to prove its identity of date and purpose; and we may fairly regard it, not simply as a rare archaeological treasure, but as a historic relic, a memento in all likelihood of the attack made on London in 1381 by the rebels of Essex and Kent, under their leaders Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, when portions of the Temple, the Palace of the Savoy, the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, and other buildings, perished by fire, and the whole City was filled with terror and dismay.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, F.S.A., exhibited from recent London excavations a large tang of a reindeer's antler, sharpened at the point, cut and hollowed to admit a handle or shaft, forming a weapon of offence; from the same excavation nine bone pins and one bone needle were also taken.

Mr. Mayhew also exhibited a vase-shaped vessel $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 18 inches in greatest circumference, lathe turned and of excellent design. A similar vase was last year found in Bishopsgate, or far London; this Roman shaft is unique. A fine Norman jug and a "spigot pot" of red clay were included in the exhibition. A fluted bottle of green Venetian glass, but enamelled to resemble veined red jasper (from Petticoat Lane), was laid side by side with an equally fine specimen of a Chinese snuff-bottle, imitating agate.

The two remaining objects were well worthy of attention, viz.:—
1. A large artificial ruby from a shrine, once adorned by a Betrayal and Crucifixion in Venetian glass work of exquisite design, colour and

execution. Of this gem of the sixteenth century it is hard to say which deserved the most honourable mention, the truthfulness of colour, or exactitude of cutting revealing in profusion its hidden fires. 2. A silver etui, urn shaped, with scroll handle, thickly studded with jewels, and forming not improbably a portion of a wedding trousseau. Its manufacture was referred to the seventeenth century.

Mr. Cuming, on behalf of Mr. Mayhew, laid on the table an extremely interesting and very fine sword, found in Lower Thames Street. The Chairman said he could not give it a later date than the twelfth century, calling attention to the presence of two crowns of inserted gold, "whose simple shape soon gave place to more ornate design." The letter **A** is also twice inserted. The tang is of iron, once probably covered with wood, and terminates in a heavy ball of iron. The length of the blade, which is covered by a fine black patina, is $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches; of the haft $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. When found, the blade was bent almost at a right angle, but careful skill has restored it to a former state. A series of notches on *one* side leads to the belief that this weapon had been used in actual conflict.

Mr. J. T. Irvine of Rochester, forwarded three drawings of the Saxon Church at Boarhunt, co. Southampton, and promised to supply a short paper upon the architecture of the edifice for a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper upon "Megali-thic Remains", which will be printed in a future place. In the discussion which ensued Mr. Phené and Mr. Lewis took part.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., read the following paper :

ON SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES OF WOOD.

Dædalus, who is supposed to have flourished some 1400 years before the Christian era, and Eudoxus his disciple, are both described by Pausanias as carving out of wood statues of gods and goddesses; and the sculptors of Egypt not only did the like, but in an age almost as remote as that to which Dædalus has been assigned, wrought from the same material sepulchral effigies which remain to this day as mute witnesses of their taste and talent. Life-sized statues of Egyptian monarchs of carved wood have been discovered in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes; those of Seti (Sethos) I, and his successor Rameses II, being now in the British Museum. These curious sculptures represent the defunct Pharaohs of the XIX Dynasty, erect, with one leg advanced as if in action, and therefore differ much in aspect from the early sepulchral figures of our own country, which repose calmly in a horizontal position.

Monumental effigies fashioned out of oak and chestnut were probably at one period far more common in our churches than existing

remains would indicate, the perishable nature of their material favouring their destruction by dry-rot, worm, and fire, to say nothing of their wilful hacking to pieces by mischievous men. Such wooden figures have now become so rare that it is high time a careful descriptive list of them should be compiled, and prompt measures adopted for their conservation. The few examples about to be described will show how widely they are scattered, and how valuable they are as representations of costume.

In the church of Chew Magna, Somersetshire, is a very singular effigy of Sir John Hautville, wrought of solid oak, and originally painted with appropriate colours. The knight's head is defended with a helmet, his whole person with armour; and he wears a sleeveless cyclas, and waist belt secured with a gilt buckle. He reclines on the left side, resting on his hips and elbow, and supports his head with the left hand. Between the elbow and hip lies his oblong shield, upon the edge of which he places his right hand. The right leg is drawn up so that the knee-joint bends in a right angle, and the left and undermost leg is raised from the hip, and the foot touches the side of a lion, who turns its head as if about to bite the gilded spur. Collinson, in his *History of Somersetshire* (ii, 107), states that Sir John Hautville lived in the time of Henry III, serving in all that monarch's wars; and in the 54th year of his reign (1269-70), was signed with the cross in order to accompany Prince Edward to the Holy Land.

Passing from Somerset to Gloucestershire we find a wooden effigy of a cross-legged knight preserved in the church of Little Sodbury, but of its history little is known.

A slight notice is given in our *Journal* (xxix, 222) of two sepulchral effigies of carved and painted wood in Weston Church, Shropshire. These figures have long borne the names of Hamo De Weston and Hugh De Weston, and dated respectively 1188 and 1304. The costume of the earliest proves that it really represents a knight templar of the time of Edward I; the surcoat, genouilleres, and other portions of equipment, being decidedly of that period. One remarkable feature in this effigy is a purse or pouch depending from the girdle. The second figure is of slightly later date, and of very rude execution.

Mr. Hilary Davies informs me that there are early monumental effigies of knights of carved wood in two other Salopian churches, viz., at Berrington near Shrewsbury, and Leighton on Severn.

A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Dec. 1795, p. 985) mentions a wooden monument of one of the Savile family in Thornhill Church, Yorkshire, but no account of it is given.

The church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, contains a most interesting cross-legged effigy wrought of oak, and formerly painted, which is conjectured to represent Reginald De Warren, second son of

William De Warren, first Earl of Surrey, who died *vit. pat.*, that is before the year 1088, a date certainly a century too early for that of the monument; the knight being equipped in the military harness of the reign of Edward I. The warrior is encased from head to toe in chain-mail, the coif being covered by a chapel-de-fer, or bascinet, and the body by a sleeveless surcoat or cyclas, belted about the waist and descending to the knees. The feet of the statue rest upon a mutilated lion or dog, for it is by no means certain which animal was intended by the artist.

The chief aim of this brief communication is to bring to notice a monument of a knight carved in chestnut wood, which at present stands in the recess of the north window of St. Mary's Church, Bures, Suffolk, and of which Mr. Watling has kindly sent me a drawing. The effigy was originally in a recumbent posture, with the hands clasped in prayer, the head reclining on a pillow supported on either side by a seated figure, and the crossed feet resting on a dog. The knightly harness is no doubt intended for a hauberk, but the inter-linked rings are not distinguishable. Upon the head is a conical bascinet, with what seems to be a chin-piece. A surcoat belted at the waist flows to the knees, which are defended by genouilleres of plate. On the left arm is a heater-shaped shield, and the soldier's heels are accoutred with rowelled spurs. This fine piece of sculpture may be as early as the second half of the thirteenth century, and is believed to be the monument of a Cornard, who in the reign of Henry III held a farm called Corn Hall, and married a lady of the Haspel or Aspell family. Mr. Watling states that this effigy is hollow and filled with wood ashes for the purpose of absorbing the damp and preserving the brilliancy of the colours with which it was originally painted, and he laments that no sort of care is taken of this rare and interesting relic.

I learn from Mr. Watling that there are two sepulchral effigies of oak in Heveningham Church, Suffolk, one being that of Sir John Heveningham, the other of Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Redisham, who died in 1452.

At least one sepulchral effigy of wood still remains in Essex, namely, in the church of Little Leigh, where there is a recumbent figure of a priest carved in oak. His head seems to be covered by a skull-cap, and his body decked in Eucharistic vestments, consisting of the amice, albe, stole, maniple, and chasuble—a rare and highly important representation of ecclesiastical costume.

Glover, in his *History of Derbyshire*, published in 1833, gives the following notice of the wooden monument of another ecclesiastic. He says, "In the east end of the north aisle of All Saints' Church, Derby, is a tomb all of wood, erected about four feet high, and upon it is the

full proportion of a man in some sort of priest's orders, in rich canonical robes, supposed to be the Abbot of Darley, a dog at his feet, collared, and looking mournfully up at his master. Upon the side of this tomb are the effigies of thirteen monks in their habits, in praying postures, and under them, cut on wood, lies a man on his left side, wrapped up in his winding sheet, with a cross pattée on his left breast." This singular tomb is now destroyed, and a few years since the priest's effigy was kicking about the vaults under the church.

There seems to have been in olden times two distinct modes of adorning the sepulchral effigies of wood; the one by painting the material with divers appropriate colours; the other, and far more costly one, by overlaying the surface with thin plates of metal, wrought with the graver and embellished with enamel. The statue on the tomb of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, is a noble example of the latter practice. This figure is of carved oak, covered with thin plates of copper, richly gilded, and engraved to represent chain-mail. A cyclas, descending to the knees, is powdered with little escutcheons of Valence. The Earl's head reclines on an enamelled pillow, and his close helmet or skull-cap is encircled with a fillet, once set with real or fictitious gems, all of which have long since vanished. The left arm bears a heater-shield enamelled on copper with the Valence arms, and the monument as a whole is a work of surpassing beauty.

The effigy of King Henry V, also in Westminster Abbey, may be cited as another instance of plating over a wooden core, but here, unfortunately, no vestige of the metals remains. The head of the statue, now lost, is reported to have been of silver, and the plates covering the body of gilded brass or latten. Thanks, hearty thanks, however, to the despoilers for leaving even what little still exists of this once costly shrine, dear to us as that of one of England's bravest monarchs.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the subjoined notes on

EARLY REMAINS IN TOLLESBURY CHURCH, ESSEX.

The wide tract of country extending from Malden to Colchester, and bounded on the east by the German Ocean and the river Blackwater, has many claims on the notice of antiquaries. The course of the old Roman road from London to Colchester, according to the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, must have been across it, and, if this theory be accurate, within its area the site of the missing station Canonium has to be found. The comparatively unaltered state of the country invites research, but from its sparse population, in comparison with many other districts, but few works of much magnitude to disturb the soil are to be expected. Our *Journal* contains several references to this part of Essex. In vol. iii Mr. Adey Repton gives a valuable *resumé*

of antiquarian discoveries in the county; and in the volume for 1863, Mr. Jenkins lays down the probable course of the old Roman road already referred to.

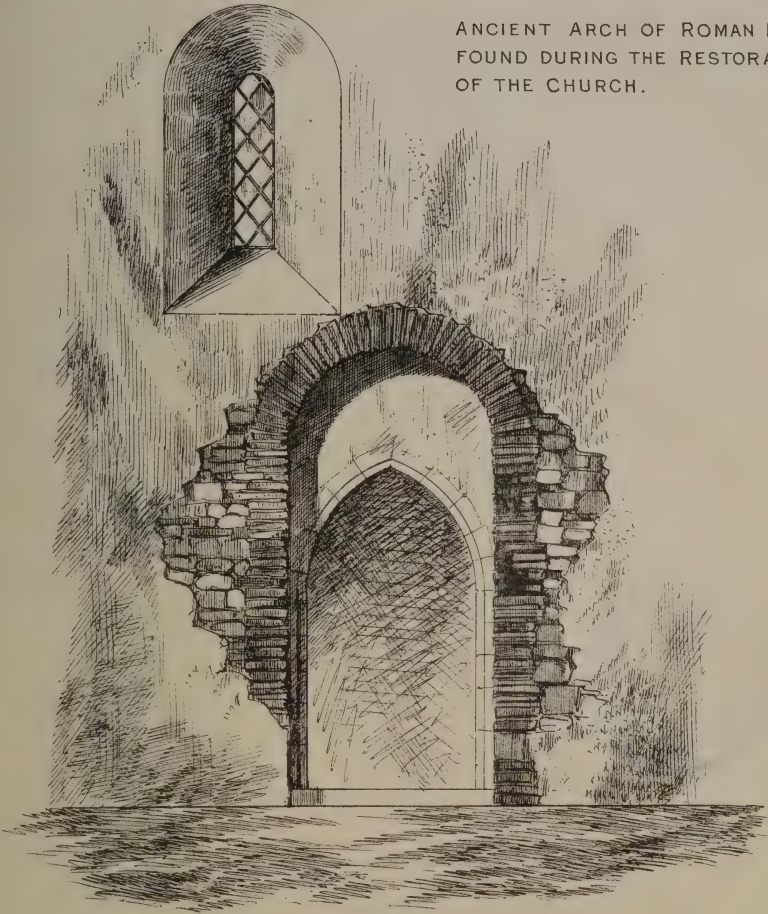
While, however, the notices are numerous of Roman sites and relics around the area above described, but few have been recorded within the district. In the hope that a notice of further traces of Roman work close to the supposed course of the old roadway may be of interest, I venture to bring under notice the result of some recent investigations at Tollesbury Church, which have revealed the circumstance of its being built with the materials of a large Roman building.

Tollesbury is a large isolated village—the largest in the area, and but two or three miles from the course of the Roman road as laid down by Mr. Jenkins. This line, however, would pass very close to Tollesbury, should future research reveal the probable fact that its course was more direct from Colchester towards London through Malden, a town at the head of the river Blackwater, where there is a camp and a raised causeway of Roman work. Tollesbury Church is a massive building consisting of a large western tower, a nave with walls high for its width, and until lately a modern brick chancel of unpromising appearance. The building was in a state of great neglect, the walls were so completely covered with decaying rough-cast and cement that all traces of ancient work were quite hidden, and the appearance was impaired by the gradual rising of the ground about three feet on the exterior.

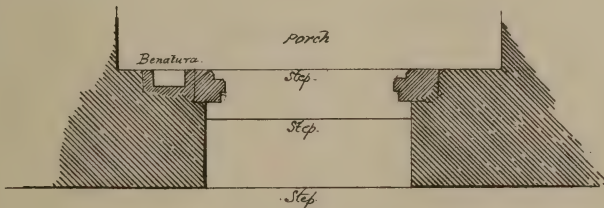
During the recent restoration of the church, under my superintendence, the cement covering to the walls, and from the ancient brick tower, was entirely removed. To my agreeable surprise, the walls of the nave and the lower stage of the tower were found to be constructed entirely of the debris of some Roman building. They are built of rubble conglomerate, of one thickness, and not as is frequently the case in Norman work, of two, with the interstices filled in with stones and grout. A very large quantity of Roman bricks are noticeable in every direction. These are for the most part broken, and are built into the walls irregularly with the rubble work. Several pieces of flue-tiles were met with, with the usual scored patterns on their faces. Several masses of freestone were also built into the walls; but although some of these were carefully examined no traces of moulded work were met with. The south door has a Gothic arch of about 1480, of poor work; but behind it, and forming the inner arch into the church, is an object of much interest. The jambs and the arch are formed entirely of Roman tiles laid irregularly, and with wide joints. This has been cleared of its plastered surface, which entirely concealed it, and carefully pointed, so as to be always visible within the church. It bears no relation to the more modern arch inserted on its outer face, and it is probable that this superseded another arch of Roman bricks.

TOLLESBURY CHURCH.

ANCIENT ARCH OF ROMAN BRICK
FOUND DURING THE RESTORATION
OF THE CHURCH.



ELEVATION FROM WITHIN THE CHURCH.



PLAN.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Aldgate, London.—A series of interesting vaulted chambers have been brought to light beneath the ancient timber-built houses at the corner of Jewry Street, Aldgate, and which are now being removed. The vaults on examination proved to be a continuous crypt, vaulted with neatly cut chalk, and having ribs of greenstone, with carved bosses at the intersections. The ribs sprang from boldly moulded corbels, and the whole was the work of the middle of the fourteenth century. The Council of the British Archæological Association on hearing of the impending destruction of these remains (which were too decayed to retain, had it been so intended) directed the preparation of accurate plans to preserve a record of the structure. The City authorities kindly gave every facility for their being made, and they will be laid before the Association at an early meeting.

Walbrook, London.—The removal of a large block of old buildings beside the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, has revealed the existence of the superstructure of an ancient building of large extent and massive construction. It was of mediæval date, and has occupied the whole of the south and part of the east sides of the present church. Several of the walls show signs of reconstruction at an early date, and some of them are faced with squared chalk, while others have Roman bricks, most probably from some more ancient building. A large quantity of Samian ware has been found, and also several whole vessels of later date, including some of large size of green Norman ware artistically decorated. Particulars of these discoveries will be submitted to the Association early in the approaching session.

Proposed Restoration of Steelley Chapel, Whitwell, Derbyshire.—We announce with much satisfaction that the repair of this interesting Norman ruin is about to be commenced. It will be remembered that when the building was visited during the Sheffield Congress, and greatly admired, a wish was expressed on all sides that the walls should be protected by being covered by a roof. The increase of the mining



STEETLEY CHAPEL, WHITWELL, DERBYSHIRE.



population at Darfould, within a quarter of a mile, renders the building necessary for the spiritual need of the district, the parish church of Whitwell being at some considerable distance, and Steetley Chapel alone promises to supply the want. The restoration is required, therefore, upon other grounds besides those of the antiquarian interest and beauty of the building. The Rev. G. E. Mason, the Rector of Whitwell, has undertaken the work of restoration, aided by a grant and the gift of a lease of the building from the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and the other trustees of the Worksop Manor Estate, and it will be commenced as soon as funds will admit.

A conservative restoration only is intended, and there will be no attempt made to alter the ancient work. The plans have been prepared by J. L. Pearson, Esq., A.R.A. Funds are greatly needed for the proposed completion of the work, and will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Rev. G. E. Mason, as above.

The woodcut represents the general aspect of the ruin as at present ; but the more exact appearance of the building and the general proportion are shewn in Plate 6, *Journal* for 1874, which contains a plan and a description of the building.

Demolition of a City Church.—Preparations have been commenced for pulling down All Hallows Church, Bread Street, City, a building interesting on many accounts, but chiefly from the fact that at this spot Milton, born in 1608, was baptised. The present edifice was built in 1680 by Sir Christopher Wren on the site of the previous church, destroyed by the Great Fire. The materials will be turned into money, with which another church will be built within the metropolitan area, in some district approved by the Bishop of London. In the City of London Cemetery at Ilford the remains of those buried underneath the church—including those of many citizens famous in their day—will be interred, and a monument to mark the spot will be erected by the corporate authorities of the City.

Vicissitudes of Royal Portraits.—The parishioners of Greenwich, a Royal borough noted for its valuable paintings, are much dissatisfied at the fate of four Royal pictures formerly in the parish church of St. Alphage. These pictures, which consisted of life-size portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I, Queen Anne, and George I, were painted by eminent artists in their respective eras from life, and doubtless approved by the Royal personages themselves. Becoming by lapse of time dingy and faded they were stowed away as lumber in the organ loft of the church, and ultimately sold by the churchwardens. The portrait of Queen Anne went to the Painted Hall, Greenwich, for the sum of £10, the permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having been obtained to pay that sum for it. The portraits

of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I, and George I, were sold to a general dealer named Dyer, living in New Cross, for £20 15s., and were subsequently sold by him at a profit of 50s. to Messrs. Pratt, of New Bond Street, who are restoring them, the renovation of King George being completed. It is described, in its improved form, as a magnificent portrait, the king being represented in full coronation dress, the heavy ermine cloak being thrown back in front, revealing a rich, close-fitting dress, whilst round the shoulders is a massive chain, from which is suspended the prancing horse of Hanover. On a table beside his Majesty are the crown and sceptre, the King's hand grasping the ball and cross. In the background is a view of the south end of Westminster Abbey. The value of this picture is estimated to be over £500. The portrait of Charles I was ten feet square, and is supposed to be the work of the eminent Court painter, Sir Peter Lely, many of whose productions may be seen at Hampton Court Palace. The painting represents the King in a prayerful attitude, and is believed to be even more valuable than that of George I. How the paintings became the property of St. Alphage, Greenwich, is not known; but all the monarchs mentioned were associated during life with Greenwich. Queen Elizabeth made the palace her favourite summer residence. Charles I also passed much of his time at Greenwich, at the "House of Delight", a sumptuously furnished Royal seat. Queen Anne built one of the wings of Greenwich Hospital, which still bears her name; whilst George I landed at Greenwich on his arrival from Hanover.

Antiquities of Colchester.—Mr. J. Parish, of 8, Head Street, Colchester, has just issued his *Portfolio of Antiquities*, containing 20 plates in imperial 12mo. size, representing upwards of 100 of the principal antiquities of the town. The following is a synopsis of the contents: Plate I.—Colchester Borough Arms. Plate II.—The Colchester Vase in the Colchester Museum (*Collectanea Antiqua*, by C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., vol. iv, pp. 82 to 90). Plate III.—The Embossed Glass Inscribed Vase found at Colchester, and now in the Slade Collection at the British Museum, exhibited by the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, M.A., at the British Archæological Association. Plate IV.—The Sepulchral Monumental Stone found by Mr. Geo. Joslin, and now in his private museum, Beverley Road, Colchester, (see paper by the Rev. Barton Lodge, M.A., in the *Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, vol. v, Part I, p. 87. Plate V.—The Colchester Sphinx in the Colchester Museum (see account by E. W. A. Hay, B.A., addressed to the Colchester Hospital Committee, 8vo. size, published 1821). Plate VI.—Bronze Bust of Caligula, presented to the Museum of Colchester by the late Henry Vint, Esq. (see the catalogue of the Colchester

Museum, compiled by Mr. Chaffers). Plate VII.—Splendid specimens of Roman Glass in Colchester Museum (described in Chaffers' Catalogue). Plate VIII.—Various Bronze Implements in Colchester Museum (described by Chaffers). Plate IX.—Sepulchral Groups of Roman Pottery, arranged as found, now in the Colchester Museum (see *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. v, p. 91). Plate X.—Roman Lamps; actual size; in the possession of the late Mr. John Taylor, of West Lodge, Colchester, and the late Mr. Patmore, Lion Walk, Colchester (published for the first time in this Portfolio). Plate XI.—Roman Pottery; all in the Colchester Museum except figure I, which was in the possession of the late Mr. Patmore, Lion Walk, Colchester, when the original drawing was made. Each object of this Plate has been selected to show either rare form or decoration. Some of the vessels are covered with small grit on the surface, and others have minute specks of gold-like bronze on the smooth parts (see Catalogue of the Museum). Plate XII.—Roman Fictilia, found by Mr. Geo. Joslin in the group as arranged in the Plates, and now at his private museum, Beverley Road, Colchester (see *Collectanea Antiqua*, by C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., vol. vi, pp. 228 to 239). Plate XIII.—Roman Fictilia. Figs. I and II found by one of the inmates of the Colchester Union House. Fig. III found at the Water Works. Plate XIV.—The Roman Arch at the Balcerne Gate (see *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxi, p. 169). Plate XV.—The Roman Guard Room at the Balcerne Gate, adjoining the Roman Arch on the the south side, first brought to the notice of antiquarians by C. R. Smith, Esq., many years since. The finding of this most perfect specimen of Roman masonry was communicated to the British Archæological Association. Plate XVI.—Colchester Castle (see Morant's *Essex*, vol. i, p. 7. *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi, p. 451. Vol. xxii. Paper read by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, and pamphlet by the late Rev. H. Jenkins, B.D., published 1853). Plate XVII.—S. Botolph's Priory (see Morant, vol. i, p. 146; and *Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 170). Plate XVIII.—S. John's Abbey Gate (see Morant, vol. i, p. 139; and *Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 170). Plate XIX.—Saxon Tower, Holy Trinity Church (see *Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 171). Plate XX.—Great Seal of Colchester (see *Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 188).

The Cornish Language.—In accordance with suggestions made by the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe and Mr. W. C. Borlase at our recent Congress, a society is now about to be formed for the publication of such of the remains of the Cornish language as have not already been printed. There is sufficient on this subject to form a fair sized volume in the Gwavas Collection (Add. MS. 28,554 in the British Museum),

and among the MSS. of Dr. W. Borlase, the Cornish historian, preserved at Castle Horneck, Penzance. Should its philological publications be successful, the society would probably extend its operations to other local literary antiquities. A prospectus will be issued before very long.

Historic Warwickshire. By J. Tom Burgess.—With the exception of Cornwall, and perhaps of Yorkshire, there is no county of England whose inhabitants are more patriotic than those of Warwickshire, and certainly there are few who have better cause to be proud of their own shire. This very readable book will therefore be readily welcomed by Warwickshire men as setting forth in a pleasing manner the various notable points in the legendary, traditional and historical lore of their county. It is no "county history" in the ordinary sense of the word, for there are no detailed accounts of parishes, no lists of possessors of lands, no charters, seals, etc., but the county is treated of as a whole, and its legends and history discussed in what is actually a series of pretty little stories. Here we may read of St. Egwyn at Alcester, of Guy Earl of Warwick, and the slaying of the Dun Cow, of the Lady Godgifu or Godiva, of St. Wolstan, and of Robin Hood, and the sad fate of Amy Robsart, all of which stories are pleasantly told and carefully discussed. In the historical part of the book many interesting episodes are given, all bearing more or less upon Warwickshire history, though often also upon English history in general. Among these are the Great Siege of Kenilworth by Henry III, the fate of Piers Gaveston and his royal friend, the Last of the Beauchamps, the White Buck of Arrow, various stories of the Great Rebellion, and that oft-told tale, without which no Warwickshire history would be complete, the story of William Shakespeare. Under the title of the "Swan of Avon", the last named story is shortly and clearly told, though it is difficult to see why Mr. Burgess should help to perpetuate the singularly inappropriate comparison of one who sang all his life long to

"The silver swan who living had no note,"

but who only

"When death approached unlocked her silent throat ;"

which, besides being inappropriate, tends to a confusion with a certain fairy legend of the Avon which has not been mentioned in this work. The first two chapters, dealing with legends and mythical lore, and stories of plants and flowers, are very valuable contributions to comparative folk-lore. Many of these legends and so-called superstitions are common to other counties, but it is of great use for every writer of a local history to tell these over again, *as he finds them*, for purposes of comparison. The illustrations of Shakespeare's floral allusions are

of great interest. In the description of the Rollright Stones (p. 55) there is a misprint in one of the conjectural (though improbable) derivations of the name, which we hope will be corrected in future editions. *Roithlean an Rign* should be *Roithlean an Righ*; and the "Dawns Men" of Boscawen Un should not be "Dawn's Maên". We believe there is still a rib of the Dun Cow in an old house at Ashby St. Leger, in Northamptonshire, which Mr. Burgess has omitted to mention; this should be added to the list on p. 100. It is not altogether easy to see the connection between the verses from the Stafford MS. (at p. 230) and the "puritanic spirit". They appear to be a set of very good but decidedly catholic rules of life. These last few very slight details are really all we can take exception to in this book. The facsimiles are well done, the illustrations are neat and in good taste, and the general get up of the book, with its appropriate "Bear and Ragged Staff" on the cover, very good.

Palæographical Literature.—The following work, forming a useful kind of a supplement to the labours of the English Palæographical Society, entitled "*Exempla Codicum Latinorum Litteris Majusculis Scriptorum*, ediderunt Carolus Zangemeister et Gulielmus Wattenbach" (royal folio), is now issued.

Scholars have long deplored that Latin palæography rests on no firmer basis than the few *codices, litteris majusculis scripti*, scattered among their choicest treasures in the great public libraries of Europe. This writing, in capitals or in uncial letters, is generally supposed to indicate the great age of the manuscript; but it is only by comparing one such codex with another, and with those of ascertained dates more particularly, that anything like a safe deduction may be drawn as to the age of any one of them. Necessarily manuscripts of so great an age, from the natural decay of the material upon which the writing appears, whether papyrus or vellum, would soon be lost to the world were they accessible to the public generally, as the least careless handling might damage them irrecoverably. They are, therefore, alone allowed to be inspected by express permission, and mostly only in the presence of an officer of the chapter-house or library to which they belong. It is true that lithographic facsimile specimens of some of the rarest of these capital letter and uncial codices exist; but as a rule they are not executed with that minute fidelity which alone can give them value as trustworthy evidences of the date of the manuscript itself from which they are taken.

Photographic printing, according to the process of M. Obernetter of München, secures the most extreme accuracy, and his improved printing process gives permanency to the impression. By these means, Prof. Zangemeister of Heidelberg and Prof. Wattenbach of Berlin

have prepared forty-nine facsimile specimens of codices written in capitals and in uncial letters, of which the title is given above. Of the former, there are sixteen selected from Herculaneusian papyri, from Vatican and Ambrosian palimpsests, and from manuscripts in Italy, France, and Germany. Of the latter, the thirty-three specimens are also from the same localities. The volume, therefore, serves to supplement the labours of our Palæographical Society, which are confined to the treasures of the British Museum and our public libraries. The list is as follows :

“I.—*Codices Litteris Capitalibus Scripti.*

“1-3. Papyrorum Herculaneusium quattuor Fragmenta; eorum duo Litteris Cursivis scripti sunt. 4. Ciceronis Verrinæ. Codex Palimpsestus Vaticanus. 5. Juvenalis. C. Vaticanus. 6. Plautus. C. Palimpsestus Ambrosianus. 7. Sallustius. C. Vaticanus. 8-9. Terentius. C. Bembinus bibliothecæ Vaticanæ. Paginæ duæ. 10. Vergilius. C. Mediceus. 11. Vergilius. C. Romanus bibliothecæ Vaticanæ. 12. Vergilius. C. Palatinus bibliothecæ Vaticanæ. 13. Vergilius. Schedæ Vaticanæ, No. 3225. 14. Vergilius. Schedæ Berolinenses et Vaticanæ, No. 3256. 14A. Vergilius. Schedæ Sancti Galli. 15. Prudentius. C. Parisinus. 16. Sedulius. C. Taurinensis.

“II.—*Codices Litteris Uncialibus Scripti.*

“17. Cicero de Republica. C. Palimpsestus Vaticanus. 18. Livius. C. Vindobonensis. 19. Livius. C. Parisinus. 20. Bibliorum versio, dicta Itala. C. Vercellensis. 21. Bibliorum versio, dicta Itala. Schedæ Fuldenses. 22. Acta Concilii Aquileiensis. C. Parisinus. 23. Tabula Paschalis. C. Zicensis bibliothecæ Berolinensis. 24. Gaius. C. Palimpsestus Veronensis. 25. Codex Theodosianus. C. Palimpsestus Taurinensis. 26. Codex Theodosianus. C. Parisinus. 27-28. Breviarum Alarici. C. Monacensis. 29-30. Fasti Consulares. C. Palimpsestus Veronensis. 31. Frontonis. C. Palimpsesti Vaticani pagina ultima. 32. Sulpicius Severus. C. Veronensis. 33. Augustini Sermones. C. Vaticanus. 34. C. Fuldensis, olim Victoris Capuani. 35. Biblia Lectionis Vulgatæ. C. Amiatinus. 36. Biblia Lectionis Vulgatæ. C. Pragensis. 37-38. Paparum Elenchus. C. Coloniensis. 39. Digestorum C. Laurentianus. 40. Paparum Elenchus. C. Corbeiensis bibliothecæ Parisianæ. 41-42. Canones. C. Corbeiensis bibliothecæ Parisianæ. 43. Canones. C. Veronensis. 44. Canones. C. Coloniensis. 45. Gregorius Turonensis. C. Lugdunensis. 46. Anthologia Latina. C. Salmasianus Parisinus. 47. Leges Langobardorum. C. Sancti Galli. 48. Leges Langobardorum. C. Vercellensis. 49. Liber Promissionum. C. Trevirensis.”

Each specimen consists of an entire page, accompanied by a descrip-

tion, in Latin, of the MS. from which it is taken, particularly in reference to the date of its execution, and the data upon which the learned professors base their opinion as to its age. Messrs. Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, supply the work.

Ruins of Ancient Rome.—Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., has lately delivered three lectures at the Rooms of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Regent Street, for the benefit of the Roman Exploration Fund, on the Remains of Ancient Rome, illustrated by photographs, with the help of the magic-lantern. 1. Construction of the Time of the Kings and of the Republic. 2. The Forum Romanum and the Via Sacra. 3. The Colosseum compared with other Amphitheatres. The following is the syllabus :

First Lecture. Walls of the Kings.—The constructions of the time of the Kings of Rome still remaining visible are distinct evidence of the general truth of the old legendary history as related by Livy and Dionysius. In the first place there are remains of the primitive fortifications on each of the seven hills as a separate fortified village, each with its own *arx* or citadel. The most perfect of these are the remains of ROMA QUADRATA, an oblong space at the northern end of the Palatine Hill, visible on three sides; the fourth side is concealed by the palaces of the Cæsars built upon it. The great foss across the middle of the hill can be distinctly traced.

2ndly. There are also sufficient remains of the second wall of Rome, which enclosed the two hills, the Palatine and the Capitoline, *in one city*.

3rdly. The walls of Servius Tullius, which enclosed the seven hills in one city, can still be distinctly traced. He made short *aggers*, that is, a great bank of earth faced by a wall, across the valleys from one hill to another, always as high up in the valleys as he could, in order to make use of the older forts of the hill to defend the approach to the gates, and not across the mouths of the valleys, as stated by all modern authors.

Second Lecture. The Forum Romanum and Via Sacra.—Mr. Parker takes an imaginary walk with his audience through the Forum Romanum and the Via Sacra, showing them all the objects of interest in succession as they pass along, beginning with the building now called the Municipio, because it contains the Municipal Offices, but originally called the Capitolium, because it then also contained all the public offices, the Treasury, the Record Office, and the Senate-house, or *curia*. The upper part had been of wood, and had been burnt several times; once in the time of Sylla, when the body of Clodius was burnt in the Senate-house, at the east end, and the fine wall of travertine was part of the reconstruction of that period, but the west

end of the building has not been rebuilt, and is mentioned by Varro as one of the earliest buildings in Rome. In the Forum itself he pointed out the various objects of interest, the Temples—Basilica Julia—Cloaca Maxima—screen walls of white marble, with fine sculpture of the time of Trajan and Hadrian, etc.

In the Via Sacra he showed that the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina has just been cleared out to the lowest level, now making visible the steps recorded by Palladio as being there, but never visible before. The magnificent monolithic columns of *cipillino* marble, forty-six feet high, can now be seen for their whole height for the first time for centuries. On the Summa Sacra Via he showed part of the Porticus of Nero on one side, and on the opposite side the excavations made in 1874 between the Arch of Titus and the Colosseum, with remains of the Lavacrum of Heliogabalus and the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, made in the ninth century in the ruins; also the substructure opposite to the Colosseum, which supports that end of the platform, and where the great architect Apollodorus told the Emperor Hadrian that he *ought to have made* a place for the machinery of the Amphitheatre, but he evidently had not done so. This has only recently been made visible.

Third Lecture. The Colosseum.—The great excavations made under the area or *arena* in 1874 and 1875 have entirely changed the ideas previously entertained respecting the history of this enormous structure. Instead of being entirely the work of the Flavian Emperors, as is commonly said, it is now clear that what they really built was the magnificent stone front and double corridors round a brick theatre previously existing. The substructures brought to light by these great excavations are evidently of several different periods, going backwards from the time of Titus, who dedicated it, and Vespasian, who began the stonework; we have a considerable amount of brick walls and arches of the time of Nero, and these are built upon earlier walls of tufa, which could only have belonged to the great work of Scaurus, the step-son of Sylla, the Dictator, which Pliny calls the *insane* works, on account of the enormous fortune spent upon them, which he reckons as equivalent to more than two millions sterling of modern money. He evidently uses the words Theatre and Amphitheatre indifferently, and contrasts the insaneness of this Amphitheatre to hold eighty thousand people with the great Theatre of Pompey, which held only forty thousand, though built fifty years later, when the city had been so much increased. On an inscription found in the Amphitheatre it is called *Theatrum* only. Many of the brick walls are restorations after earthquakes in the fifth and sixth centuries, as recorded by other inscriptions. In the old tufa walls are vertical grooves for lifts to send up the wild animals in cages on to the stage

or arena above, through trap-doors, and behind the outer wall, nearly under the *podium* of the lower gallery, are the dens for the wild beasts. It is recorded that on some occasions a hundred lions leapt on to the stage at once. Down the centre of the building is a wide passage called the gulf, on the floor of which is an ancient framework in wood, that looks as if it had been burnt, and which has all the appearance of what is called a cradle in dockyards, for vessels to stand upon when not in use. On each side of this central passage are remains of two canals of water supplied by the aqueducts for the keels of the vessels, at the time of the naval fights. On one occasion, it is recorded that these canals were filled with wine instead of water. The scenes must have been prepared below, and sent up in the central passage to the arena above. One of the scenes was a representation of the Tarpeian rock, and culprits were thrown from the top of it down to the bottom of the gulf. The rock was fifty feet high, and the gulf twenty-one feet deep, so that the culprits were cast down seventy-one feet, and this scene was witnessed by eighty thousand people. The cords of the awning were so strong that an elephant was trained to walk upon it with a rider on his back. All these very interesting substructures are at present under water to the depth of ten feet, and a great drain is to be made to carry off the water to the Tiber. The upper part of the building is the same as it has been for many years, and is well known by engravings; but all these substructures are an entirely new discovery, and the photographs exhibited are now the only record of them that is visible.

Domesday Book.—The students of Domesday literature will be delighted to know that the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which Mr. N. E. Hamilton has been engaged for several years in editing for the Royal Society of Literature, is just issued. The former of these two valuable documents is from the unique Cottonian MS. in the British Museum, Tiberius, A. vi. The latter also from the same venerable codex, collated with two fine copies in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The special value of these texts is that they represent the original work prepared for, and afterwards condensed and digested by, the Domesday commissioners appointed by King William the Conqueror to execute the then unparalleled task of the assessment of the whole of England. Mr. Hamilton's edition recommends itself to all whose researches lead them to consider the condition of the people and the land in the eleventh century, as an additional and independent source of information. The excellent map and three exhaustive indexes, classified and arranged to render easy reference to subjects, enhance the value of this great

undertaking, for the performance of which both the Society and the editor well merit the thanks of all archæologists.

Trojan Antiquities.—Dr. Schliemann has abandoned the excavations of Hissarlik, in consequence of the Turkish Ministry laying claim, it is stated, to two-thirds of the objects discovered.

Donation of Oriental MSS. to the Edinburgh University.—Mr. John B. Baillie, of Leys, has recently presented to the University a fine collection of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit manuscripts, formed by his grandfather, Lieutenant-Colonel John Baillie, who wished them made heirlooms of his estate of Leys. His representatives, however, being desirous that they should be placed in some public institution, have handed them over to the University of Edinburgh under certain conditions, one of which is that they are to be kept separate as the "Leys Collection". Among them is a complete copy of the Mahabharata, in the form of a roll 228 feet long, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, profusely illustrated in colours and gold, representing scenes from the poem. The writing (Devanagari character) is very minute, there being twelve lines in every inch. This MS. is perhaps one of the most beautiful of the kind that has reached this country. Another fine MS. is a copy of the "Shah Nameh" of Firdausi, also richly illustrated with illuminations of Oriental scenes. The rest of the collection consists of historical works, firmans beautifully illuminated, etc., and numbers in all about 125 volumes.

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SOME SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING A HISTORY OF BROADWAY.

BY J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, V.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.

My friend Mr. Dillon Croker had arranged to attend this Evesham Congress, and to compile a paper on the history of Broadway. His engagements, however, have necessitated his departure for a distant part of the country, and have also prevented the fulfilment of his literary design. I think that I may venture to say that he found the task a more difficult one than he had anticipated. The history of a small town may be considered by those who are inexperienced in such matters to be a work of easy compilation; but this is by no means the case. In the hope that some inhabitants of Broadway may, through the stimulus to archæological research resulting from the present Meeting, be induced to study the history of this interesting locality, I will venture to indicate some of the chief sources of information.

1. As to the Descent of Property, it is not every one who will produce his title-deeds even to the most amiable and enthusiastic historical or topographical inquirer, who is therefore generally compelled to pursue his researches by the expenditure of vast time and labour amongst the myriads of documents at the Public Record Office. In former days, and indeed up to a recent period, the Act for the abolition of fines and recoveries having been passed as recently as 1834, every transaction connected with the descent of land, not only when alterations were made in the dispositions of an entail, but on every change of ownership of any description, was recorded in London. To go carefully

through the indices of fines and recoveries, and to extract every entry respecting Broadway, would alone occupy many months. It is not, of course, pretended that every entry there found is worthy of being printed ; but it cannot be too earnestly impressed upon the student in such matters that no successful book of the kind was ever written by any one who did not collect every sort of scrap within his reach, selecting finally those which were of real importance. It is impossible to select efficiently as you proceed. Selection, to any good practical purpose, is only possible when there are before the writer all the materials out of which his business is to construct a reliable history.

2. The Descent of Families, such as that of the important one of the Sheldons and others. This requires great and continuous research amongst pedigrees, heralds' visitations, wills, and other documents.

3. The history of its external aspect, the nature of the country in the middle ages, when and where ancient enclosures took place, the origin of the common lands, and their extinction in the locality. In these inquiries great assistance will be derived from the books of travels of the last and commencement of the present century, in several of which Broadway is described. In those happy days ordinary travellers were contented to explore the numerous interesting features of their own country,—a pleasant occupation which now appears to be almost exclusively delegated to the members of the British Archæological Association.

4. The connection of Broadway with the history of the country, especially with that history during the time of the civil wars, in which it played, if not a conspicuous, at all events an interesting part. There is a tradition, not at all an improbable one, that Cromwell on one occasion slept in this house (the Lygon Arms). There are, no doubt, numerous unknown notices of Broadway to be found in the marvellous collection of civil war tracts in the British Museum ; a collection containing, I believe, about twenty thousand pamphlets, to go through which will alone be a nice little occupation for our future local historian.

5. Its Ecclesiastical History, to be satisfactorily compiled only by the most laborious researches amongst the Bishop's registries, cartularies, monastic records, and so forth.

6. The history and character of its Buildings, especially of those of the mediæval character. Broadway also possesses some interesting examples of the domestic architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; the hotel in which we are now assembled being a pleasing specimen of the time of James I.

7. Local tradition and legends of all kinds, even such apparent trifles as the following, which occurs in the small so-called history of Broadway, well known to many here present, are worth preservation in a local history.

“The Winningtons built a large grange in Chapel Street, near a brook. The greater part of it was burnt down in the beginning of George III’s reign. It was then occupied by a Mr. Agg. A Miss Harper afterwards resided in it ; but she was robbed and personally injured, tossed in a blanket among other things. It was never more occupied after this tragic event.” The writer does not condescend to inform us whether the tragic event refers to the robbery or to the lady having been tossed in a blanket.

8. The Natural History of the district. Broadway Wood and the somewhat wild neighbourhood surrounding Middle Hill can hardly fail to afford materials of interest to a naturalist,—materials which, I presume, would require time and patience in collection.

There are, no doubt, several other topics of interest which would present themselves to the notice of the enthusiastic inquirer ; but I trust that these few remarks sufficiently indicate the difficulties attending the compilation of a satisfactory history or even paper on Broadway, and the absolute necessity of a long course of study and research before it could be accomplished.

Instead, therefore, of attempting at short notice what would result in a necessary failure, I will venture to make a few very brief observations on the probability of our great dramatist having been well acquainted with the locality. We are now near to those hills of Cotswold where Page’s fallow greyhound came off second best. That Shakespeare was interested in the field-sports of the Cotswold Hills is nearly beyond all question. Even in the second Part of *Henry IV*, disregarding chronology, he refers to “Will. Squele, a Cotswold man”. Now this Will. Squele, instead of belonging to the reign of Henry IV, was

really a contemporary of the poet. He resided somewhere in the neighbourhood of Broadway, as is ascertained from a MS. of undoubted authenticity in my possession, and he appears to have been what some people now-a-days would term a "black-leg", a mere turf-adventurer. Broadway is only fourteen miles distant from Stratford-on-Avon, so that there is no improbability, but every possibility, that Shakespeare visited the place when he attended, no doubt on horseback, the rural sports on the Cotswolds. In addition to the probability of this, derived from the circumstances now mentioned, there is the very curious fact that amongst the Middle Hill title-deeds is one of the time of James I, in which Henry Condell, Shakespeare's fellow actor and great friend, appears as the trustee for a person conveying an estate in the parish of Broadway. Condell was present at Broadway when the deed was executed, and it bears his own autograph signature. At some future time it will give me pleasure to show this singularly curious document to any of the members of the Association who may be interested in the subject. It may also be observed that in the ancient and well preserved Registers of Broadway we find the names of Bryan and Heminge, possibly connected with the families of Shakespeare's fellow actors of those names; and in 1584 that of Ralph Huband, who was closely connected with Stratford-on-Avon, and who at a later date had business transactions with the poet. Without, therefore, risking the imputation of indulging in a merely fanciful theory, we may venture to add Broadway to the list of those favoured localities which in all probability were familiar to the great dramatist.

THE CHURCH AND ABBOT'S GRANGE, BROADWAY.

BY JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

BROADWAY.

THE old church of Broadway, now disused for religious services, is nearly a mile from the centre of the present village, which, it is conjectured, on very good grounds, has considerably changed its position since the fourteenth century. There is little doubt that the ancient road to London passed by the old church, and by the way which is now called Coneygree Lane. There is an old deed relating to the boundaries of certain property, which describes the London Way as passing Aldboroughdycke, Meredycke, and the Seven Wells. The two former names have been lost to us, but that of the Seven Wells is preserved. It must also be noticed that between the village green, in Broadway, and the old church, stood the principal buildings of bygone days. The Grange of the Abbots of Pershore, the ancient Chapel which stood on the site of the new church, the Manor House of the Winningtons, and the Court House of the Sheldons; of these all but the Grange and the Gateway of the Court House have passed away. The houses in the present village appear generally to have been built about the end of the sixteenth, or the commencement of the seventeenth centuries, some time after the change was made in the direction of the London Road, which was continued up through Broadway from where the road turns off to Willersey, and these changes readily account for the present isolated position of the old church. At the corner of the road to Willersey stand a farm house and barns, of very ancient date. It is difficult, in the absence of architectural features, to determine their precise age, but there is every evidence of their great antiquity.

The old church, which is dedicated to St. Eadburgh, is an interesting monument of the age when the features of the Anglo-Norman style of architecture were dying out, and the pointed arch was gaining the ascendancy over the

circular, the Anglo-Norman details of the columns are preserved, but are so intermixed with those that prevailed at the commencement of the thirteenth century as to constitute a distinct style, which has been called the transitional. The date of the church may be placed between 1160 and 1190.

The church is cruciform on plan, and consists of a nave and aisles, transepts, chancel, and central tower. The interior is designed with great harmony of proportion, and though small and without ornament, has a certain dignity which cannot fail to be observed. There are three pointed arches on each side of the nave, recessed, one half of which have square edges, the other chamfered; the columns have Anglo-Norman capitals and bases, with circular abaci. Two of the capitals on the north side show in a marked degree a transition to the Early English capital. Below the bases were formerly square plinths, which were rounded off a few years ago when the church was restored. On the truncated half cone ornament of one of the capitals, are sculptured, in low relief, some leaves resembling those of the lotus, but they are probably modern. The roof over the nave was originally a little below the present roof, and of moderate pitch; the present roof, which retains traces of colour, may be of the early part of the fifteenth century. The transepts and tower show work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the north side of the chancel is a circular-headed doorway, blocked up, but there is no reason for assigning to it an earlier date than that of the nave. On the south side of the chancel is an Early English window, now filled in; the present windows of the chancel and of the aisles, and the west window of the nave, are of the fifteenth century. The walls and columns of the nave were formerly painted, the columns with zig-zag ornament, and the floor was paved with small ornamental tiles.

Below the nave are several large vaults, particularly one belonging to the Russell family, to which steps descend. Below the south transept, also, there are vaults, and on one of the flat stones is a rudely incised cross. In the chancel are the vaults and monuments of the Phillipps' family, and against the east wall is a brass, with the effigy of a lady of the sixteenth century. There is a singular painted pulpit, and some well-carved woodwork of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which has been converted into the choir

stalls. The screen before the chancel has some small holes disposed in the form of triangles. In the wall of the north aisle, is an opening like a low fire-place, with a flue going up the wall ; there seems no reason to suppose it to be of modern construction. The font is circular and very deep, without moulding or ornament, and is probably of the twelfth century. There is a small alms box, with the usual three locks, one for the priest, and one for each of the churchwardens.

In the church are the arms of Charles I, well painted on panel ; it is singular that they should have escaped destruction, considering the disturbed state of this part of the country at the time of the civil war.

The register of the parish commences in 1541. By a statute of Henry VII, all persons who held lands in the Manor of Broadway were compelled to pay one penny annually towards repairing the church, or forfeit twopence to the lord of the manor.

THE GRANGE.

Near the Green, in Broadway, is a small building formerly belonging to the Abbots of Pershore. This interesting relic of the fourteenth century is in a fair state of preservation, but has been much divided by floors and partitions, having been used as the workhouse and village lock-up, and subsequently let in small tenements. The ground floor consists of the entry, the hall, and a cellar. The upper floor, of an abbot's room, and an oratory ; to this has been added, at a later period, probably about the middle of the fifteenth century, four other rooms. The building can be best described as being contained in three blocks. The first containing the entry and the staircase, on the ground floor, with the abbot's room over them. The second containing the hall ; the third containing the cellar, on the ground floor, and the oratory over it. The entrance was probably in the position of the present doorway, and protected by a wooden porch. The entry, or small hall, is a low apartment with a window opposite the entrance ; on the left is a fireplace, the only one in the building, the chimney on the exterior being carried by bold corbels. By the side of the fireplace is a small doorway, with plain chamfered jambs, with the

remains of the iron pivots on which the hinges of the door were hung ; whether this was an external entrance, or only a shallow cupboard, cannot at present be ascertained, as the fifteenth century building mentioned above is built against this part of the house. On the other side of the fireplace is a small single-light window with cusped head. At the right of the entrance are the stairs up to the abbot's room and oratory, and the entrance to the hall. The hall occupies the whole height of the house, one end of it joining the block of building containing the entry and the abbot's room. It is lighted on one side by two windows of two lights each, the heads of which have been altered, and on the other side by a beautiful two-light window with cusped head and transom, set angle-ways, where the block containing the oratory joins on to the hall. This window is most elegantly and picturesquely designed, and must have been a favourite nook for the retainers. The original iron guard bars are preserved. The upper part of the window appears to have been glazed, with the glass let into moveable frames, and the lower part had probably shutters only, the pivots for the hinges still remaining, glass being scarce and valuable even in the fourteenth century. The end of the hall, opposite to the abbot's room, has two doorways, now walled up, and a doorway in each of the side walls. These doors, which were most likely shut off from the hall by a low screen, gave access, probably by covered ways, to the buttery, the pantry, and the kitchen, which latter was often built only of timber. The roof over the hall is a good specimen of decorated timber-work. The original floor, which has been destroyed, was most likely of stone, strewed with rushes, with which were often mixed sweet herbs ; there is no fireplace, as they were unusual in halls of the fourteenth century, the fire being made in the middle of the floor, so as to diffuse a general heat, while the smoke escaped through a louvre in the roof. Opening out of the hall, and under the oratory, is a small cellar. On the upper storey, over the entry, is the abbot's chamber, extending the full width of the house, with an open timber roof, similar to that over the hall. This apartment is placed transversely to the hall, and has a small squint, through which the abbot could see and hear all that was going on in the hall below. There is a handsome traceried window

of two lights at either end, and in the wall opposite to the hall is a closed-up doorway, which may have given access to an external staircase. The last room to be described is the oratory, which is very small, but lighted at the end by a traceried window of two lights, with a small portion of painted glass still remaining. Beneath the sill of the window was the altar, the present lights below the sill being modern. On either side is a small single-light window, and at the end next the hall is a small trefoil window, through which all could be seen that passed below.

Such is the small, but what must have been agreeable, retreat of the abbots of Pershore. The only private room was that of the abbot, the retainers sleeping in the hall, and the guests, if any, must have been accommodated in the same place, or in the stables. There are no signs that it was constructed in any way to resist an attack, and probably its only means of defence was by being surrounded by a moat.

THE HISTORY OF BUCKLAND CHURCH AND MANOR-HOUSE.

BY JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

BUCKLAND.

THE parish of Buckland, in Gloucestershire, is situated at the foot of the Cotswold Hills, in a sequestered and rural position, surrounded by the most picturesque scenery, pleasingly diversified by extensive views over the adjacent country. The village derives its name from the kind of tenure by which the land was originally held by the Saxons, who had two different forms of tenure, one of which they termed "folcland", from being held by oral tradition, or the evidence or testimony of the folk or people ; the other was called bocland or bookland, from being held by a deed in writing ; and from the latter of these this parish has derived its present name, and it may be mentioned that there are many counties in England which contain parishes having the name of Buckland.

The earliest particulars we have of the village are about the year 600, when Kynred, King of the Mercians, gave the Manor of Bokeland to the Monastery of Gloucester, at the time that Edburgh was abbot, and it remained in possession of the monastery for a period of nine hundred years.

Domesday Book, in the reign of William the Conqueror, gives the following statement of Bokeland :—"The same church (St. Peter of Gloucester) holds Bocland in Wideles Hundred. There are ten hides. In demesne are three plow tillages and twenty-two villeins, and six borders, with twelve plow tillages. There are eight *servi*, and ten acres of meadow. It was worth £3, but is now worth £9." (*Domesday Book*, p. 71.)

The Abbey of Gloucester remained in possession of the manor until the Dissolution. It was afterwards granted to Sir Richard Gresham, in 1536, in exchange for some land in Yorkshire. Sir Richard Gresham had a daughter, Christian, sister and heiress of Sir Thomas Gresham (so

well known for his promotion of the interests of learning and commerce, by the foundations of Gresham College and the Royal Exchange in London). She married Sir John Thynne, who thus, through his wife, became possessed of the Manor of Buckland, which remained in the Thynne family until the year 1802. Livery of this manor was granted to John Thynne, son of Sir Thomas Thynne, 22nd Elizabeth. James Thynne, Esq., was the next lord, and left it to his nephew, Thomas Thynne, Esq., son of Henry Lord Viscount Weymouth. In 1802 the manor was purchased by Thomas Phillipps, Esq., who entailed it on his only son Sir Thomas Phillipps. It is now the property of J. O. Halliwell Phillipps, Esq., through the right of his wife, the eldest daughter of the late baronet.

Laverton, a hamlet about a mile distant from the church, is more populous than Buckland. In the year 1700 there were 50 houses in the parish, namely, 20 in Buckland and 30 in Laverton, and the population has but little increased since that date. In Laverton was an ancient chapel, afterwards converted into a poor-house. There are no proprietors of land in Buckland or Laverton distinct from the Manor.

THE CHURCH.

The church, which is dedicated to St. Michael, consists of a nave and two aisles, a chancel, and square embattled tower, and was probably erected in the last years of the reign of Henry III, when a transition was taking place from what is called the Early English to the Decorated style of Gothic architecture. There is little in the edifice to which the term of beauty can be applied, but it is nevertheless, in several particulars, extremely interesting. It has been restored from time to time, and bears the marks of its restoration in work of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Internally there is an absence of ornament in the masonry. The arches of the nave are plain chamfered. The character of the capitals of the columns might lead one to suppose them to be of an early part of the thirteenth century, but the bases point to a later period. The nave was originally without clerestory windows, and had a high pitch roof. There is an Early English window in the north aisle, and at the east end of the south aisle is

a piscina, and it is probable this portion of the aisle was screened off and used as a chapel. The steps exist which led to the rood loft. The entire surface of the walls of the nave and aisles is painted in fresco, now hidden by several coats of lime white, but portions of the painting behind the wainscoating of the aisles, which have been left untouched, show a considerable amount of beauty and refinement. The benches, and timbers of the roof, of the fifteenth century, are richly carved, and retain portions of their chromatic decoration. The floor is laid with tile paving, apparently of Gloucestershire manufacture. The surface is very much worn away, but a few tiles remain perfect of elegant design.

The north and south windows of the chancel are of the fifteenth century. In the east window, which is of the latter part of the sixteenth century, are three small compartments of painted glass, executed with great correctness of drawing and brilliancy of colour, representing three of the sacraments of the Romish church. The first compartment illustrates the ceremony of baptism. The subject consists of six figures, namely, a priest episcopally habited, with a crozier, and a woman holding a child, appear in the foreground, an ecclesiastic holds the book; behind is another priest in a surplice, with a casket or pyx in his hand, and a woman with a child. The second compartment is the sacrament of marriage, containing seven figures. The bridegroom is habited according to the custom of the time, with a purse at his girdle. The bride has a costume of blue and ermine, and holds a glove. The priest is joining hands and reading the ceremony; behind are several figures, old and young, in attendance, one of whom holds a pair of gloves. The third compartment represents the administration of the Extreme Unction, and consists of nine figures. A priest, episcopally habited, appears, as in the first compartment, with his attendant priest; the dying man reclines in the foreground, and behind are four persons in consultation, one of whom appears to be commanding the attention of the others. This window bears on the outside the date of 1585. The painted glass is probably of the fifteenth century, and has been removed from an earlier window. In a window on the south side are the arms of the Abbey of Gloucester (*azure*, a sword in pale pointing downwards, pomelled and hilted *or*, between two keys in saltire of the

second). On the walls are the arms of Botteville, *alias* Thynne, of Eynnes, of Burley, and of Blyke (all Shropshire families), also the arms of Gresham. On the south wall is a black and white marble monument to the memory of James Thynne, Esquire, son of Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, Baronet, and Mary, daughter of the Lord Keeper Coventrye. He died March 15th, 1708-9, aged 66. On flat stones are inscriptions relating to Richard Smart and to John Martin, rectors of the parish; also to the families of White, of Wheeler, of Foster, of Bayzant, and of Cooper.

In the year 1615 the north aisle of the church was wainscoted by two of the parishioners, Mr. Thomas Izard and Mr. James Southern, and the south aisles and the chancel were wainscoted by John Maltbee, the rector; subsequently the whole of the wainscoting, the pews, and the pulpit were repaired and renewed by the Lord of the Manor (James Thynne, Esquire). There is a stoup at the entrance porch. The church, externally, with the exception of an Early English window, presents the appearance of work entirely of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Over the chancel arch is a sanctus bell-cot of unusual and elegant form. The bell has been removed and is now in the tower, which contains also a peal of six bells and a clock with chimes, now out of order, but which played every four hours, not sacred tunes, but the profane music of "My lodging is on the cold ground", and other secular airs. The rectors of this church have been: A.D. 1515, William Grafton, patron, the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester; 1570, William Wingfield, patron, Sir John Thynne; 1591, John Maltbee, B.A., patron, John Thynne, Esq.; 1636, William Gaie, M.A., patron, John Thynne, Esq.; — Gardiner, D.D., patron, James Thynne, Esq.; 1693, Richard Smart, M.A., patron, James Thynne, Esq.; 1714, Tretheway Tooker, B.A., patrons, Guardians of Thomas Thynne; 1746, John Martin, M.A., patron, Lord Viscount Chedworth; 1776, Robert Vanburgh, M.A., patron, Lord Viscount Weymouth; 1784, Anthony Danvert, B.A., patron, Lord Weymouth.

The Registers of the parish commence in 1539, and contain an account of the plague which raged here in 1606, by which the rector, John Maltbee, lost six of his children in the space of one month.

Opposite the north entrance to the church are the remains

of an ancient stone cross ; and at the entrance to the church-yard, built into a low wall, is what appears to have been a richly carved tomb.

In possession of the churchwardens is a singular old wooden cup, with a silver rim which has been added at a comparatively modern date. The cup is about 6 inches in diameter, having at the bottom of it, on the inside, a small circular metal plate, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, on which is an engraving probably intended to represent the Virgin and the Serpent. It has been conjectured that it may have been a chalice, or may have been used for carrying water about in the village for baptism ; but it is far more likely that it was never used for ecclesiastical purposes, but was simply a loving-cup belonging to the neighbouring Manor-House.

Close by the church, on the north side, is a small building of the fifteenth century, which tradition says was formerly used as a vestry.

THE RECTORY.

The Rectory has a small but handsome hall with a fine hammer-beam timber roof, consisting of two bays with one principal, with angels holding shields. The house was rebuilt, with the exception of the hall, by William Grafton, the rector, in 1520. The windows in the hall contain some painted glass. In one compartment are the arms of the Abbey of Gloucester, similar to those in the chancel of the church ; and in another, the rebus of the rector, a graft issuing from a tun ; and on a label below, William Grafton, rector. There are likewise, in various parts of the windows, figures of birds holding labels on which are inscribed *IN NOIE IHU* (*i. e., In nomine Jesu*). Preserved at the Rectory is a piece of needlework which has evidently, at some time, been used as an altar-cloth, but was originally a cope. It is of exquisite workmanship and elegant design.

THE MANOR-HOUSE.

The only part of the ancient Manor-House which now exists is the great hall, at present used as a dairy. It is of noble proportions, and the loftiness of the high-pitch roof, though roughly constructed, and with but little ornament, cannot fail to impress the spectator. The traceried windows have been all but destroyed. At one end of the hall is a

raised dais, and over it a gallery ; and at the opposite end is a fireplace of great size, probably erected at a later date, as the kitchen generally was a building by itself. The hall was connected with the house by a passage at one end only, and has four external walls. Although much injured, sufficient remains to show that it must have been attached to a building of some importance erected about the middle of the fourteenth century. The present Manor-House, which contains no objects of interest, appears to have been rebuilt in the middle of the sixteenth century, doubtless when the Thynne family came into possession of the manor. They are described as having lived here in good style, and numerous instances are on record of visits made here by persons of distinction.

The house was afterwards occupied by John Bayzant, who built the oriel window in the gallery of the great hall. A man of eccentric habits, of whom some good stories are related, he appears to have given great displeasure to the villagers, who were wont to declare that the bells of the village church chimed the following rhymes :

“ Bayzant of Buckland came from Cold Sapperton.
He never did good to the poor ;
And if he don't mind and better his ways,
The devil will have him I'm sure.”

The house is now used as a farm, and the outbuildings, which are of great antiquity, are extremely interesting, and traces remain showing the whole to have been surrounded on three sides by a moat.

WINCHCOMBE ABBEY.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

WINCHCOMBE is a very ancient town. Rudder derives its name from *wincel* (Saxon for a corner), and *comb* a valley. In the original charter of King Kenulph to the Abbey it is described as being a place "called anciently by the inhabitants Wincelcombe, in the province of the Wixes". If there be any doubt as to this derivation it may be only to suppose that the old name thus softened into Saxon was originally "the Vale of the Wixes".

The history of the town is inseparably connected with that of the celebrated abbey. We find it described at a very early period as being walled, one of the seats of the Saxon kings, and as being a small county of itself. The *Golden Legend*, quoted by Fosbroke, calls it the chief city of the kingdom of Mercia, and the county appears to have preserved its separate form until the time of Edric, surnamed Streon, who caused it to be united to Gloucestershire in the time of King Canute.

The Abbey was founded by Kenulph, King of Mercia, early in the ninth century. The Charter, before quoted, and which is given in full by Sir John Atkyn and in Dugdale, bears date A.D. 811, the sixteenth year of his reign and the 9th of November; and it recites the rich presents of inestimable value which he gave to the great noblemen who attended at the dedication. He gave a pound weight of silver to all such as had no lands, a mark in gold to all priests, and a shilling to every monk. The building is spoken of as being a noble church, and it was dedicated by Wlfrid, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, His mother, and in the presence of a large assembly.¹ The King of Kent, Eadbert (surnamed "Pren"), who had previously been taken prisoner by Kenulf, was set free at the altar on this day of dedication, and consoled with liberty. "Cuthred, whom Kenulph had made King of Kent, was present to applaud this act of royal munificence. The church resounded with acclamations, the streets shook

¹ See Will. Malm., *G. Pont.*, iv, § 156, ed. Hamilton, p. 294.

with crowds of people, for in an assembly of thirteen bishops, no one was refused a largesse, all departed with full purses."¹

Richard of Cirencester also recites the narrative of the dedication, and also chronicles, as does William of Malmesbury, that King Kenulph, who died in 821, or 819, was buried here in the abbey which he had founded. Egbert, King of the West Saxons, was also buried here.

The monastery appears to have been commenced in 798, on the spot where a nunnery had been erected by King Offa, the predecessor of Kenulph, in the year 787. Three hundred monks of the Benedictine order were nurtured in the abbey at the date of its foundation, but these do not appear all to have been monks in the usual acceptation of the term, and Matthew of Westminster reduces the number to two hundred. The larger number is however most probably correct, since it is so stated in the annals of Winchcombe, and in those of Worcester.

King Kenulph left his son Kenelm, then only seven years old, to the charge of his sister Quendrida, to be brought up. She, deceiving herself with false hopes of succeeding as queen to the kingdom of Mercia, persuaded his tutor to murder him. Under pretext of being taken out to hunt for his amusement, the unhappy young prince was ruthlessly murdered in the wood Clenth, and buried there. This villainy, so secretly committed in England, was miraculously revealed at Rome, for a dove flying over the church of St. Peter let a parchment drop, which did declare in order the whole narrative of his death and burial. The writing was in English, and it could not be understood by the Italians, nor could any of the other natives of foreign nations then in Rome, to whom the mystic scroll was shown, and who attempted to read it. Very happily and seasonably, an Englishman was found, who distinctly read it and made it known to the Pope, who by his apostolical letter did discover to the English princes how one of the royal blood had been martyred. On this evidence great multitudes assembled; a pillar of light is seen over the little grave of Kenelm, to

¹ William of Malmesbury. I am told by Mrs. Dent of Sudeley Castle that there is a local tradition which says that King Kenulph escorted his guests as far as Cleeve Hill, where they parted. A plain square stone marks the spot, called "Huddlestons Stone", and it is not very far from Postlip. It stands on high ground, and the view is of great beauty and extent.

which they are guided by a white cow which used to frequent the valley, henceforth called the "Valley of the White Cow". The body was taken up and brought to Winchcombe, after a contention between the people of Worcester and Gloucester as to which should have the relics. The wicked sister being surprised at the solemn singing of the clergy and commotion among the people, looked out of the window of the dining room where she was, and by chance having in her hands a psalter, she sang the psalm, "O God, my praise", which, for I know not what charm, reading backwards, she endeavoured to drown the singing. At that moment, her eyes, torn by divine vengeance from their sockets, scattered blood upon the verse which runs, "This is the work of them who defame me to the Lord, and who speak evil against my soul". "The marks of her blood are still extant", says William of Malmesbury, "proving the cruelty of the woman and the vengeance of God. The body of the little saint is very generally adored, and there is hardly any place in England more venerated, or where greater numbers of persons attend at the festival; and this arising from the long-continued belief of his sanctity, and the constant exhibition of miracles."

I have followed the text of William of Malmesbury, but the legend is given in full by many of the old chroniclers, among whom may be mentioned Giraldus Cambrensis, Matthew of Westminster, and particularly Richard of Cirencester, who narrates several miracles which attested the sanctity of the relics of St. Kenelm. Besides these, the founder Kenulph, in addition to the other rich presents, made a gift to the abbey, which is thus set forth in the dedication charter: "I have also obtained the Banner of the Holy Cross on which Jesus Christ our Lord did suffer, that it might be a safeguard and protection of my soul, and of all my temporal affairs, and of all my heirs." The right of sanctuary was granted to all who fled to the abbey and demanded to see the banner. I have found no further mention of this wonderful relic, except in this charter.

It is recorded that in 867 three monks of the abbey travelled into the north parts of the kingdom, and by their earnest preaching, and the sanctity of their lives, caused many of the monasteries which had been ruined by the Danes to be rebuilt.

It is probable that Winchcombe did not escape the Danish disasters ; for we find that in 969¹ the abbey was restored by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester (other accounts say 985). It appears to have been in the possession of seculars, and almost wholly decayed. Oswald reformed the discipline, and recovered the possessions of the abbey, which was then dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Kenelm. The custody of Winchcombe was given temporarily by William the Conqueror to the Abbey of Evesham.²

William of Malmesbury relates a great storm at Winchcombe on the ides of October 1091, which for its references to the building may be noted. "A stroke of lightning beat against the side of the tower with such force, that, shattering the wall where it joined to the roof, it opened a place wide enough to admit a man ; entering there, it struck a very large beam, and scattered fragments of it over the whole church ; moreover it cast down the head of the crucifix, with the right leg, and the image of St. Mary. A stench so noisome followed as to be insufferable to human nostrils. At length the monks, with auspicious boldness, entering, defeated the contrivances of the devil, by the sprinkling of holy water."³ This tower, from the position near the rood, was most probably the central tower of a cruciform church.

During the abbacy of Robert, a monk of Cluny and a relative of King Stephen, the annals of Winchcombe tell us that the abbey was destroyed by fire on the 4th of the kalends of October 1151. The fire appears to have originated in some cottages which had been allowed to be built close to the church. The town was burnt in the time of Henry II.

The church was rebuilt after this disaster, for we find under date 1239 in the annals of Tewkesbury (the year when Tewkesbury was dedicated), "*Dedicatæ sunt ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ, de Winchelcumba, de Persora, Majoris Malvernîæ, a domino Waltero de Cantilupo episcopo Wigornîæ.*" This date is confirmed by the annals of Worcester. St. James of Bristol and the Priory Church of Alcester were also dedicated this year, but we must attribute the majority of these cases to the enactment of the

¹ William of Malmesbury. The *Annals of Ramsey* place this before 974.

² *Annals of Evesham.*

³ The *Annals of Margan* and also those of Bermondsey confirm this date.

National Synod, held in London in 1237, under the presidency of Otho, Legate of Pope Gregory IX. It was enjoined that all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches, which had not been consecrated, should be so consecrated by the diocesan bishops, or others appointed by them, within two years. The result was the consecration of a great number of churches which had, in many cases, been long erected, throughout the country, but this extended over more than the two years specified.

The importance of this establishment cannot be underrated, for we find that it enjoyed the distinction of being a mitred abbey, its abbots being peers. Prior John de Yanwath was summoned to parliament so early as 1265. *Doomsday* sets forth the possessions of the abbey in 1087. These are very considerable, and extend to the large number of 109 hides, with a rental of £82. Dugdale gives an extended list of these and their positions.

The list of the abbots, also given by Dugdale, and in the *History of the Parliamentary Abbies* by Browne Willis, is fairly complete. It commences with Livingus, who was abbot in 851, and ends with Richard Ancelme,¹ Anselme or Mounslow, the last who subscribed to the king's supremacy A.D. 1534, and surrendered the abbey into the hands of the king's visitors December 3rd, 1539. He obtained a pension of £160 per annum, which was lessened in the time of Philip and Mary to £120, probably from having received some benefice. The revenue of the abbey at the dissolution was £759 : 11 : 9 per annum.

Besides the notices of the buildings already referred to, the documents still remaining afford several items that may enable us to trace a few further particulars. The Bull of Alexander III, which confirms all the possessions of the abbey in 1175, speaks of Robert IV, then abbot, "as having great diligence, prudence, and care, as to the repairing and building of our church and cloisters". He procured an aqueduct, "whereby excellent spring water did continually run under the earth in leaden pipes from Hanwell to our monastery."

Ralph de Sudley, in the reign of King John, granted the

¹ See his autograph signature to a very interesting document in the British Museum (Add. MS. 28,721, folio 33), the text of which will be found further on in the *Journal*.

monks leave to make a moat and ditch, which brought water to the abbey mill in a straight course. The inhabitants¹ of Winchcombe released to the almonry of the abbey, *temp.* Henry III, the boothall under the Guildhall in North Street, in exchange for a place near the almonry, to build an aisle and altar in honour of St. Nicholas on the north side of the church. The abbey orchard stood in or near Betar Street. The almoner's garden lay opposite the water. The monk's garden lay near Battismore, and a street led up to it. This garden was to furnish the abbey with pot-herbs, leeks, chervill, and beans, for fifteen days about the feast of St. John. The curtilage of the infirmary was in North Street, and a brewhouse stood in the corner of an adjacent vacancy. Two shops close to it were let in fee farm to Ralph Ludd at three shillings per annum, fairs excepted. A cross, most probably in the town, is mentioned. The abbey was supplied with water from Postlip and Sudley.

The abbey was fortified. The licence to crenelate is dated 47th Edward III (1374), as appears by the list in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*. This unusual privilege it shared with monastic establishments of known large dimensions, such as Tynemouth, Lichfield, Salisbury, Peterborough, etc.

There was a small chapel dedicated to St. Pancras the Martyr, and situated at the west end of the abbey. On its site William Winchecombe, abbot, began the erection of a new parish church in the reign of King Henry VI; the parish church of the town having been kept until then in the body of the abbey church.² "The parishioners had gathered a £200, and began the body of the church; but that summe being not able to performe so costly a worke, Rape Boteler, Lord Sudeley, helped them and finished the worke."³ This notice of the position enables us to believe that the site of the abbey was east of the present church, and Browne Willis heard also by tradition that it had stood on the east side.

Richard Kyderminstre, abbot, July 10th, 1488, appears to have carried out various works. Leland says that he "did great cost of the church and enclosed the abbey

¹ Fosbroke, vol. ii, p. 345. Authorities quoted.

² Prior to this they had worshipped in a parish church dedicated to St. Nicholas, which fell into decay.

³ Leland's *Itin.*, vol. iv, p. 74.

towards the towne with a main stone wall, 'ex quadrato saxo'." This abbot wrote a history of the foundation of the monastery, with the lives of the abbots, from Germanus to his own time. This book was unfortunately lost in the great fire of London, 1666, but Dugdale had previously made some extracts from it.

Tanner, in the *Notitia*, notices a book of the possessions of the abbey, *temp.* Henry VIII, and earlier; and three manuscripts, formerly belonging to Sir John Dutton of Sherborne. These are printed in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. ii, p. 16; they are in possession of Lord Sherborne. A deed relating to the abbey is described in an early volume of the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute; and in the *Monasticon*, as well as in *Tanner*, are notices of many documents relating to the abbey.

Leland makes distinct reference to the walls of Winchcombe: "The towne of certaine", he says, "as it appeareth in divers places, and especially by south towards Sudeley Castle, was walled; and the legend, *A Life of St. Keneleme*, doth testify the same." Leland also notes that there was anciently a second church in the town. It stood in the east part of it, but had been decayed many years since.

There appear to have been many chantry chapels, one of which, curiously adorned, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and we are indebted to Leland for notices of a chapel in the abbey church, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, in which Henry Boteler of Sudeley, who had covered the roof of the body of the church with lead, was buried. Several others of the Botelers of Sudeley were interred here. "There was a fortress or castle right against the south side of St. Peter's, the parish church of Winchcombe, called of late days (as appeareth by writings in Winchcombe Abbey), Ivy Castle, now a place where a few poor houses be and gardens. I think that the old buildings of it falling into ruin and ivy growing on the walls of it caused it to be called by the name of Ivy Castle. The last prior of Winchelcombe told me that he hath heard that there was a fort or castle about the east north-east part of the town."

Fosbroke quotes Parson's MS., p. 283, as mentioning an old castle on the south side of St. Peter's, in Cole Street, and that there "was also a tenement called 'Ivy Castle'

in Mill Lane".¹ This latter may have been the site of the ancient palace of King Kenulph, since Sir John Atkyn states that the dining room from which Quendrida saw the advance of the procession with the remains of her murdered brother, was on the west side of St. Peter's Church (where it afterwards was?) and the only way between it and the churchyard to the abbey.

Browne Willis, who supposes that the whole of the abbey buildings were demolished by the Lord Seymour, the first proprietor, shortly after the dissolution, visited the site of the abbey purposely in September 1714,² and found no traces of the church. "The very site of the buildings being levelled and turned into arable ground, it is impossible to form any conjecture where they stood, and all I could learn was from tradition, that they stood on the east side of the present parish church, which is a good building and adorned with a spacious body and a neat tower at the west end. The inhabitants showed me some mean offices at some distance from the church, where the abbot's hind or chief ploughman lived; and also informed me that it had been delivered to them; that the tower of the abbey was large and fine, which was all I could inform myself about; otherwise they could not give me the least description of any part of it, or that any more buildings were remembered standing in their time." No allusion to the abbey ruins is made by Leland; and we may seek in vain either in Atkyns, Rudder, Fosbroke, or Brittan, for any record of traces of them.

I paid a visit to the site purposely, thinking it incredible that it should have disappeared altogether from the earth. I found two houses, one occupied by Mrs. Smith, to the north-east of the church, which have been a portion of the buildings, and fifteenth century work. The whole of the ground east of the church up to Cow (or Chapel) Lane, now partly orchard, is full of inequalities, indicating the foundations of buildings of great extent. The meadow between the north wall of the church and Back Lane, the traditional site of Ivy Castle, and doubtless a portion of the priory, is also full of irregularities; and a high bank, like an earth-work, runs parallel to Back Lane for about forty yards.

¹ Fosbroke's *Gloucestershire*, ii, p. 345.

² *Hist. of Mitred Abbeyes*, p. 210.

There is no stonework above ground, and curiously, no fragments of carved or moulded work are visible or built up in any of the buildings near, that I could observe. Vast numbers of interments were met with close to the surface a few years since, and two stone coffins were dug up also about fifty years ago, and to the north-east of the church, near Cow Lane. These are both in the possession of S. Grist, Esq., at Wormington Grange. Another coffin of small size, for a child, and of early date, was shown to me at Sudeley Castle by Mrs. Dent.

The space of land east and south of the church, of large extent, is enclosed and divided from the town by a modern wall, probably on part of the site of that of the ancient precinct. I traced a fragment of an ancient wall at the south-east corner, at the angle of Cow Lane, incorporated into it.

An extract from the parochial register, kindly given me by the Rev. R. Noble Jackson, affords us evidence that the area has always been called the abbey site, and with the foregoing may finally set at rest the question of the position of the abbey. It is dated 1768, and records that in this year the workhouse was rented by the town. The managers were to have a key to enter in by the gate "opening into the abbey", and liberty was given for two people only "to take water out of the abbey pool". The workhouse here referred to was an Elizabethan building, and it stood to the north of Mrs. Smith's house, and backed upon Cow Lane, within the area I would assign as the abbey site. A beautiful little gateway, well worth inspection, is still standing, but the building itself has been removed. Cow Lane is now called Chapel Lane. Back Lane is the road to the north of the parish church. North Street is a leading thoroughfare, but Betar Street is now unknown at Winchcombe.

The parish church has recently afforded interesting evidence of the extreme antiquity of its site. During the recent restoration, so admirably carried out by the Rev. R. N. Jackson, an excavation was made for a heating apparatus beneath the church on the north side. Traces of what was probably an ancient well were found, and also several crumbling fragments of black urns, poorly baked. These are of ancient British date.

ON SOME ORIGINAL DEEDS RELATING TO WILLIAM EARL OF GLOUCESTER, ETC.

BY J. TAYLOR, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE BRISTOL MUSEUM
AND LIBRARY.

THE great churches and abbeys of the middle ages owed their origin, for the most part, to some one family or to some one man ; those that were erected by the people being the exceptions not the rule. Thus we have Bolton identified with the Romilys, Kirkstall with the De Lacys, Tintern with the Clares, St. Austin's, Bristol, with Fitzharding and the Berkeleys ; and, leaving numerous other instances, to come nearer to our subject, Keynsham and Tewkesbury Abbeys with Fitzhamon and the Earls of Gloucester. It would be curious to consider how many persons are in our time required to build a church, that after all with difficulty is erected and endowed. Montaigne has remarked that one parent can more readily provide for ten children than ten children for one parent ; so one foster-father of the church would formerly do more than a whole parish do now. It is well, however, that all should do what they can rather than one should do all. And in this respect we may relate that when recently a fund was being raised for the purpose of enlarging the Norman church of St. James, Bristol, formerly a prioral cell of Tewkesbury, the children of the Ragged School in the district did what they could towards the object, by sending bags of farthings, each young contributor's farthing being a curious contrast to the countless golden marks that issued from the treasury of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who originally founded the same church.

The mention here of this powerful noble may serve to introduce William his son, the second Earl, several of whose original charters yet exist to testify to his munificence to the church, one of which documents will form the groundwork of the present paper. He was somewhat advanced in life when he came into possession of the paternal estates. Unlike his father, he was rather a man of pleasure than a man of arms, but he is considered to have had at least one brilliant success as a warrior :—Henry de Tracy, an expert

soldier on the royal side, had, in order to neutralise Gloucester's power in East Somerset, fortified the castle at Cary, but was there suddenly set upon by the earl himself, who, with a large force, demolished his works, and compelled him to withdraw.¹ On another occasion Earl William was himself surprised. Included in his broad inheritance was the province of Glamorgan; here he had a dispute with one of his vassals, called Ivor Bach, or the Little, being a man of short stature but great courage. This man held a tract of mountainous and woody country in the earl's domain, of which the latter endeavoured to deprive him. At that time, as at present, the Castle of Cardiff was defended by high walls, and was further guarded by one hundred and twenty pikemen and a numerous body of archers, and a strong watch, the city also contained many stipendiary soldiers; yet in spite of all these precautions, Ivor, in the dead of night, secretly scaled the walls, and seizing the count and countess with their only son, carried them off into the forest, and did not release them until full restitution had been made him. The Earl's great grief was the loss of his only son, just spoken of; in solemn memory of whom he founded the beautiful Abbey of Keynsham, of which an exhaustive account has been given by Mr. Brock, in the current number of the *Journal* of this Association. Here is a deed with his seal attached, which is directed (A.D. 1170) to his seneschal and to all his barons and friends of France and England; whereby he grants to the monks of St. James, for the salvation of his father's soul and his mother's, and for his own and his wife, and his son's welfare in the life hereafter, the land of Asseleg, in perpetual alms, to be held by these monks as securely and fully as it had been by himself. Besides this land he gives the same fraternity his yearly fair at Bristol, which was held in the octave of Pentecost. The deed is attested by Hawisa, his countess, showing how sympathetic her spirit was with his own in acts of ecclesiastical benevolence. The manor of Asseleg, here conceded, is identical with what is now called Ashley Down, by Bristol, whereon stand the well-known orphan houses of Mr. Müller, which contain more than two thousand children.

At first sight there may seem very little to interest in

¹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Gesta Stephani*, lib. ii.

an old vellum manuscript like the present, with its contracted words and quaintly figured seal. Such a document, however, conveys a volume of information concerning the temper of the period in which its grants were made. We seem not only brought into the bodily presence of those who executed the deed, perhaps some sovereign, baron, or prelate of historical magnitude, and realise the feeling that prompted it to be effected—a belief in the efficacy of churchmen's prayers, at a time when the church was in the majesty of her power, and held the keys of heaven and hell,—but the surroundings of the age gather about us, and we see even more than the actors themselves saw, for they viewed only what was and had been, but we can see also what was to come to pass.

In illustration of this not very profound remark, I have here an original document that was executed at Carlisle in the presence of Edward I and his leading bishops and barons on the very day the English host poured out from that city upon the siege of Carlaverock Castle; and the manuscript is valuable as confirming the date and circumstances related by Henry of Exeter, the historical bard of that famous expedition. History tells us that on the 29th December, 1299, the king summoned all who owed him military service to attend at Carlisle on the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist (June 24th, 1300). "Accordingly," says the Roll of Carlaverock, "in the year of grace one thousand three hundred, and on St. John's day, Edward held a great court at Carlisle, and commanded that in a short time all his men should make ready to go with him against his enemies the Scots." This assembling of the council was a week before the date of our record, and the day appointed for the march to begin was the 1st of July, the day this document was sealed. The deed itself is an *inspeximus* of a charter of Henry II, and it confirms the gifts of William, Earl of Gloucester, to St. James's Priory, including the lands at Ashley and the Pentecostal fair, also several churches, etc.; but I here adduce the document chiefly for the interest of the occasion on which it was executed, and the historical names of the chief agent and witnesses. Among these witnesses is Antony Bek, the martial Bishop of Durham, "the most proud and masterfull bushopp", says an old writer, "in all England; and it was

commonly said that he was the proudest lord in Christienty". The court of Durham in his day showed all the appendages of royalty; nobles addressed the Palatine sovereign kneeling, and instead of menial servants knights waited in his presence chamber and at his table, bareheaded and standing. He had been of old the familiar friend of Edward I, having taken the cross and accompanied him to the Holy Land. The retinue with which he attended the king in his wars amounted to 26 standard-bearers of his own household, 140 knights and 500 horse, and 1000 foot marched under the consecrated banner of St. Cuthbert, which was carried by a monk of Durham.¹ In the campaign of 1298 against William Wallace, when sarcastically told by Ralph Basset on a battle day to sheath his sword and keep to his mass, his advice to the soldiers was to say the mass with swords in their hands, a touch of church militant history that was afterwards repeated under a different formula by the fiery Ironsides. Though the present record gives evidence that the Bishop of Durham was present with the parliament at Carlisle, he did not himself go with the expedition to Scotland, but sent his ensign with 160 of his men-at-arms. These were conducted by his trusty and beloved friend John de Hastings, also a witness to this charter, who, says the historian of Carlaverock, "was well deserving of this preference, it being well known by all that as in the field of battle he was bold and impetuous, so in the hall he was gentle and *debonnaire*, and no justice in eyre was more upright in his judgment. He had a light and strong shield, and a banner of fine gold with a red manche". The first and second squadrons of the army were led respectively by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, both of whose names appear in our document; the third squadron was conducted by the king himself. Another name attached to the instrument we are considering is that of Hugh de Spenser, Earl of Winchester, whose banner also floated over the spears beneath the merlons of Carlaverock. He is described as being at that time virtuous and valorous; but if he retained those qualities in the years to come, they served him but little when as one of the favourites of Edward II he excited the jealousy and revenge of that weak sovereign's queen and her gentle

¹ Carrik's *Sir William Wallace*, p. 100.

Mortimer. He was hanged with peculiar circumstances of ignominy at Bristol, on St. Denis's Day (Oct. 26), 1326. A scarcely less pitiable fate had been that two years previously of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, whose name here follows the title of John de Warren. This sequence is noticeable, seeing their after relationship. Alice, Countess of Lancaster, only child of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (whose name here succeeds his son-in-law), had been the richest heiress in England, and styled herself Countess of Lincoln and Salisbury. Her conduct adds a page, but not a bright one, to the romance of the peerage. She eloped from her husband's house in Dorsetshire, with Richard St. Martin, a deformed dwarf, who claimed right to her person and titles by virtue of his having lived with her before her marriage, a fact which she, to her disgrace, admitted. She was received by John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, at his Castle of Reigate. In furious resentment Lancaster flew to arms, and took several castles belonging to the Earl of Surrey, and some belonging to the king. A civil war now threatened. This was in 1317; in 1322, Edward having gained a temporary triumph over his enemies, including the capture of the Earl of Lancaster, the latter was carried out of Pontefract Castle, his own chief residence, and in a sordid dress, mounted on a lean horse without a bridle, was beheaded with circumstances of savage insult. Of Earl Warren it is told that when Edward I issued writ of *quo warranto*, being challenged to account for his estate, he displayed his sword before the justices, and said, "Behold, my lords, here is my warranty; my ancestors, coming to this land with William the Bastard, gained their possessions by the sword, and by the sword I will keep mine." He died in 1304.

The present *inspeximus* was confirmed by Edward IV, and I have here the deed, with the great seal attached, granted by himself at Westminster.

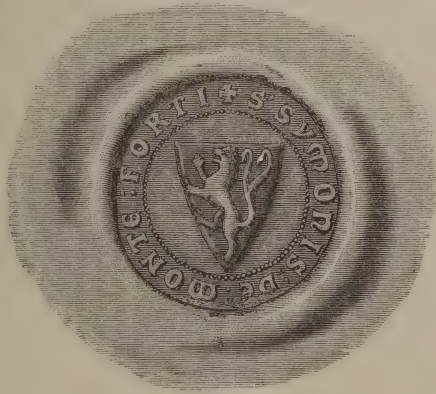
NOTES ON THE SEAL AND SOME CHARTERS OF
SIMON DE MONTFORT, EARL OF LEICESTER,
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

THE name and fame of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, is so closely bound up with that of the town of Evesham that I think a short account of the seal the Earl employed for his charters, and the texts of some that are extant in the British Museum, will interest the reader at this juncture, when we are endeavouring to illustrate as much as possible the antiquarian history of the town.

Simon de Montfort was the second son of Simon de Montfort, first of that name, fifth Earl of Leicester, and was confirmed in this earldom, as the sixth Earl, by King Henry III, with consent of Almaric, his elder brother, on the 6th of February, A.D. 1230, together with the stewardship of England. His tragic death at Evesham, on the 4th of August, 1265, and attainder, are well known points of history ; and as they have formed no small part of the investigations of the Congress, I shall forbear to allude to any historical question in connection with them.

The seal of the Earl is circular, with a diameter of about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and bears a representation of the noble draped in a long, loose, and flowing habit. In his right hand he holds a curved horn to his mouth, sounding it to call his companions to the chase ; with his left he holds the reins of his horse ; his face is three-quarters full ; his body turned to the left ; he is riding on a finely designed and spirited horse, the trappings of which consist of bridle, breast-band of peytrel, and saddle with stirrups, girth, etc. In the background, on the right hand, is an oak tree of two branches with conspicuous foliage of large leaves. The foreground is wavy, and embellished with five small flowering bushes of two or three stalks ; and by his side courses a hunting dog with his nose to the scent. The legend is +SIGILLUM: SYMONIS : DE : MONTE : FORTI. On the reverse is a small round counter-seal of a diameter of one inch and three six-



EQUESTRIAN SEAL AND HERALDIC COUNTERSEAL OF SIMON DE MONTFORT,
EARL OF LEICESTER.

British Museum, Add. Ch. 11,296.



teenths, bearing a shield of arms of *Montfort*, a lion rampant, queue fourchée. Legend, +s' SYMONIS . DE . MONTE . FORTI.

1. British Museum, Additional Charter 11,294. Letters whereby Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and Peter de Sabaudia (Savoy), Knight, notify that they, holding full power from Henry III, King of England, have prolonged, for a term of three years, the truce formerly made between the said King and the King of the French. Dated at Paris in the month of June, 1255.

"Universis presentes literas inspecturis . Symon de Monte forti Comes Leycestrie et Petrus de Sabaudia miles salutem . Notum fecimus quod Nos plenam et liberam potestatem habentes a karissimo domino nostro . H. Rege Anglie illustri super treugis inter ipsum dominum nostrum Regem Anglie et Eduardum filium ejus ex una parte et Regem francorum illustrem ex altera capiendis prorogandis et firmandis dictas treugas prorogavimus in forma in qua prius erant inter ipsos ab instanti festo Sancti Remigii usque ad terminum trium annorum continue subsequentium duraturas et super dictis treugis a domino Rege Anglie predicto bona fide observandis data nobis plena super hoc potestate in animam ipsius domini Regis in predicti Regis francorum presentia super sacrosancta evangelia prestitimus Juramentum. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus (*sic*) literis sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Actum parisiis anno domini Millesimo . ducentesimo . quinquagesimo . quinto . mense Junio."

Imperfect seal and counter-seal (as engraved), in self-coloured wax, appended by a parchment label.

2. Add. Ch. 11,295. Letters whereby Peter de Sabaudia, Knight, and Richard de Grey, Councillors of the King of England, confirm the truce contained in the foregoing charters. Dated at Paris in the month of July, same year.

"Universis presentes litteras inspecturis . Petrus de Sabaudia miles et Ricardus de Grey consilarii Regis Anglie Salutem . Notum facimus quod Nos plenam et liberam potestatem habentes a karissimo domino nostro . H. Rege Anglie illustri super treugis inter ipsum et Regem Francorum illustrem capiendis prorogandis et firmandis dictas treugas prorogavimus ab festo Sancti Remigii usque ad terminum trium annorum et super dictis treugis a domino Rege Anglie bona fide observandis data nobis plena potestate In predicti Regis francorum presencia super sacrosancta evangelia prestitimus Juramentum . In cujus rei testimonium presentibus litteris sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Actum parisiis anno domini m^o. cc^o. quinquagesimo quinto . mense Julio."

The seal, in light brown wax, of Richard de Grey as a knight on horseback, is appended to this charter. That of Peter de Sabaudia is wanting.

3. Harley Ch. 83, G. 45. Confirmation by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, to Richard Suard for his homage and service, of twenty marks of rent in the provostry of Leicester, for the yearly payment of an *espervarium sorum*, a dun-coloured or yearling sparrow-hawk.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Symon de Monteforti Comes Leycestrie dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Ricardo Suard pro homagio suo Ligio et servicio salva regia fidelitate . viginti marcas redditus in prepositura mea de Leycestria ad tres terminos anni percipiendas . Scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis sex marcas octo solidos decem denarios et obolum . Et ad purificationem beate Marie sex marcas octo solidos decem denarios et obolum . et ad pentecosten sex marcas octo solidos et undecym denarios quousque in loco competenti eidem viginti marcas redditus assignavero . Habendas et tenendas de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete . Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui ad festum beati Petri ad vincula pro omni servicio unum *espervarium sorum* . Ut autem hec mea donatio et concessio Rata et stabilis permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei appositione roboravi . Hiis testibus Thoma de Menil' tunc seneschallo . Magistro Johanne de Rac. Nicholao de Marnham . Simone Luuel . Ricardo clerico et aliis."

An imperfect impression of the seal and counter-seal of the Earl, in uncoloured wax, as engraved, is appended to this charter by a parchment label.

4. Add. Ch. 11,297. Letters whereby Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and others, notify that they have accepted the form of the peace made between the King of England and the King of the French. Dated at Paris, 1st of June, 1258.

"Universis presentes litteras inspecturis . S. de Monte forti Comes Leycestrie . P. de Sabandia . Galfridus et Guido de Lezeniaco . et Hugo Bigod salutem . Notum fecimus quod post longum tractatum pacis habitum inter Reges Francie et Anglie per procuratores missos pluries hinc inde . Tandem accedentibus nobis ad regem Francie memoratum et cum ipso tractantibus de pace predicta ex potestate plenaria quam a domino Rege Anglie habebamus de pace hujusmodi et compositione facienda plenius et firmanda . per litteras procuratorias quas ipsi regi Francie tradidimus procuratorio nomine pro predicto rege Anglie et vice ipsius formam illam compositionis et pacis que sub sigillis venerabilium patrum O[donis] Rothomagensis et R[odulphi] Tarantasiensis Archiepiscoporum sigillata . presentibus est annexa . et apud domum Templi parisiis de consensu partium commendata . cum ipso rege Francie fecimus . acceptavimus . et firmavimus . Quitationes etiam concessionem et omnia alia et singula que in forma pacis ejusdem plenius continentur . pro ipse rege Anglie et vice ipsius procuratorio nomine fecimus memorato regi Francie presenti et recipienti et in animam ipsius regis Anglie tactis sacrosanctis juravimus . quod predicta

omnia et singula bona fide quantum ad ipsum pertinet servabit plenius et complebit nec contra veniet per se vel per alium in futurum . Si tantum infra instantem purificationem beate Marie predictus rex Francie acceptaverit pacem et compositionem predictam . In cujus rei testimonium sigilla nostra presentibus litteris duximus apponenda . Datum Parisius anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo octavo prima die mensis Junii."

The counter-seal of the Earl (as engraved), and the seals of the other three commissioners (two in green, and two in self-coloured wax), are appended by parchment labels. The text of the terms of peace, alluded to in this charter as being attached to it, is no longer with it, but the slit through which the label binding the two documents together passed, shews how the union was effected.

5. Add. Ch. 11,296. Letters whereby Simon de Montfort and Peter de Sabaudia, procurators and messengers of the King of England, announce that the truce between the Kings of France and England is prolonged to the 14th day of Easter next. Dated Wednesday after the "quindena Pentecostes", or 14th day of Pentecost, 1258.

"Universis presentes litteras inspecturis . S. de Montefforti Comes Leycestrie P. de Sabaudia procuratores et nuncii Regis Anglie salutem . Notum fecimus quod cum inter illustres Reges Francie et Anglie usque ad instans festum Sancti Michaelis treuga durare deberet. Idem Rex Francie ad instantiam nostram concesserit predicto Domino Regi Anglie et suis et nos vice versa pro dicto Domino Rege Anglie concessimus dicto domino Regi Francie et suis sufferentiam pro dicto domino Rege Anglie et suis usque ad quindenam Pasche instantis quamsi trenga esset . Promittentes quod idem Rex Anglie districtius prohibebitur ne quis infra dictum terminum dictum Regem Francie vel suos in personis aut rebus offendet. In cujus rei testimonium literis presentibus sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Actum die Mercurii proximo post quindenam Pentecostes anno Domini m^o cc^o l^{mo} octavo."

A very fine impression of the seal and counter-seal, as engraved, in dark green wax, is appended to this charter by a parchment label.

SAXON REMAINS AT OFFCHURCH.

BY J. TOM BURGESS, F.S.A.

AT an equal distance from Leamington on the east as Longbridge is distant on the west, is the parish and village of Offchurch. It is one of the few places in Warwickshire, mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle*, of an earlier date than the tenth century. It is situated in a loop of the river Leam, on its eastern bank, from whence the ground rises gradually. The Roman military road known as the Fosse-way traverses the parish, one mile distant from the church, on the east; and three miles further is the ancient town of Long Itchington, famous as the birth-place of Bishop Wulstan, as the spot on which Robert Dudley entertained Queen Elizabeth on her famous visit to Kenilworth in 1575, as described in Laneham's letter, and as the site of the first skirmish between the troops of King Charles and the Parliament. The boundary of the two parishes is fairly made out in a charter of Æthelred granting to Clofia a plot of ground.¹ Offchurch is nearly three miles south-west of the unknown Roman station at Wappenbury, which answers to the blank station in the fourteenth itinerary of Richard of Cirencester as being twelve miles from Vennonis. Warwick is five miles westward, and in full view. Offchurch is, therefore, surrounded by the vestiges of early settlements; but it owes its historical and archæological interest to its connection with Offa, King of the Mercians, who is reputed to have had a palace here, and is mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle* as founding a church here to the memory of his son, who was slain in the neighbourhood, between Long Itchington and Harbury. The event is thus set out in Camden:

“Neither verily are these two places [Long Itchington and Harbury] memorable for any other cause, but for that Fremund, sonne to King Offa, was betwixt them villanously, in times past, slain by those that forelayed him; a man of great renown and singular piety to Godward, unto whom nothing else procured envie and evill will, but because in an unhappy time hee had by happy conduct quelled the audacious Courage of his enemies. Which death of his turned to his

¹ Kemble, vol. iii, p. 316, No. 705.

greater glorie. For being buried at his Father's Palace, now called Offchurch, he liveth yet unto Posterity, as who beeing raunged in the Catalogue of our Saints hath among the multitude received Divine Honours: and whose life is by an ancient writer set out in a good Poeme, out of which let it be no offence to put down these few Verses following touching the Murderer, who upon an ambitious desire of a kingdom slew him."

"Non sperans vivo Fremundo, regis honore
Optato se posse frui, molitur in ejus
Immeritam tacito mortem, gladioque profanus
Irruit exerto servus, Dominique jacentis
Tale nihil veritum sævo caput amputat ictu
Talis apud RADFORD,¹ Fremundum palma coronat
Dum simul et soutes accedit, et occidit insons."

"Past hope whiles Fremund liv'd, to speed of wished regalty,
All secret and unworthy meanes he plots to make him dye.
With naked sword, prophane slave he, assaileth cowardly
His Lord unwares, and as he lay beheads him cruelly
At RADFORD; thus Prince Fremund did this glorious crowne attaine.
Whilst slaying guilty folke, at once, himselfe is guiltlesse slaine."

In the edition of the *Saxon Chronicle* I have been enabled to consult I found no mention of this event. Radford is not between Harbury and Long Itchington, but an adjoining village. Wydford is unknown; but at Bascote the river Itchen winds in and out, and a wide ford may have existed there; for singular to say, adjoining Bascote, which is exactly between Long Itchington and Harbury, Saxon spear-heads, a javelin or two, and a knife, were found when quarrying for limestone. These relics have passed into the hands of Miss Matthews of Ashby de la Zouch, the executrix of Mrs. Buffery of Emscote, on whose lands they were found.

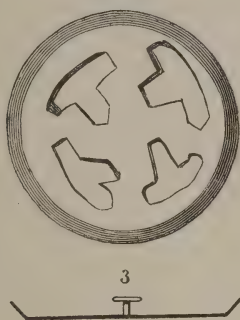
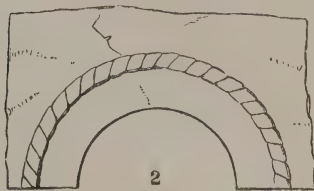
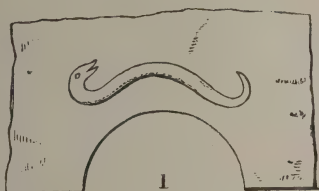
The site of Offa's palace is known as The Bury, and it is situated on the low ground near the Leam, which partly surrounds it. In the Confessor's time it belonged to Leofric, fifth Earl of Mercia, the husband of the Lady Godiva of legendary fame, and was granted by him, with many other manors in Warwickshire, to the great Benedictine Priory at Coventry, founded by him and his lady. It remained in the possession of the monks of Coventry till the dissolution of the monasteries, when it was granted to a branch of the Knightleys of Fawsley in Northam, and it is now in the possession of the same family, in the female line. The house itself seems to have been re-edified in Elizabeth's time; but

¹ Spelt Wydford in some copies.

this part is now devoted to servants and domestic offices. The ground in front seems to have been a common cemetery, for on excavating for a sunken fence a large quantity of human bones were found, but no accurate observations were made thereon.

The Church of St. Gregory, supposed to have been founded by Offa, is situated on the highest ground in the parish. It consists of a chancel, nave, and a tower of a common Warwickshire type. The north doorway and the chancel-arch piers are Norman, of the twelfth century, and they are ornamented by a geometrical diaper-pattern in chisel-work. It was necessary, three or four years ago, to take down and rebuild the chancel, and on doing so part of a stone coffin, with a recess for the head, was found in the wall, and the solid heads of two round-headed loop-windows. These have been inserted in the chancel, and from their ornamentation deserve notice. The one now placed on the south side of the chancel as shewn in figure 1, has a serpent cut in the stone; and the one on the north side has a cable-ornament (fig. 2). The chiselling is not by the same hand that cut the diaper work; and the stone is different from any other portion of dressed stone, and is similar to the coffin. Beneath the floor of the porch are two stone coffins, empty. The porch itself is early Decorated, and beneath the east wall is a carved stone with ornamental work in bas-relief. Only two smaller portions are visible, and I have been unable to make an intelligible sketch. The two capstones have excited much interest; and though I cannot pretend to say that they are older than the Norman period, they are singular, and worthy of note, as being found in Offa's church.

The archæological interest in Offchurch centres in its Saxon cemetery, which lies on the side of the direct road to Long Itchington, south of the church. The graves were found, as at Longbridge, in digging for gravel at the apex of the hill. No person was present when the labourers exhumed the body; but they affirm that one of the spear-heads was driven vertically through the body, and was found by them in that position. A shallow umbo, a smaller spear, and the crumbling remains of a knife, were found also. The relics were carefully collected, and were taken to The Bury, where they still remain in the custody of the Dowager Countess of Aylesford, who is the owner of the estate. I



SAXON REMAINS FOUND AT OFFCHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.



have made a careful sketch of the bronze fibula found, and I hope to have an opportunity of cataloguing the fifty or sixty coins found when her Ladyship returns. The coins consist of *minimi*, Roman second and third brass, of the period of Constantine, much corroded, and I am afraid they have been mixed with others found nearer the Fosseway at an earlier period. There were two cross-shaped fibulæ of ordinary patterns, a few small amber beads, and some clay beads of a coral colour, and some blue. A boar's tusk was found with the fibulæ. One saucer-shaped fibula seems to have had an ornament within it, as a stud remains on the centre, as shewn in the section (fig. 3). A small square buckle of silver is of excellent workmanship, and the tag of the girdle is also of silver, and ornamented. The umbo is like those found at Marton, four miles north-east, when the railway was made. It is shallow and light when compared with those found at Longbridge. One of the studs which bound it to the shield was also found. The excavations will be resumed during the summer, under proper supervision.

There is one other point in connection with Offchurch that may be mentioned. One of the farms is known as "Bunker's Hill", and there are two or three other places named Bunker's Hill in Warwickshire, and they are of older date than the famous battle which inaugurated the American War of Independence.

ON HAIR-CURLING IMPLEMENTS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE monuments of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Italy, attest in an unmistakable manner that a vast amount of time and attention was devoted by the ancient inhabitants of these several countries to the arrangement and adornment of the hair; and these observations apply not simply to the locks with which nature had supplied them, but also to those artificial head-coverings known to us by the familiar appellations of perukes and wigs.

The earliest examples of false hair which have yet been brought to light are the Egyptian wigs preserved in the Berlin and British Museums. The portions of these extraordinary relics which fitted on to the head are covered by innumerable short curls, and below them descend long lines of plaited hair with a sort of ringlet at the end of each. The peculiarly rigid and exact arrangement of the hair portrayed on the sculptures of Assyria would lead to the inference that perukes were worn during the sway of its earlier monarchs; and we learn from Xenophon¹ that these artificial coiffures were not unknown to the later Persians. From a careful examination of the Egyptian wig and the Assyrian carvings I am greatly inclined to believe that the hair of both peoples was dressed by the process called in our day *clumping*; that is, each lock was screwed up in a little flat volute, and then pressed between the heated, discoid ends of a pair of iron forceps, termed in modern tonorial language *clumps*.

The archaic busts and statues of Greek and Etruscan workmanship frequently represent the hair disposed in a stiff and formal series of cylinders over the forehead, and are apparently copied from perukes, and not from the living hair; and these great rolls were in all probability produced by twisting the tresses round heated implements of terracotta, of which a quantity have been discovered in the region of ancient Etruria, and of which we shall hear more in a subsequent part of our story.

¹ *Cyrop.*, i, 3.

Turnus, in the *Æneid*,¹ contemptuously describes the Trojan hero Æneas with “locks frizzled with hot irons, and dripping with myrrh”; and Fosbroke,² in his curt and dogmatic way, says that “curling hair with irons was confined to women and girls among the Greeks and Romans, but used by both sexes among the Phrygians and Sybarites”. These curling-irons or tongs were denominated *kalamis* by the Greeks, and *calamister* by the Romans, on account of their long, slender, cylindric outside being like a reed; and that they were similar in form and principle to those employed in England for the last hundred years, is evidenced by an ancient sepulchral bas-relief in the Florentine Gallery, whereon, among other toilet articles, is shewn the *calamister*, which is in all probability the “crisp- ing pin” of the prophet Isaiah.³

It is likely that the tongs were chiefly employed in dressing the real hair, the tonsor using other means in curling the perukes, which seem to have been held in high esteem by the Romans, who gave them such names as *capillamentum*, *galerus*, *galericulum*, etc., these adventitious adornments being conspicuous on the portrait-busts of both emperors and empresses.⁴

The wig was not worn simply for decoration, but at times also for disguise. Juvenal⁵ tells us that Messalina, the wife of Claudius, donned a yellow *galerus* to hide her black tresses when she left the palace at night to indulge her vile passions under the assumed name of Lycisca.

False hair was unquestionably worn in England from an early period, and it, as well as the living hair, was no doubt curled in various modes, although we know but little respecting the process adopted by the ancient tonsors.

St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, who wrote at the commencement of the eighth century, describes a wife having

¹ xii, 100.

² *Encyc. of Ant.*, p. 943, ed. 1843.

³ iii, 22.

⁴ It is a curious fact that many of the female busts in the Vatican and Capital collections are provided with a moveable scalp; in some instances wrought of a different coloured marble to the rest of the subject, so that it could be taken from the head and replaced by another, should it be so desired. Why the *galeri* were thus contrived is uncertain; but it is supposed that it was with the view of substituting a new coiffure for the old one as the fashions varied, so that the lady need not appear behind the times. If this be the ancient vanity, it is not without a modern parallel, for a lady of my acquaintance was wont every now and then to employ an artist to alter the head-dress in her picture, so that she should not look quite so old-fashioned as she had done.

⁵ *Sat.* vi, 120.

her locks delicately curled by the iron of those who were adorning her person ;¹ and Douglas, in his *Nenia Britannica* (Pl. xx, fig. 5), has engraved what he considered a curling-iron, discovered with female ornaments in a Saxon barrow at Chatham, Kent. The object bears a strong resemblance to a pot-hanger, consisting of a stout stem with the upper end bent into a round loop, and the lower divided so as to form a couple of hooks turning in opposite directions. It is difficult to conceive how hair could have been curled with such an appliance. Chaucer, in the *Canterbury Tales*, says the locks of the young Squire

“Were crull as they were laide in presse”,

an appearance which would be produced by the before mentioned clumping method. Robert Greene, in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), makes the barber ask, “Sir, will you have your worship’s hair cut after the Italian manner, short and round, and then frounst with the curling-iron, to make it look like a half-moon in a mist?” Crisping-pins or curling-tongs are mentioned with glasses, pots of ointment, combs, etc., in the dramatic pastoral called *Rhodon and Iris*, first acted May 3rd, 1631. Randle Holme, in his *Academy of Armory* (1688), gives a figure and description of the barber’s crisping-irons. He says: “In former times these were much used to curl the side-locks of a man’s head, but now wholly cast aside as useless. It openeth and shutteth like the forceps, only the ends are broad and square, being cut within the mouth with teeth curled and crisped, one tooth striking within another.” These crisping-irons were for the arrangement of the growing hair; but our barbers of the seventeenth century, and those seemingly of a much more remote epoch, had other contrivances for dressing the peruke, and these must now engage our thoughts.

Mention has already been made of the discovery in Etruria of implements of terra-cotta which are fairly presumed to be ancient wig-curlers. There are no less than one hundred and twenty-nine examples of them in the British Museum, which were obtained from a tomb at Polledrara, the Necropolis of Vulci; and I have seen a few more specimens from other sepulchres. They are of a reddish hue, and in form may be likened to the concave wooden hafts of

¹ *De Virginitate*, p. 307.

HAIR CURLING IMPLEMENTS.



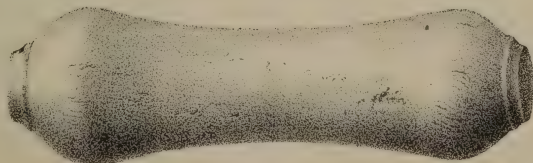
*Found with Roman remains
Little Moorfields. June, 1836.*



*Hollow Wig Curler. of pipe clay.
Found in the Thames,
near London Bridge, 1846.*



Cannon Street, Oct^r 1850.



Cannon Street, London. Oct^r 1850

Second half of the XVII Century.



some of our Saxon knives, being contracted in the middle, and gradually expanding to the ends.

A few implements precisely like these Etruscan ones in shape, but measuring only 2 inches in length, and rather rudely made, of a whitish clay, have been exhumed from considerable depths in London, and of which I produce two examples found in Moorfields in June and August 1866, along, it was said, with Roman remains.

There have also been discovered in London objects of similar *contour* to the foregoing, but perforated through their length, the aperture at either extremity being funnel-shaped. This variety is generally made of pipeclay. I have two specimens, one about 2 inches in length, recovered from the Thames, near London Bridge, in 1846; the other, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, unearthed in Moorfields, August 1866.

Both of the foregoing types are of considerable rarity; but there is another form of these obsolete pipeclay wig-curlers which has been turned up in vast numbers in London and the provinces. They, like their ancient kindred, are smallest in the middle, but have bulbous ends. They are of neat fabric, varying greatly both in length and thickness. I have one, found in Watling Street in 1851, which is little over $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length; whilst another from Moorfields, June 1866, is close on $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, and of proportionate bulk. The most delicate specimen I possess, and in truth have ever seen, is nearly 3 inches long, and only a quarter of an inch diameter in the centre. This was exhumed in Cannon Street, October 1850. The flat butts of these implements are occasionally impressed with the initials of the makers, of which I have two instances, found in Cannon Street, October 1850, the one being stamped with the letters WA, the other with WB.

The largest find of wig-curlers which has yet been noticed occurred in June 1867, during the repair of the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield. Here a hoard of about two thousand examples was brought to light, out of which I exhibit five specimens of robust make, and ranging from 3 inches to 3 inches and three-sixteenths in length.

In 1835 my lamented friend the late Mr. Crofton Croker contributed to the *Dublin Penny Journal* (p. 28) a most interesting paper on "Ancient Tobacco-Pipes", and has figured two of these pestle-like wig-curlers as tobacco-

stoppers, deriving this notion from their having been found along with tobacco-pipes of the reign of Charles II, at Claremont near Dublin.

At a meeting of the Archæological Institute, held December 6th, 1850, Mr. James Yates exhibited several of these pipeclay appliances, exhumed with tobacco-pipes at Whetstone, near Barnet, where he suggested they may have been manufactured; and further demonstrated their purpose as wig-curlers by reference to various works, from which he gleaned that they were technically termed "pipes"; a title ill suited to solid implements, but not inappropriate to the perforated variety I have just submitted.¹

A gentleman who died in 1852 told me that he had conversed with a very aged man whose grandfather had been a barber at the end of the seventeenth century, and whose father had often repeated to him what the old tonsor had said respecting the use of the "wig-rollers" as he termed them. This traditional evidence set forth that when a peruke was to be dressed it was mounted on a wooden block, and a supply of rollers placed on a stove, and when sufficiently heated the hair was wound and bound round them, and left until well set in curl. We may presume that the operator's fingers were protected in some way whilst handling the hot implements.

As time went on the pipeclay rollers were exchanged for others of the same form, turned of different kinds of wood, box being chiefly preferred for the purpose. These wooden rollers were termed *bilboquets* by the French *friseurs*.² They were not heated, like those of clay, upon a stove, but in boiling water in a skillet.

Wig-curling during the Stuart era was indeed a noble art, for every roll of hair added richness and beauty to the flowing peruke, and dignity to the heads of royalty, the

¹ Some persons suppose, but I think erroneously, that the solid rollers obtained the title of pipes from the circumstance of tobacco-pipes having been employed at times for hair-curling. In Rango's work on the manufacture of false hair, entitled *De Capillamentis, vulgo Parucquen* (Magdeburg, 12mo, 1663, p. 159), it is stated that "the ladies quickly curl their hair by means of a tobacco-pipe, which is convenient for the purpose because it parts with its heat gradually from within, and keeps warm." In the nineteenth century ringlets consisting of a continuous tube of hair have been called "tobacco-pipe curls", whilst the more open ringlets received the name of "corkscrew curls".

² See *Encyclopédie des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers*, t. xii, p. 402. Neufchatel, 1765. Fol.

church, the army, and the bar, and also to the sconces of grave physicians and wealthy civilians. What would some of the great ones of past times have been without the graceful peruke? and what would the peruke have been without the taste and skill of the expert barber with his pipeclay rollers? How much does the legal profession, even in our day, owe to the imposing, we might almost say awe inspiring, peruke, with its tier above tier of stiff and well set curls? Without intending the smallest offence to the Lord High Chancellor of England, the sapient Judges, or any of their respected brethren of the long robe, the following lines of one of Dibdin's old songs will find utterance, struggle as we may against it:

“I do not say they are not wise.
I only say, in vulgar eyes,
The wisdom 's in the wig.”

ON CLOGS AND PATTENS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

So close a relationship subsists between the sandal and the clog that it is sometimes next to impossible to distinguish between the two objects. We have only to thicken and elevate the classic *solea* with a few strata of cork, and it at once becomes the *fulmenta*, which is as near an approach to the clog as can well be conceived, having been worn by the Roman ladies to keep their feet dry in winter; and although the exact form of the *solea lignea* is at present unknown, we may feel assured that it was a clog, in the worst sense of the word, to the unhappy wretch who had to wear it. The high wooden clogs employed in the East from the earliest times are familiar instances of how near akin the clog is to the sandal. A beautiful pair of such clogs, from Turkey, are described in this *Journal*, xxii, p. 452.

There can be no question that the clog, as we understand it, is of remote antiquity. In the Kymraeg language it was called *esgid-bren*, literally over-shoe; and Fosbroke, apparently on the authority of Ælfrie's Glossary, says, "the Anglo-Saxons had *wife's sceos*, pattens or clogs."

The very name of the article we are considering leads to the supposition that it was from the first wrought of wood, for Skinner derives "clog" from "log", and you will remember that the Runic calendars are called "clog-almanacks" on account of their being made of wood. We have scant evidence as to the *contour* of the very early clogs; but from the time of Edward III our knowledge of them becomes more clear and definite from the miniatures in MSS. and tangible remains exhumed in London and elsewhere.

There is among the London finds in the British Museum the front or vamp of a clog of the second half of the fourteenth century, formed of a triangular piece of leather divided for some distance up its centre to allow the peaked toe of the shoe or boot to pass out. It is beautifully embossed with figures, foliage, etc., and with French mottoes on the verge and in scrolls. In all probability this is the finest example of its kind in existence. I exhibit a leather

clog-front of the same form and age as the one in the British Museum, but it is ornamented in a different style of art. The pattern is not embossed, but produced by fine and thickly set perforations. This exceedingly rare relic was recovered from the Thames in January 1847.

The clog, in some degree, followed the fashion of the shoe of the period. Thus from the reign of Richard II down to the very end of the fifteenth century, long sharp-toed shoes and long pointed clogs were all the go, and are conspicuous in many paintings and book-illustrations of the era. There is in the Cottonian Library a MS. (Julius, E. 4) of the first half of the fifteenth century, embellished with delineations of the English monarchs from William I to Henry VI, the figure intended for King John being stilted on clogs of the most approved cut. Their sharp points project some six inches beyond the toes of the shoes, and turn upwards like the beaks of Canadian snow-shoes, and the tread follows the arch of the foot. These regal clogs, like other mediæval examples, are elevated at the heel and just beneath the ball of the foot; and a strap, boldly scalloped at its lower edge, passes over the instep.

In the *Margarita Philosophica*, printed at Basle in 1508, is a full-page woodcut of *Typus Logice* striding away in sharp-pointed clogs much longer than the toes of the boots, and on either side of which are fixed triangular straps whose points unite over the instep. At a little later period the clog became still flatter in the tread, the stilts lower, and the points truncated; and when the "duck-bills" had finally driven the peaked shoes out of fashion, the clog became still more moderate in length, and for a time in height also. But the story of the ordinary clog is now to be broken in upon by a foreign invasion, a strange freak of fancy, which must be disposed of ere we resume the thread of our narrative.

A most peculiar species of clog, termed a *ciappine* or *chopine*, which the Venetians are reported to have derived from the East, was introduced into England about the year 1600. Shakspeare makes mention of it in his play of *Hamlet* (ii, 2), where the Danish Prince says to one of the performers, "Your ladyship is nearer Heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a *chopine*." We read in Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* (1611) that *chopines* were "so

common in Venice that no woman whatsoever goeth without, either in her house or abroad. It is a thing made of wood, and covered with leather of sundry colours,—some with white, some red, some yellow. It is called a *chapiney*, which they wear under their shoes. Many of them are curiously painted. Some also of them I have seen fairly gilt. There are many of these *chapineys* of a great height, even half a yard high; and by how much the nobler a woman is, by so much the higher are her *chapineys*. All their gentlewomen, and most of their wives and widows, that are of any wealth, are assisted and supported either by men or women when they walk abroad, to the end they may not fall. They are borne up most commonly by the left arm, otherwise they might quickly take a fall.”

Evelyn visited Italy in 1645, and records in his *Diary*, under Ascension Week, that “the noblemen walk with their ladies stalking on *choppines*. These are high-heeled shoes particularly affected by those proud dames; or, as some say, invented to keepe them at home, it being very difficult to walk with them: whence one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied that they were ‘*Mezzo carno, mezzo ligno*’ (half flesh, half wood), and that he would have none of them. When they walk abroad they set their hands on the heads of two matronlike servants, or old women, to support them, who continue mumbling their beads. ’Tis ridiculous to see how these ladies crawl in and out of their gondolas by reason of their *choppines*, and what dwarfs they appear when taken down from their wooden scaffolds.” These dangerous stilts continued to be employed in Venice as late as the year 1670; and that they were in vogue in England is clearly shown by Dr. John Bulwar, who in his *Man transformed, or the Artificial Changeling* (1650, p. 550), inveighs against the fashion as a monstrous affectation, and says that his countrywomen therein imitated the Venetian and Persian ladies; which is not strictly the case, for the Oriental clog or sandal has a double support, whereas the Italian *chopine* is a single stem, as may be seen by reference to Douce’s *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (ii, p. 234). The example engraved by Douce appears to consist of a quadrangular shaft with spreading, fluted base, the tread higher at the heel than the toe, the fore part being over-arched with perforated leather which covered the vamp of the shoe. A

pair of *chopines* formed lot 6369 at the sale of the Leverian Museum in July 1806, and are entered in the catalogue as "Ladies' stilts used during the century before last. Vide Lassel's *Account of Venice*, 1660."

We will now return to the normal clog, and enter upon the era when high-heeled shoes and boots came into favour, and the origin of which may possibly be due to the Venetian *chopines*. Warner, in *Albion's England*, speaks of shoes "inch broad, corked high", and it is obvious that flat clogs could not be employed with such articles as these. To meet the changed order of things, the tread of the clog was wrought to conform to the graceful curve of the shoe-sole, and a deep cavity sunk at the end of the wooden block to accommodate the lofty heel. An excellent example of this type of clog was discovered in July 1871, in excavating for the foundations of the new Law Courts in the Strand, and is now kindly submitted for inspection by Mrs. Baily. It consists of a single piece of wood, at present measuring but $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, the toe unfortunately being broken off. The part which supported the shoe immediately under the instep is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height, and the hollow for the heel full $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth, and the flat disc on which the heel rested is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. To either edge of the sole of the clog is nailed a leathern latchet $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide. One is divided into two strips, each of which is pierced with seven holes; and this cleft portion passes through a slit in the opposite strap, and below two perforated tabs, so that the latchets may be loosened or tightened as required, and secured by a lace or thong reeved through the holes.

A clog of the same general character as the foregoing, but belonging to a much later period of the seventeenth century, was exhumed in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1855, and is described in our *Journal*, xii, p. 159.

A very strange sort of clogged shoe seems to have made its appearance for a short time about the middle of the seventeenth century, and of which examples are delineated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1791, p. 513, and Hone's *Every Day Book*, ii, 1835; the latter having formerly been in the Leverian Museum, and constituted part of lot 3850 at the sale of that collection in 1806. The shoes have broad, square toes, with the fronts rising high up on the instep, and crossed by latchets, the heels being of lofty pro-

portion. The clog is a flat piece of stout leather affixed to the toe and heel of the shoe, so that an open space is left exhibiting the line of beauty in the sole. The rarity of this variety of foot-furniture is so great that some have supposed that these clogged shoes were never intended for general use, but were designed for cripples with short legs.

Leathern clogs were unquestionably employed by the quality towards the close of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth centuries, and I have the pleasure of placing before you a pair, with their accompanying shoes, that were worn by good Queen Anne. The shoes are of crimson leather bound with yellow galloon, the fronts elaborately embroidered with silver thread in a somewhat Oriental style. The sides and latchets of the clogs are covered with rich brocaded silk, the other portions are of black japanned leather, the rise to fill the hollow of the shoe beneath the instep being as hard as a board. The two objects fit so tightly together that they might almost be used without the latchets being united by a tie. These highly curious and interesting royal relics were purchased in February 1849, at the sale of the effects of the late C. A. Tulk, Esq., of Totteridge Park, Herts.

We must not dismiss the subject of clogs without some slight notice of their first cousins, the pattens, which are in truth nothing more nor less than clogs elevated upon iron rings. The Patten-Makers' Company was incorporated in the year 1670, and this has led to the supposition that the produce of their industry can claim no higher antiquity than the reign of Charles II. Fosbroke, who devotes just thirty words to the history of pattens and clogs in his *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, tells us that "pattens ironed like the modern occur in 1259 among monks; and, as used by men, in the fifteenth century." Camden cites a work called the *Eulogium*, written apparently at the close of the fourteenth century, in which is this passage: "Their shoes and pattens are snouted and picked more than a finger long." Minsheu, in his *Spanish and English Dictionary* (1599), gives, "Patten, or wooden shoe, *abarca*. Wooden pattens, *cancos*, *sandallas*." Florio, in his *New World of Words* (p. 71, 1611), has "A wooden pantofle or patin"; and Hexham, in his *English and Netherduytch Dictionarie* (1648), gives, "A paten or a wooden shoe, *een paer klompen*; a

paten-maker, *een klomp-maker*." Thus there seems ample proof that pattens were made and worn long before the foundation of the Company. It is, however, remarkable that whilst the London excavations have brought to light several examples of early clogs, I can point to no trace of an early patten. I now exhibit the oldest specimen I have yet met with. This very perfect patten was exhumed in 1858, at the south-east corner of West Street, Walworth, on the site of the old *Horse and Groom* public-house. It must have been made for a small lady or youthful personage, for it measures but about $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. The tread is a rather gentle incline, and the cavity for the heel nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in depth. Its extreme height is just under 3 inches, and the iron ring has an average diameter of 4 inches. The sides of the wood are stained black, and the black leathern latches are slightly embellished with pricked work. This natty little patten cannot date much further back than the year 1780.

The same fitful fancy which caused the clog to rise and fall naturally exercised a like influence over the patten, both articles becoming flatter and flatter in the tread as they neared the year 1790, when high heels vanished altogether from the ladies' shoes and boots. In the *Wonderful Museum*, published in 1803, is a full-length portrait of Sir John Dinely trudging along with tolerably flat pattens on his feet, the iron rings being of large diameter. The patten-iron was not always of this simple hoop-shape. A bill-head in the Banks' collection in the British Museum represents the sign of the *Crown and Patten*, the metal stilt of the latter being of graceful design.

The humble patten, constructed of such common materials as wood, iron, and leather, with no special grace of form to recommend it, and continually trodden under foot amid dirt and mire, and ever associated with damp and disagreeableness, has, in spite of all these deterring circumstances, found its way into verse. The late Frederick Deacon began a poem in a lady's album with these words :

" Hear the pretty ladies talk,
Tittle tattle, tittle tattle ;
Like their pattens as they walk,
Pittle pattle, pittle pattle."

But Gay, in the first book of his *Trivia*, has done more

honour to the little contrivance which now engages our thoughts than all other writers put together. He gives it a divine origin, and makes it play a powerful part in an amorous intrigue. Vulcan falls in love with a Lincoln lassie named Martha, and descends to earth to urge his suit ; but the beauty is somewhat coy, and the celestial blacksmith sees with pain how much she suffers through brumal humidity. To keep dear Martha's delicate feet dry, the god fashions a pair of pattens for her, which on acceptance gains him both thanks and favours :

“ Winter chill'd her feet, with cold she pines,
And on her cheek the fading rose declines.
No more her humid eyes their lustre boast,
And in hoarse sounds her melting voice is lost.
This Vulcan saw, and in his heav'nly thought
A new machine mechanic fancy wrought,
Above the mire her shelter'd steps to raise,
And bear her safely through the wintry ways.
Strait the new engine on his anvil glows,
And the pale virgin on the patten rose.
No more her lungs are shook with dropping rheums,
And on her cheek reviving beauty blooms.
The god obtain'd his suit ; tho' flatt'ry fail,
Presents with female virtue must prevail.
The patten now supports each frugal dame,
Which from the blue-ey'd Patty takes the name.”

THE ROMAN ROAD FROM LONDON TO CHICHESTER.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A., V.P.

WHEN we examine a map of Roman Britain prepared from the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, we see how large a space of the country remains unrepresented. The compilers of this invaluable road-directory had clearly a special motive for preparing it. This is sufficiently obvious from the evidence it affords in its arrangement. It answered the purpose for which it was made; and it now helps us to see and understand the bold and efficient scheme by which Britain was mapped and laid down in permanent landmarks as a Roman province. It was by these roads, which starting from Rome itself ran over and through the entire empire, that the provinces were retained in subjection. They facilitated the transmission of troops, and the humanising results of conquest, arts, and commerce. At the same time, by an admirable system of posts, intelligence was rapidly conveyed to the seat of government of what was passing in the most remote districts of the most remote provinces.

It is probable that this *Itinerary* is only one of similar records, and that it is of a comparatively early date. It leaves unnoticed extensive territories traversed by roads, and well populated; the roads often requiring such engineering skill and such an outlay of labour as could only have been provided and supported by imperial resources. To one of these roads my remarks are restricted. It is that which runs from Chichester to London, portions of which are popularly known by a common term often applied to Roman *viæ*, that of Stone Street. To attempt a better acquaintance with it, in June last, I and two friends, Mr. William Law and Mr. John Harris, endeavoured, as far as practicable, to follow its entire course on foot, the only possible mode of examination. We were fortified in our exploration by the experience of my friend Mr. Charles Warne, who some years since followed the *via* from near Dorking to Epsom and Ewell, and recorded his discoveries in the

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, vol. i, N. 8, p. 311. Our observations are a complete confirmation of what Mr. Warne has recorded ; so much so that I might adopt his words. He, however, commenced his walk from Box Hill ; we, ours from Ewell.

As it will be seen, the road can be traced from the almost immediate vicinity of Chichester, at intervals, to Ewell, running nearly in a straight line, we may safely assume that from that place to London it is absorbed by the modern turnpike-road. The earliest indications proceeding from Ewell are thus given by Mr. Warne, to whose experienced penetration the discovery is owing : " I was much gratified, on entering a field in the occupation of Sir John Rae Reid, Bart., adjoining the Reigate Road, called the ' Twelve Acre Piece', and near to the railway bridge, at beholding the Stone Street lying prominently conspicuous before me, adhering to its usual straight line, and running for some two hundred yards in a direction which must have taken it near to, or between, the church and vicarage. Both of these, embosomed amidst trees, can be seen when standing on the crest of the *via* in Sir John's field, where it is so unmistakably developed as to remove all scruples as to its character."

Although, from the highly cultivated state of the land, and the buildings, it seemed hopeless to recover any certain trace of the road between Ewell and Epsom Down, we, nevertheless, well surveyed the ground, taking different paths, and reuniting upon the Down at the spot indicated by Mr. Warne where he lost sight of it. Here, at the north-east corner of the Race-course, by the side of Woodcote Park, we came upon the *via*, and never lost sight of it until we descended to the foot of Box Hill, where we concluded it formed a junction with the turnpike-road, entering the town of Dorking.

All who have examined Roman roads to any great extent, must have noticed how often they are accompanied by trackways for long distances. It is probable that in many instances they may be long anterior to the Roman *viæ*, and their companionship may be explained by concluding that they were directed from and to places of importance, and that in any and every case a straight line would be preferred to a crooked. Such a trackway is found for long distances accompanying the Stone Street, and probably we entered

upon it at Woodcote Park when we first recognised the Roman line. As we advanced it became more marked.

From Woodcote Park our course was guided for a long distance by Pebble Lane, which is upon the *via*; the name arising from the small stones or pebbles upon which it is bedded. We felt perfectly confident we were not deviating; else the loneliness and the absence of cottages and human life, or, indeed, life of any kind, might have induced doubts and misgivings as to the immediate future; but it was midsummer as midsummer should be, and the beautiful sylvan scenery around us rendered what might have been a tedious and difficult journey a most delightful promenade. The out-buildings of Ashstead Farm, near which we passed, were a pleasing feature in the scenery; but which soon resumed its former character as we ascended from the farmstead, and the *via* became densely covered with brushwood and trees, but still retaining its straight course. Approaching Leatherhead Down, the trackway deepens, and the *via* has been in parts narrowed, while in the low ground it is almost or quite indistinct; but straight before us, upon the Down, it stands out boldly conspicuous in its pristine integrity.

Over Leatherhead and Mickleham Downs, for long distances, the Roman road runs as a raised, grass-covered causeway with but few interruptions; and in this elevated and beautiful district it is to be seen and studied to great advantage. The scenery it passes through upon Mickleham Down is especially fine and extensive, while it flanks what may almost be called a forest of yew-trees and junipers of unusual height. As the *via* descends Mickleham Down it has been a good deal cut up by cartways, and it is intersected by a carriage-road as it passes through plantations and near modern houses. I shall here again borrow Mr. Warne's words, which describe this locality better than I can do from passing through it without the chance of gaining the information he acquired, the accuracy of which, however, we were able to test: "My tracing of the route of the Stone Street commenced at the foot of Box Hill, where the small inn at Burford Bridge stands on its line. At a very little distance from it a portion of the *via*, some two hundred yards in length, is to be seen in a meadow on the left of, close to, and running parallel with, the turnpike-road to

Leatherhead. For a short space (within which the turnpike-road must be crossed) it is lost sight of, soon to be taken up again near Juniper Hall, passing through the grounds of Mrs. Lambton's house, at the back of which it reappears, and can be plainly followed as it proceeds up the side of the hill. At one time it runs in the carriage-way; at another, by its side in the plantation, yet in a straight line. By this brought to the Lodge, it then emerges out on the Mickleham Downs," etc.

I have now satisfactorily traced the road almost close to Dorking, through or very near which it must have passed; but here we meet the same insuperable impediments as occur in the vicinity of all towns, and our object is to regain the track beyond the suburbs. Gibson, in his *Additions* to Camden's *Britannia*, states that it passes through Dorking Churchyard, "as they plainly find by digging the graves; and between that place and Stanstead it is discovered upon the hills by making of ditches. Afterwards, in Ockley parish, it is very plainly traced." It is only from the assistance of local antiquaries that the precise route from Dorking to Ockley can be ascertained. We concluded that it is to be found upon the high ground on our right; but we decided it would be wiser to come again to Dorking for this purpose rather than depart from the arrangements we had made to see what we could of the *via* without deviating far from its ascertained course; and on leaving Dorking and the inspiration of our friend, C. Warne, we soon felt that we were probably reaching Ockley by a far longer road than the Roman, the line of which we could well imagine. Here we may surely reckon upon aid from some of our colleagues, and also from Ockley to Billingshurst.

At Ockley we were again in company with the *via*, which, under the name of Stone Street, runs for miles in a direct line. We turned to the left for Slinfold and Billingshurst, again doubtful if we had not parted from the line of the ancient route; but cheered by the conviction that we had hitherto ascertained its course, and that on the morrow we should be upon it again. From Billingshurst to Bignor, I must here, for my present purpose, call in the support of the late Mr. Peter I. Martin of Pulborough, who, in the eleventh volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections* (published by the Sussex Archæological Society), has given

his experiences of the road in its passage through West Sussex. In this he has been most materially assisted by Mr. Hawkins of Bignor Park,¹ whose practical researches between Bignor and Hardham have furnished some valuable information. "The test by which Mr. Hawkins is able to trace the exact line of the Roman road through ploughed fields, and in places where it would hardly be observable otherwise, is a curious and interesting one. The flint gravel used for making it here has a reddish tint, and could only have been obtained from the ferruginous sand and gravel-beds in the adjoining parishes of Coates and Cold Waltham, the flint of the exact locality and of the adjoining downs being all chalky white on the surface, and black within. In the coppice called the 'Grevatts', the *via* appears in great force in the shape of a slightly elevated causeway which may be traced for some distance by the test of the coloured gravel. Here, in draining the land a few years ago, Mr. Hawkins discovered, in a springy part of the slope, a wooden trunk or culvert obviously put down to drain that part of the road where it was originally made, and to form a conduit of pure water." Mr. Hawkins, both from his personal observation and from the guidance of his tenants, concludes "that all this part of the line was 'stoned' from the gravel-pits in Cold Waltham and Coates, a distance of two miles, up to the foot of the downs."

After the *via* ascends the downs between West Burton and Bignor, it becomes very conspicuous, and with the exception of a few intervals where it has been intersected by agriculture, can be traced, or rather walked upon, almost to Chichester, the spire of the Cathedral of which will be a guide to the pedestrian. He has only to keep this in view, and he will be certain to regain the Roman road in fine preservation, should he lose it from the cause just mentioned. He will find it intersected by high-roads and by-roads, but never lost; and in the woods it is remarkably fresh, though in parts overgrown with brushwood and trees. Here he will see by its side the chalk quarries from which the makers took the material nearest at hand to construct the foundation.

In approaching the hill at Halnaker, upon which stands

¹ I must here acknowledge the courteous reception we received from Miss Hawkins on this occasion, in the absence of her brother.

a windmill, the modern high-road has so entirely levelled the Roman that it is lost to the view ; and my companions, despairing of recovering it, at once took, as they supposed, the only road to Chichester, which, as I could see, made a long sweep (perhaps three parts of a circle) to avoid the hill. I requested them to wait for me opposite. Taking as a guide some object in a hedge, I made a *détour* to avoid a ploughed field, and reached the required point on the side of the hill. Here, as I expected, I recovered the Roman road in excellent preservation, walked upon it over the hill, and descended on the other side long before my friends had made their appearance.

At length, however, impediments insurmountable presented themselves, and we could only here and there, from the high road, imagine its direct line not far remote. At West Hampnet, from the churchyard, we believed we recognised it ; and in this locality I doubt not but that traces of it may yet be found, contrary to the opinion, I believe, of all who have written on the subject. Its tendency is towards the East Gate of Chichester.

Mr. Martin's paper, to which I have referred, is very valuable, and may be made useful for further researches towards Pulborough, Billingshurst, and Slinfold, for the last of which places Dallaway may be consulted and tested. But many of the discoveries cited by Mr. Martin, though in themselves interesting, do not bear upon the main question, the course and character of the Roman road. He concludes that the road was of early date, and made for military purposes only, a theory not to be supported. He quotes Dallaway's opinion, which would seem to have been general, that this *via* reached London through Noviomagus. Our researches tend, I submit, to show that it passed through what is now represented by Ewell. The discoveries made by Dr. Diamond¹ and Mr. Warne² establish very conclusively for the site of Ewell a large Romano-British population, where we may safely place one of the stations of the *via* from Chichester.

Bignor may probably have served as another. A road branches off the main line direct to it ; and the original extent of the well known *villa*,³ covering, it is stated, from

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii.

² *Proceedings of the Soc. Ant. Lond.*, vol. 1, N. S., p. 309.

³ I must qualify the term "well known". Much has been written about it, and it is often referred to ; but of late years it has not been much visited. It

five to six acres, could well have included the buildings requisite for a *mutatio* or a *mansio*. Mr. Martin, in the paper I have referred to, suggests a station at Hardham, where, through a slight rectangular earthwork, he has traced the Roman road. But in either case, whether at Bignor or at Hardham, there must have been one at least between it and Dorking, where we may confidently assume the site of a *mansio*. These stations, intermediate between large towns, were established chiefly when the roads were constructed, for the accommodation of troops and travellers and all state requirements, including the very needful provision of horses and mules. Their sites can often be determined; but the edifices rarely remain, even in ruins. That of Thésée (Tasciaca), between Tours and Bourges, is in an exceptionally fine state of preservation, and may be referred to as an example of what these stations were.¹ Around them often arose villages which frequently grew into towns; and for them, in the course of ages, and under changed circumstances, the Roman structures were converted into building materials.

The width of the *via* varies, but it may be taken as averaging about 12 feet. On the Downs, however, while it rises in height, it often diminishes in width; and on those above Bignor it is so narrow that but two or three men could walk abreast. Yet there is this peculiarity. On each side of the ridge there is width enough for a carriage; and altogether, including two shallow, flanking ditches, the width is about 40 feet. The high ridge was probably to guard against the possibility of mistaking the route when the ground was deeply covered with snow.

I have remarked that several who have written on this road have supposed that it entered London through Noviomagus, the site of which was far to the right of Epsom and Ewell. On the other hand, others have imagined it led by Bury, near Bignor, to Arundel. Mr. Puttock correctly enough brought it by Ewell in the line Mr. Warne and we followed beyond Pulborough; but then he supposes it led to Arundel; and he does not notice the continuation² to

affords one of the best examples of the superior class of Roman villas in this country; and the owner, Mr. Tupper, with praiseworthy patriotism, makes no slight sacrifice in preserving it.

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv, plates 1 to 3.

² *Journal of the Association*, iii, p. 326, and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1841, p. 260 et seq.

Chichester. It is probable that a vicinal road branched from it towards Arundel, where there may have been a *vicus*; but such a road as this demanded, both at its beginning and ending, a town or city of importance, and of such there is no trace or record at Arundel. It was, doubtless, joined throughout its course by vicinal roads. We noticed one running southwards from the down near Bignor.

Chichester stands alone, and far remote, in the south of Roman Britain, from the great road and its towns from Dover and Lymne to London on the east; and from that by Bittern (*Clausentum*) and Winchester on the west. It is generally accepted as the *Regnum* of the seventh *Iter* of Antoninus, which was evidently prepared to take in this *Regnum* as a place of importance, and thus the *Iter* starts from it. Although the distance to the first station, unquestionably Bittern, does not accord with the actual measurement, yet there is no other place to substitute, for Camden and Gale's "Ringwood" has none of the remains which invariably survive to determine the sites of all the starting-places in the *Itinerary*; while Chichester, in its large extent and in its inscriptions, must rank with the chief towns in Roman Britain. Its walls, in company with my pedestrian comrades, I again carefully surveyed, and more than ever feel convinced that in their entire circuit they are engrafted upon the core of the Roman, like those of numerous other Roman towns both in England and on the Continent. The facing stones on both sides, at some remote time, having been removed for the building of the cathedral, churches, and other ecclesiastical edifices, at subsequent times the walls were repaired, and remain as we see them. By the aid of Mr. W. Harris we obtained admission, through a private garden, to a bastion in the south wall near the East Gate, in a fine state of preservation, although beyond it the wall is obscured by buildings. The gates have long since been destroyed. That on the west side we know the character of from a drawing by Grimm in the Burrell Collection in the British Museum.¹ The houses upon it show the width of the wall, the upper part of which, on the north and east sides, now is adapted to a public promenade. In the Museum are some sepulchral inscriptions of no special value

¹ It is engraved in a *Report on Excavations made upon the Site of the Roman Castrum at Pevensey*, p. 31.

in themselves, but interesting in having been cut upon stones which had previously formed part of a public building. Other worked stones of magnitude, which had belonged to edifices of importance, have also been found. The well known dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Neptune and Minerva, one of the most valuable historical inscriptions of Roman Britain, would of itself show the importance of the town. It has by chance survived in a fractured state the destruction of, no doubt, hundreds of lapidary records more or less valuable.

Our excursion was here closed, for the present year, by a visit to the fields on the south-east of the town, under the guidance of Mr. J. Harris, who believes (and I think with good reason) that he has here discovered the site of an amphitheatre, and possibly that of a theatre also. Excavations alone can determine the question.

LONDON WALL IN CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

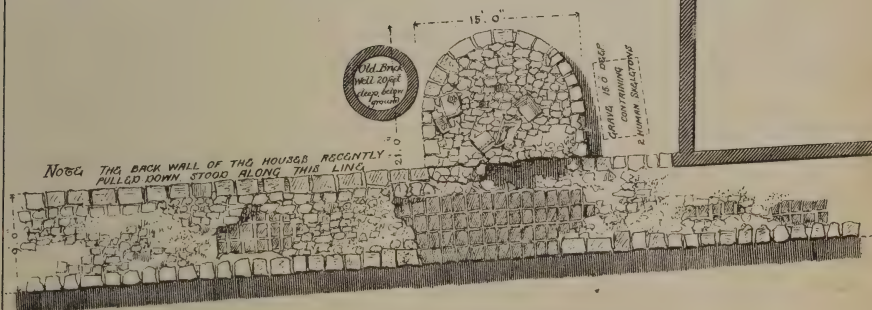
BY E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

THE removal of five houses in Camomile Street, Nos. 28 to 32, has been followed by works of excavation necessary for their rebuilding. These have brought to light the existence of a large portion of the foundations of the ancient London Wall, fully 36 feet long, and also the base of a small bastion. The position is but a short distance south of Bishopsgate, and most probably where a large portion of wall, in almost perfect condition, was noticed by Dr. Woodward in April 1707, after the removal of some old houses, and described by him with ample detail. It may be necessary here only to say that he observed a massive wall which from its foundations to the battlemented parapet was 27 feet in height, of which about 19 were underground, owing to the accumulation of earth. The upper portion was of mediæval brickwork, and also rubble-work with squares of alternate freestone and flint; but the lower 10 feet, of which 8 were below the ground, was of much more ancient date, of most solid construction, fully justifying the claim made for its being considered of Roman date. It was 9 feet thick, and constructed of alternate double layers of broad, flat bricks and ragstone; the bricks being laid in double courses, and the layers of stone between being 2 feet in height.

The remains now met with consist of only about 3 feet of the lowest course of the wall. They show clearly enough that so much must have survived the demolition which Dr. Woodward records. The back walls of the houses just demolished, and which were, doubtless, some of the new houses erected in his time, rested upon the solid mass which was evidently left as a foundation; and it is to be noticed that the builders accommodated the plans of their houses to obtain this, for the course of the wall not being parallel to Camomile Street, the houses gradually decreased in depth. This is apparent in several others of the houses still standing, and we may therefore safely infer that the wall still exists beneath them. The western bend of the street affords

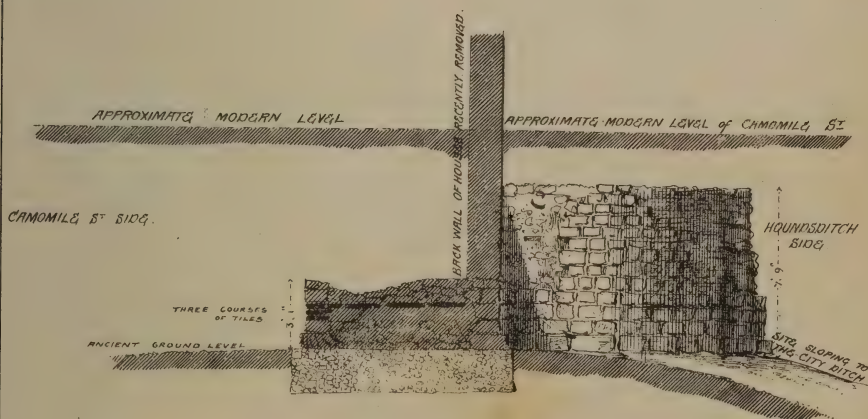
OLD BRICK DRAIN PARALLEL TO THE HOUSES IN HOUNDSDITCH 10.0 BELOW GROUND-LEVEL

SIDE OF THE CITY DITCH



SIDE OF THE HOUSES NOS 32 & 28 CAMOMILE ST

ROMAN REMAINS - LONDON WALL IN CAMOMILE ST.



Note. The space on the Camomile St side was occupied by the basements of the Houses just removed. That on the Houndsditch side was formed of accumulated earth, up to the modern level.



more depth to the houses up to the junction with Bishopsgate, but the course of the wall is doubtless straight.

The bastion was solid, and projected more than a semicircle from the face of the wall; and it was, when met with, about 7 feet 9 inches high. Standing, as it did, beneath what was the back yard of one of the recently demolished houses, there was no necessity for its removal when this house was erected, and hence its greater height. The wall had been removed to obtain space for basements, but retained as soon as this level was past.

Dr. Woodward's description agrees very exactly with these remains, and the courses of ragstone, the broad, flat bricks, and the very hard mortar, were all observable. He measured some of the bricks minutely, and found them to be seventeen inches and four-tenths long, and eleven inches and six-tenths broad, and one inch and three-tenths in thickness. I was able to measure but one brick, the only whole one observable after the demolition, and it was one foot five inches by eleven inches and five-eighths, and one inch and three-quarters thick.¹ Three courses of these bricks were met with along the whole extent of the inner face. I produce two fragments, and it will be seen that their pattern shows the solid, even texture observable in most other Roman bricks. I notice that they did not go to the outer or Houndsditch side of the wall, nor were any perceptible in the bastion, except fragments. The outer faces were formed of Kentish ragstone tolerably evenly axed square, and there was much uniformity in the size of the blocks; but there was a liberal use of greenstone from the Reigate or Godstone districts. A considerable quantity of dark-coloured ironstone was also observable in the outer face.

The presence of so much diverse material, which must have been brought from Northamptonshire, Surrey, and Kent, points to a period for the erection of the wall when the Romans had practical knowledge of the country, and ability to transport building materials from considerable distances.

The core of the wall and bastion was formed of hard rubble solidly bedded in still harder mortar formed of bright, coarse gravel, as is frequently the case in London, and with but little of the pounded brick so often considered as evidence

¹ The variations in the sizes of Roman bricks are so noteworthy as to lead us to conclude that there was but little rule in the matter. There are about a dozen in the Guildhall Museum, found in London, and all vary in dimensions.

of Roman workmanship. The pounded brick was sparingly used when the wall was first met with, but was scarcely perceptible at the foundations.¹ The hardness of the mortar was apparent as in 1707. The workmen were obliged to use massive iron wedges and mattocks before the mortar would yield, and the stone broke first. In the bastion, and just above where the sculptures were found, one of the wedges was actually broken in the effort made to remove the rubble. I may add that the work was of one construction, showing that it was erected at one time.

The section shows the foundation of the wall upon a sort of concrete of "puddled" clay" and flint stones, and also a sort of footing of a course of rough stones. The soil is a hard clay on the City side ; and on the other, or Houndsditch side, black "made" earth which fills up the City Ditch. The plan shows the position of a drain of some age, which was met with by Mr. W. C. Banks, the architect of the new buildings, a few years ago, when he rebuilt some other houses in Houndsditch. It was probably inserted when the City Ditch was partially filled in ; and assuming, as we safely may, its position to be central, it indicates that the Ditch came up quite to the southern edge of Houndsditch, and with a width of about sixty feet. Since this is the first occasion known to me where the width of the City Ditch has been traced, it may be of interest to record it, even if only as an approximation.²

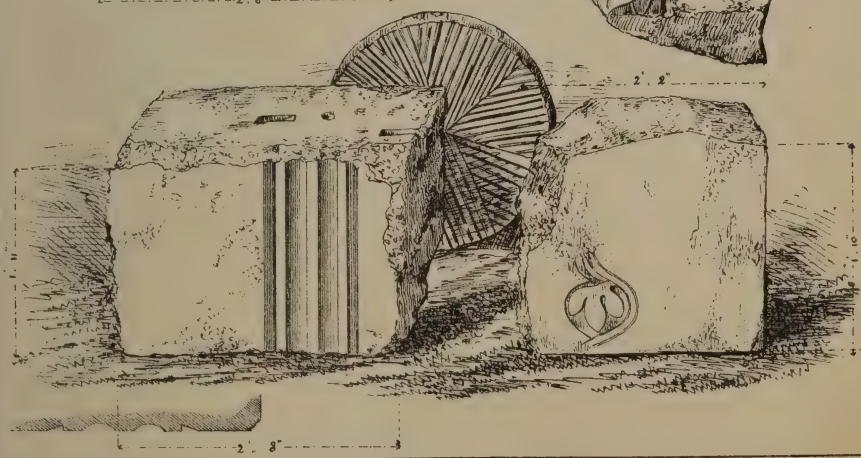
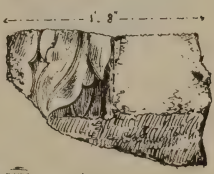
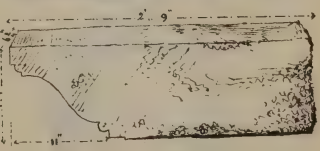
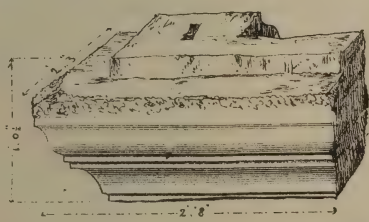
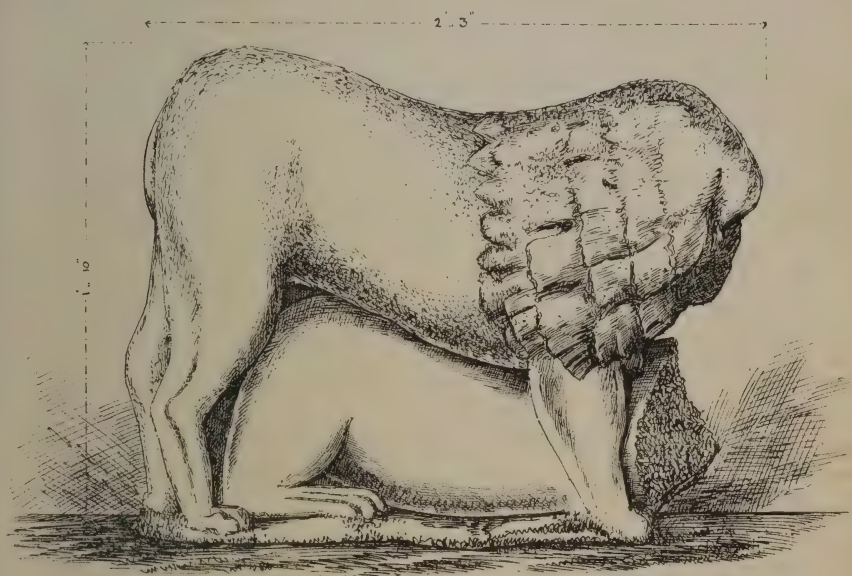
The position of a grave is shown on the plan, but it was probably of later date than the wall ; and the well also shown was of a comparatively modern period.

During the removal of the wall several large blocks of stone were observed, forming the lower course of the bastion. These were removed whole, and were found to consist of fragments of moulded cornices, a fluted pilaster, a portion of an engaged and carved shaft, and other architectural members. Above all these in interest is the figure of a lion very boldly carved, and represented as standing above a recumbent lioness. This group must occupy a high place among the relics of Roman London on account of its vigorous

¹ This alteration of mortar is also noticeable at the Roman Pharos at Dover Castle. It is described by the Rev. I. Puckle at p. 9 of *The Church and Fortress of Dover Castle*.

² Students of London topography need not be reminded that the Ditch is supposed to be of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

ROMAN REMAINS .. LONDON WALL IN CAMOMILE ST.





design and capital execution. It is in full relief, and has probably stood either on the cornice of a building, or perhaps, like the celebrated Colchester Sphynx, on the summit of a tomb. If the latter, we may believe that it is a relic of the Roman cemetery known to have existed right and left, and under the present Bishopsgate Street. Dr. Woodward not only chronicles the discovery of interments within the wall, but almost on this spot ; and also the fact that these interments (which were both by cremation and inhumation) had been afterwards covered by buildings of Roman date, the tessellated pavement of which was met with.¹

The material of many of these sculptures resembles the oolite stone of Northamptonshire, and cannot be distinguished from Barnack stone ; but one of the blocks, that on which the flower is carved, is formed of a dark blue-green stone of so deep a tint as to suggest its use in some building for its effect of colour in contrast with other stone.

The small piece of cornice (or corbel) was found in the wall, close to the grave, and had been used as a facing stone. The whole of the sculptures had been used as so much old material in the position shown on the plan, thus affording us another example of the re-use of fragments of earlier Roman buildings in later Roman works. I am happy to report that the lion, and I believe some of the other sculptures, have been presented by Mr. W. C. Banks to the Guildhall Museum, the most proper place of shelter for them, and it may be a matter of congratulation to the Association that they will thus be preserved within the limit of the City.

The accompanying sketches were prepared very shortly after the sculptures were discovered, and when they were still close to the spots where they were met with. The sketches show the position of several lewes-holes used for the raising of the blocks. Others have sinkings for iron cramps. A portion of one, well leaded into the stone, remained when first discovered. The mill or quern-stone is possibly Roman. It was found beneath the paving of the basement of one of the houses just removed. It is 1 ft. 11 ins. in diameter, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. thick, and there is no aperture.

¹ It is by consideration of the earliest positions of the Roman interments that we can trace with the best evidence the very limited extent of the earliest Roman settlement of London. The Camomile Street interments limit its area northwards, while its eastern extent is limited by those found at St. Dunstan's Hill in 1863. This discovery, confirming another of older date, is recorded in the *Journal* for 1864, p. 297.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH OF NOVEMBER, 1876.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were duly elected :

The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, *President*, Mount Edgcumbe,
Devonport
W. Edmund Ball, LL.B., Library, Gray's Inn
Matthew H. Bloxam, F.S.A., Rugby
William Copeland Borlase, M.A., F.S.A., Castle Horneck, Pen-
zance
Rev. F. W. Atkins Bowyer, M.A., Rectory, Macaulay's Road,
Clapham
Rev. Dr. Hart Burges, Rectory, Devizes
Charles H. Compton, Chase Lodge, Clapham Common
The Town Clerk of Launceston
William Henry Rodd, J.P., Leskinnick, Penzance
Miss Russell, Ashiesteel, Galashiels, N.B.
Miss Smith, Tudor House, Southfields, Wandsworth
R. Mascie Taylor, J.P., Tynllwyn, Corwen, N. Wales.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the several donors for the following presents to the library of the Association :

- To *C. J. Palmer, F.S.A.*, for "The Perlustration of Great Yarmouth",
3 vols. 1872-5. 4to.
- To *J. Evans, F.S.A., V.P.*, for "Petit Album de l'Age du Bronze de la
Grande Bretagne." London, 1876. 4to.
- To *Rev. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A.*, for "On the Class of Rude Stone
Monuments which are commonly called in England Cromlechs",
etc. Ripon, 1875. 8vo.
- „ „ for a "Guide to the Principal Chambered Barrows", etc.,
of South Brittany." Ripon, 1875. 8vo.
- „ „ for "The Church of Wath, near Ripon." 1876. 8vo.
- To *Sir Peter Stafford Carey*, for "Eglises de l'Arrondissement de
Dieppe." Dieppe, 1846. 8vo.

To the Society, for "Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan."

Deuxième Sémeestre, Année 1875. Vannes, 1876. 8vo.

" " "Journal of the East India Association", vol. ix, No. 5 ;
vol. x, No. 1. 8vo. London, 1876.

" " "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland." Dublin. Vol. iii. Fourth Series. October 1875. No. 24.

" " "Catalogue of the Library and Museum of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire." By Joseph Mayer. Liverpool, 1876. 8vo.

" " "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire." Part xix. October 1876. Vol. ix. II. London. 8vo.

" " "The Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History." New Series. Nos. xci, xcii. Vol. xv, Nos. ii, iii. July 1876. Toronto. 8vo.

" " "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society." Proceedings during the Year 1875, vol. xxi. New Series, vol. i, 1876. Taunton. 8vo.

" " "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London." Second Series, vol. vi. Nos. v, vi. London, 1875-6. 8vo.

" " "Archæologia Cambrensis: the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association." July 1876. Fourth Series. No. 27. London. 8vo.

" " "The Archæological Journal", vol. xxxiii, Nos. 129, 130. 1876. London, 1876.

" " "Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1875." 8vo.

" " "Ulm Oberschwaben Korrespondenz blatt." Nos. 7, 8. 1876. Sm. folio.

To the Rev. W. Jago, M.A., of Bodmin, for a photograph of oak-carvings from Bodmin Church, Cornwall.

It was announced that Mr. J. T. Irvine, Associate and Local Member of Council, had signified his intention of laying before the Association, at an early date, a series of plans, sections, and elevations, made by him, to scale, of the remarkable Saxon church of St. Lawrence at Bradford-upon-Avon, visited by the Congress for 1874.

The Rev. I. W. Smith exhibited a drawing of a singular carved stone slab recently found during some alterations at Dinsdale Church near Darlington. It represented a rudely carved head at the end of the stone, and from the open mouth issued a broad band forming a sort of ridge to the composition, and this was carved with an irregular fret-pattern. The sculpture was undoubtedly sepulchral in its character, and not unlike the Saxon slab at Heysham, Lancashire, which is

illustrated in Cutts' *Incised Slabs*. It was observed that this curious relic exhibited another example of the prevalence of sculpture during the Saxon period; and the similarity was noticed of the pattern on

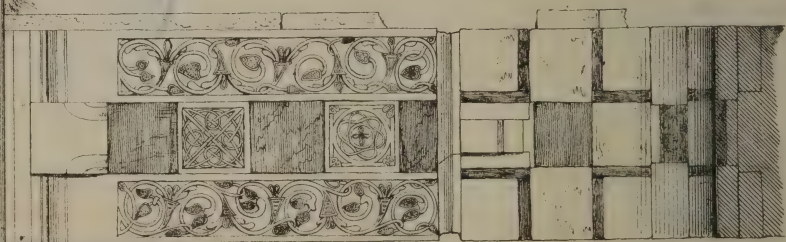
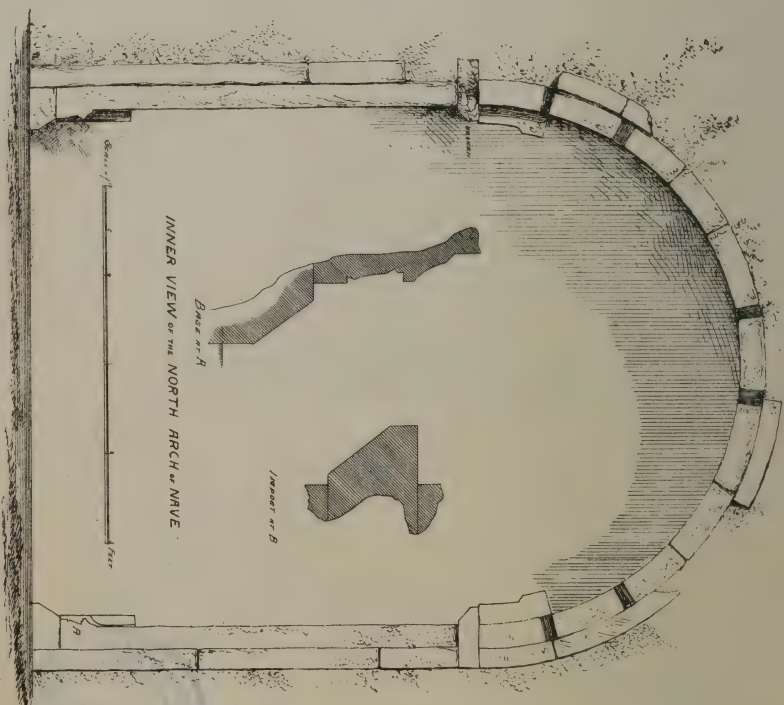


the scroll to some seen in Cornwall during the recent Congress. Another slab having a plain cross was also discovered; but it is probably of later date.

Mr. Henry I. F. Swayne sent for exhibition a series of very elaborate drawings of wall-paintings in the Swayne Chantry (south aisle) of St. Thomas Church, Salisbury. Several were discovered during the restoration of the church, but one or two were too much injured to be kept. The paintings were found over the highly acute four-centred arches dividing the chantry from the nave, and occur in square compartments, on a bright red ground, which is represented as hanging like a curtain with loops from an iron rod painted just below the cornice. The ground is diapered with the red cross of St. George on a shield, and enclosed in a cartouche formed by the garter. The paintings represent,—1. The Annunciation. An angel clad in white, with golden and green outspread wings, holds a scroll inscribed “Ave Maria plena gratia”, and kneels to the left before the B. Virgin, who is before an open book on a stand. She is clad in a red dress beneath an ample white cloak. Both figures have circular nimbi of a deep red, and that of the angel has a small cross over the forehead. The lily-pot is between them. 2. The Salutation. The B. Virgin has the same red and white costume as before. St. Elizabeth has a simple brown dress, and both red nimbi. 3. The offering of the Wise Men. The B. Virgin in this has an ermined cotehardie above her red dress, and she alone has the red nimbus. The three Magi are clad in civil rather than in regal



SAXON ARCH, BRITFORD CHURCH, WILTS.



ROMANOV, BERTOLD.

ROMAN BAIK.

THE SHADED PRINTS
REPRESENT PLAT FORMS
BECAUSE THEY ARE
USED FOR THE EFFECT OF
COLOR

THE OPPOSITE (as WEST)
SIDE WITH NO PLYTHENS
EXCEPT ONE PANEL ONLY
BUT NO THAT AT A

costume, and the red pantaloons and long pointed boots of one of the figures appear to be continuous. One figure only is uncovered, and a crown is lying before the infant Saviour. 4. St. George. This was on the nave side of the wall, and was too much dilapidated to be retained. The figure was clad entirely in blue plate-armour. The shield, held over the pierced dragon by the left hand, has the red cross of St. George; and a shield and garter similarly charged occupied the corner of the margin of the picture. The founder of the chantry was William Swayne, M.P. for Salisbury in 1449; his son was M.P. in 1464. The date of the execution of the paintings may, therefore, safely be placed between these years. The design and composition are very good, and the colouring effective.

Mr. Swayne also exhibited a drawing made to scale by his daughter (Mrs. E. I. Goldney) of one of the interesting arches now within Britford Church near Salisbury. This is reproduced on the accompanying Plate. It will be observed that it has the characteristic strip-pilasters, projecting imposts, and irregular mouldings (these occur at the bases), indicative of its Saxon date. It is remarkable for the elaborate, interlaced patterns on the jambs, and which have been opened to view by the care of the Vicar, who personally superintended the clearing of the arches during the recent restoration of the church, and with his own hands cleaned out the ornamental parts. These had been entirely hidden by plaster and whitewash. The arch now stands out very effectively; and with the exception of those at Barnack, etc., illustrated by Brittan, it is the only example now known of the interlaced patterns, so frequently found in fragments, being observable *in situ*. It is, therefore, valuable as proof of the Saxon date of the latter, and as showing us an example of their application. Much Roman brick, probably from some ancient buildings at Old Sarum, is used in the construction here and elsewhere in the church; and it is a noteworthy fact that the mortar used has been formed with pounded brick, after the Roman manner.

The arch shown is the northern of two at the east end of the nave, close to the existing transepts of the church. The corresponding arch on the south side is of similar but ruder, and probably earlier, construction. The nave is wide, and without aisles. It is difficult to assign the use of these two arches, for they do not appear to be doorways, and their position would be unusual; but they seem too small for the arches of transepts. There is also a third arch on the south side, which was recently found and opened, and it is now the south doorway of the church. Britford Church is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, and it is a large building with a tower and low spire over the crossing. It is included in Rickman's list of Saxon churches; but the work of this date appears to exist only in the nave.

Mr. Cuming made some remarks upon the Scottish nature of the interlaced patterns incised upon the stone.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a very elegant *signaculum* of the crucified Saviour, of the fourteenth century; and two leaden forgeries of the same class of historical objects,—the one being a figure of the Saviour seated in a vesical frame, the groundwork of which is diapered with lines and spots; the other, a fleur-de-lys ensigned with a horse courant, somewhat resembling the Hanoverian badge so familiarly known by its connection with the royal heraldic insignia of England in the early years of the present century. These two forgeries afforded a powerful contrast to the genuine one mentioned above and shown side by side with them, the fine character of the genuine work being more distinctly seen by its juxtaposition with the spurious manufactures of more recent date.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition two statuettes of carved oak, one representing the Virgin and Child, the other St. Joseph, both in standing posture; the first measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, the second $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The Holy Mother is of singularly robust build, with massive tresses descending on either side of her plump face, and surmounted by an open crown. She wears a long gown secured at the waist by a narrow cincture; and over the shoulders is cast a mantle which falls in heavy folds about the person, and the edge of which is grasped by the right hand. With the left hand she supports and presses to her bosom the Divine Infant, here unfortunately much mutilated. St. Joseph is clothed in a long-sleeved garment with turned-down collar, the lower half of the figure being further covered by the folds of a mantle. His right hand is placed on the breast, whilst the left holds a branch which reaches to the shoulder. Both of these statuettes are flat at back, and were, no doubt, employed as alto-relievo decorations of some piece of church-fitting or furniture. They are of Netherlandish work of the end of the sixteenth or commencement of the seventeenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that not the least interesting feature about the statuette of the Madonna now before the meeting was the open crown, which might fairly be compared with the diadems represented on royal effigies of the twelfth century. Our *Journal* (xvi, pp. 317, 323) will show that on former occasions he had drawn attention to coronated figures of the Virgin Mary, and pointed out how every rule of propriety had been violated by both ancient and modern artists encircling the Lady's brow with gold at all periods of her life, instead of holding back the emblem of sovereignty until after her Assumption. The crown may well befit the Queen of Heaven, but is utterly out of place on the head of the *nursing* Mother of our Lord.

With respect to the statuette of St. Joseph, it may be stated that as a work of art it is superior to that of St. Mary. The top of the branch

which he carries being broken away, leaves it uncertain whether the flowers on it were of various kinds, or simply those of the white lily. In the *Floral Directory* the "yellow star of Bethlehem" (*Ornithogalum luteum*) is dedicated to St. Joseph.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited, from London excavations, some vessels of peculiar interest and novelty of form:—1. A hollow vessel of sugar-loaf shape and expanded mouth, covered by a lustrous brown (almost black) glaze. Height, 13 inches; greatest diameter, $5\frac{1}{3}$ inches. The form perfectly novel. 2. One (of two) terra-cotta vessels; in height, 5 inches; greatest circumference, 14 inches; shoulders compressed, with mouth almost triangular, or ivy-leaved; and both are chipped on the same side, and to the same extent. They are assigned to the Roman period, and thought to have been used in the importation of essences. The form is quite novel. 3. A deeply fluted cylindrical vessel of terra-cotta, similar to one exhibited last session by Mr. Mayhew from Knight Rider Street. The form and probable use were both unrecognised, the only difference being that the one now laid on the table had been painted. Assigned to the Roman period. 4. A lion's head finely modelled in white delft, and once an ornamental part of a large vase. $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$. Holborn. 5. A medicine-jar also of delft. An angel with expanded wings bears the label, *ex : DUOBUS : P.* 6. A fine polychromic tile. 7. A cup of Fulham ware. 8. A steel, part of the furnishing of the extinct tinder-box. 9. A bone spindle-whorl *with iron points*. Assigned to the Romano-British period.

Mr. Mayhew promised an exhibition of some very fine antique glass, newly found, for a future evening.

Mr. C. Brent exhibited two fluted objects of terra-cotta, of a pattern identical with those laid before the meeting by Mr. Mayhew.

Mr. Brock exhibited a selection of pottery exhumed from the site of No. 2, Moorgate, and gave a detailed account of the finds on that newly dug ground, which is part of the site of the City Ditch.

Mr. Wentworth Huyshe laid on the table an elegant double-handled terra-cotta vase made of red earth, in imitation of Samian ware, in the seventeenth century; the shape of the classic *cantharus*, but of Italian workmanship, adorned with roses and ornamental patterns pricked and pressed into the body of the material.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited an encaustic tile from Ludlow, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations:

"So frequent and abundant have been the exhibitions of the paving quarries, known as Norman and encaustic tiles, that we have become pretty well acquainted with the various devices with which they were embellished from the dawn of the thirteenth down to the early years of the sixteenth century. These devices include a considerable diver-

sity of designs, the chief being architectural and geometrical patterns, heraldic bearings, family badges, and rebuses, real and grotesque animals, letters and inscriptions, sacred symbols, and, in a few instances, romantic subjects, and royal, ecclesiastical, and other busts. Most numerous among the latter are the crowned Edwardian heads to which reference has already been made in this *Journal*, xxx, p. 85. Still scarcer than these are the portraits of churchmen, of which an example is engraved in our *Journal*, vii, p. 70; and rarest of all are the busts of Biblical personages, of which highly curious specimens are delineated in this *Journal*, xii, p. 75, from originals existing at St. Michael's Church, Cheriton, Hants. One of these tiles represents the Virgin Mary hooded and wimpled in the conventional manner of the middle ages; the other gives us the nearly full-faced bust of our Blessed Lord with the hair raised up in the centre, reminding us of the classical *corymbus* as seen on the bust of the Apollo Belvedere. The tresses on either side the head fall in coarse lines, the beard and mustache being equally free in their aspect. There is an air of wildness bordering on savagery in this visage, and a lack of that divine majesty which so frequently marks the works of the later artists; and yet none can doubt that the craftsman in this instance intended the head to pass for that of the Saviour. The two Cheriton tiles have been attributed to the fifteenth century, and both are types of extreme rarity; indeed, I believe they are the only two of their kind which have as yet been described.

"In July last the Rev. S. M. Mayhew paid a visit to Ludlow Castle, and there met with a Norman quarry which probably formed a portion of the pavement of the chapel. This tile is much mutilated; but we may estimate its dimensions at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square by a full $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness. Placed diagonally on its surface is a full face, evidently intended for the same individual as the one on the Cheriton tile; the hair above the brow being arranged in the *corymbus* fashion, the beard being as rough and coarse as in the before-mentioned specimen. The mode in which this visage appears to have been wrought is very remarkable. The surface of the tile seems to have been first covered with a thin layer of pipeclay, portions of which were then scraped off to produce the red outline of the several features and a part of the hair, some of the locks being distinguished by a black pigment, in the same manner as the pupils of the eyes are distinguished in the Cheriton tile. Above all this was a coating of yellowish glaze, most of which has been trodden off. As already noted, the tile has suffered much from breakage; but from a portion which remains perfect above the head, there seem to be indications of a nimbus; and if so, the assumption that the head was intended for that of the Redeemer receives strong support. This, like the portrait-tiles from Leicester Abbey and Thurgarton Priory, belongs to a four-tile-pattern; and in

regard to date can scarcely be assigned to a later period than these specimens, namely the first half of the fourteenth century."

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., Hon. Secretary, exhibited a full-size drawing of an ancient sword, and read the following communication respecting it from Mr. Henry Trigg of Bury St. Edmund's :

"The accompanying tracing is from an iron sword found a few years ago in clearing out a ditch near the Water-Mill, Fornham St. Martin, near Bury St. Edmund's. It is presumed to be a relic of the battle fought about the spot between the forces collected by the rebellious Robert Blanchmaines, Earl of Leicester, and the royal army under Richard de Lucie and Humphrey Bohun, in October 1173, in which the Earl and his Countess, Petronilla, daughter of Hugh Grentemaisnil, were taken prisoners, and their followers completely routed. The sword measures exactly 42 inches in length. Its blade is 1 yard long by about $1\frac{9}{10}$ inch at its broadest part. It has a plain, square, cross-guard 6 inches long; and a handle with a grip of $3\frac{2}{10}$ inches, terminating in a thick disc of iron, $2\frac{1}{10}$ in diameter. Its present weight is two pounds and a half. The blade is well preserved, and still retains the original face of the metal composing it. It has a central furrow nearly throughout its length, and in it are inscribed, in letters apparently of gold, upon one side, + SES BENEDIGLAS, followed by a design the character of which can now scarcely be ascertained; and upon the other side, + INOMINE DOMINI, followed by the figure of a right hand with extended fingers. This old Norman-Latin inscription may, I think, be translated, "Be thou blessed in the name of the Lord." There is a peculiarity in the orthography of the first word, and also a workman's error in the last three letters of *Benedictus*, which are turned upside down. On the other side an N is wanting after the first letter; but its omission, I believe, was intentional in order that the number of letters on both sides of the blade (thirteen) should correspond. The symbolism of the figure following the inscription I must leave at present in the hands of those better versed in such matters than I am. I should be very glad if some member would favour me with an opinion as to the probable contemporaneity of the weapon, with the date assigned to it, and any remarks upon the inscription it bears."

Mr. Cuming thought that the weapon found near Bury St. Edmund's might possibly be as early as the reign of Henry II, although he confessed that it bore a far stronger resemblance to swords of the thirteenth than to those of the twelfth century. It seemed almost identical in form, though much smaller in size, with an example engraved in Demmin's *Weapons of War* (p. 375), which belonged to a German knight named Konrad Schenck de Winterstetten (1209-1240). In this gigantic specimen we have the thick, disc-shaped pommel, straight cross-guard, with a blade channeled nearly throughout its length, and on which is incised the following legend:

“Konrad viel werther Schenck,
 Hierbei du mein gedenck :
 Von Winterstetten hochgemuth,
 Lass ganz keinen Eisenhut.”

(Konrad, be mindful of me. May brave Winterstetten leave no helmet unscathed.) The straight cross-guard may be traced from Saxon times down towards the close of the thirteenth century ; but the disc-shaped pommel seems pretty well confined to swords of the latter era. A pommel of this date, but of oval form, is noticed in our *Journal*, xxix, p. 206.

Mr. Birch referred to his report at p. 472 of the *Journal* of last year, respecting the portraits of the Abbots of Evesham, and read the following report upon the stained glass portraits of these personages preserved in the windows of the Church of Preston-on-Stour in Gloucestershire, which had in 1750 been removed from Evesham Abbey and placed in the church by Mr. J. West; then the patron of that living :

PRESTON-ON-STOUR.—COLOURED GLASS IN CHANCEL WINDOWS,
 NORTH AND SOUTH.

Report of the Rev. N. G. Batt of Abbot's Norton, Evesham, and Herbert New of Green Hill, near Evesham :—being descriptions and tracings or copies of some of the heads, also a coloured copy of one head, made by Mr. E. Scott Ridsdale, who reports “that the glass was ground, seemed thin, and quite smooth or level. In several cases a change of colour made in the same piece of glass, such as red and green,—an unusual thing in old glass. I do not allude to yellow, as this colour always was a stain laid on.”

The windows appear to be made up of heads and groups collected from various sources ; and each head is enclosed in lead, with an outer border of rayed yellow glass framed round it in an uniform manner. Neither Mr. Batt nor Mr. New ventures to state an opinion as to the age of the portrait-heads.

Mr. Batt, however, concurred with Mr. New in thinking that both the windows have been made up very much of miscellaneous pieces ; that some of these are fragments only, and that such of them as are heads of ecclesiastics have probably been severed from their whole originals ; and that the whole of the pieces have been cut down to the size and pattern required for filling the medallions of which the windows are composed. The coloured drawing is a good copy of one of the mitred heads ; and there appears to be no difference in the style of painting in all the mitred heads. The east window of the chancel is a collection of German glass, chiefly miniature figure-pieces from Scripture, and some of it dated in the seventeenth century.

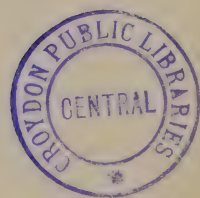




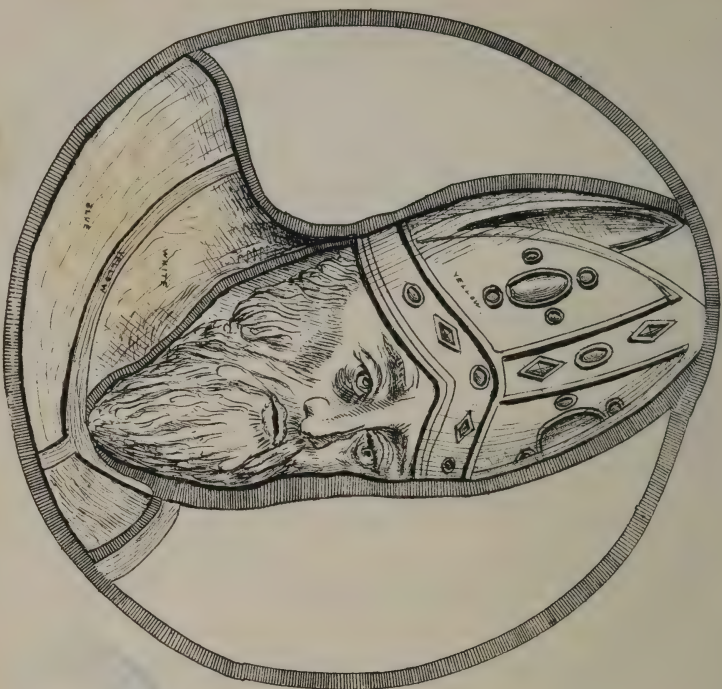
SOUTH WINDOW No. 1



NORTH WINDOW No. 1.



STAINED GLASS - PRESTON ON STOUR CHURCH.



SOUTH WINDOW No 6.

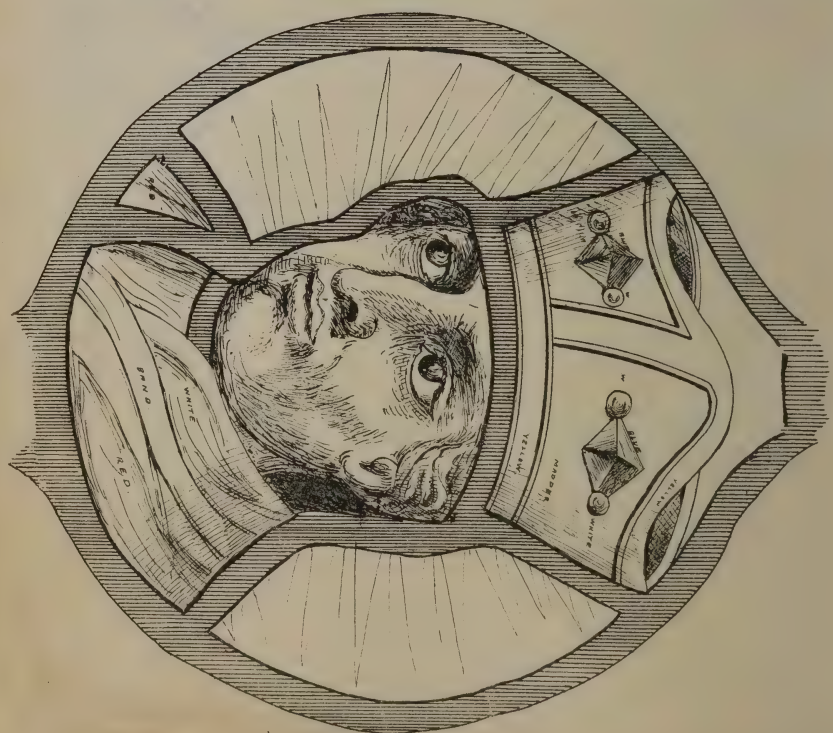


SOUTH WINDOW No 12.





NORTH WINDOW No 6.



NORTH WINDOW No 12.

CHANCEL OF PRESTON-ON-STOUR. NORTH WINDOW.

1		7
2	MITRED ABBOT WITH STAFF. FULL LENGTH.	8
3		9
4		10
5		11
6	13	12

1. *Head of abbot with mitre (copied in colour by E. Scott Ridsdale).
 2. Head of a bearded man with fur cap. 3. Heads of Three Kings of Cologne. 4. Head of bearded man with cloth. 5. *Head, ditto.
 6. *Head of mitred abbot. 7. Head of high priest. 8. Head of man bearded and crowned. 9. Heads of Jews (?), group. 10. Heads of Madonna and two angels. 11. Head with beard. 12. *Head with biretta. 13. Head. Each of the heads or groups is within a frame enclosing medallions of very small heads. The central figure above 13 is a mitred abbot with crozier.

South window same design as north. 1. *Head of a bishop or abbot with mitre. 2. A king's head crowned. 3. Group of adoring figures, seemingly from a large picture in some more ancient window. 4. Female saint crowned, with figures behind. 5. Head with turban. 6. *An abbot or bishop. 7. Female head. 8. A king. 9. A group of Moses, Aaron, and David. 10. A female. 11. Beardless head. 12. *Mitred head. St. George and the Dragon fill the centre light.

Mr. Frederick R. R. Isaac read a communication from Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., on "The Roman Road from London to Chichester", which has been printed above, at pp. 481-489.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock read a paper "On London Wall in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate, and exhibited several drawings of antiquities lately found in excavations there. The paper is printed at pp. 490-493.

Mr. Haviland exhibited a rubbing made by him of the lily-stone, which showed its outline very perfectly. He remarked that this stone belonged to the lower green sand formation, and which outcrops between Dover and Folkestone.

Mr. Lambert described his visit to the site, and spoke of the discovery of a large quantity of Roman carved stonework on the site of a bastion of the wall. He said that the Library Committee of Guildhall were warmly entering upon the work of excavation with a view to making the discovery as perfect as possible.

Further discoveries were detailed on this most interesting site since the termination of Mr. Brock's researches, and among these was found an effectively carved human head of a statue of large proportions. It had curled hair, and resembled in this respect some of the portrait-sculptures of the period of the Antonines. This had also been found built up as old material in the thickness of the wall. The posture of the lion was carefully considered; and it will be noticed that he is placed ready to resist attack from the front, while the lioness, secure in the strength of her protector, calmly rests beneath him.

Mr. Brock, in replying, observed that the other sculptures just discovered were doubtless found in the portion of the wall which had not been cleared during the period of his visits. With the presentation of the sculptures to the Guildhall Museum, the further prosecution of researches would be carried on by the authorities, aided by the London and Middlesex Society. He had received an intimation from an active member of that Society, that the portion of the wall in question was about to be excavated at private expense, and it would be, doubtless, investigated with all the attention which its interest so well merited. He was happy to report this, that the Association might be assured that the work of future research was in safe hands, and that nothing of value was likely to be lost sight of.

Messrs. Morgan, Cuming, and Wright, took part in the discussion which arose, and it was unanimously the opinion of the speakers that this was one of the most important discoveries upon the site of Roman London that had been made for a very long period.

Mr. Morgan read the following paper:

TWO EXCURSIONS INTO KENT.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

I will, with your permission, put on record two excursions into Kent, which, though only in the nature of private visits by a few members of our Council, may be the means of inducing further researches into the ancient records of places conspicuous in the pages of our early and mediæval history; and the places visited may be taken as historical types up to the reign of Henry VII, when an era of scientific inventions

and maritime discoveries introduced a new phase in our national development, which I will not enter upon, leaving to others to tell the story of Eltham, Sevenoaks, and Penshurst, in later times, and to speak of those heroes of modern history who have immortalised the Knowle of the Sackvilles and the Penshurst of the Sydneys.¹

The special characteristics of mediæval times are the royal state and splendour in the Palace of Eltham; the ecclesiastical dignity and grandeur in the Archbishop's Palaces of Bromley, Otley, and Knowle; and the baronial fortified mansions and castles in Hever, Penshurst, and Tonbridge.

Eltham,² eight miles from London, is near that down which commands the country round, known as Shooter's Hill, where, since Romans encamped, Saxons and Danes have taken up their quarters upon it; and memorably on that occasion when, after besieging Canterbury for twenty days, the Danes captured Godwine, Bishop of Rochester, and Leofruna, Abbess of St. Mildred's Monastery in Thanet, and were not satisfied till (*Ælfheah*) the Archbishop of Canterbury was murdered on the spot where the church at Greenwich stands dedicated to his memory. In later times Shooter's Hill has witnessed the gatherings under the popular leaders Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, and that host of Cornishmen who, after burning Bodmin, marched straight up into Kent in support of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck.

In Roman times the direct road from Canterbury to London passed here, where many skirmishes must have occurred along its course between Romans and Britons; the latter, from their ships running up the rivers; the former entrenching themselves in such places as Shooter's Hill and Eltham, Northfleet and Rochester. Of the Roman pottery at Upchurch, the cemetery at Strood, the villas and other remains along this road, full accounts may be read in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea* (of which he is now publishing a new edition) and in his other works.

I will here venture upon a new conjecture as to the second *iter* of Antoninus, which I offer with diffidence as not founded on actual survey of the road; but it is founded upon comparisons of what has been written with the places on the Ordnance Map, strengthened by historical associations of the places along the line. It requires to be confirmed by actual survey of such portions of the road as can be traced, and I shall be grateful to any member who will assist me with such information. The following route will agree tolerably well with the second *iter* of Antoninus if we draw a line above and below *Durobrivis*,

¹ An account of the Sydney family is given in an article on their connection with the Marches of Wales, by G. R. Wright, F.S.A., in *Journal*, xxiv.

² The existing remains of the Palace and out-buildings, with ground-plan, are described by G. R. Corner, F.S.A., in the *Winchester* volume, 1845, p. 329.

or Rochester, which I take to be inserted simply as indicating the distance of this important town from Maidstone, and to connect it with this road, without supposing that Rochester would be passed through in this lower route from Maidstone to Canterbury. Thus—

<i>Londinium.</i>	M.P.
<i>Noviomagus</i> , Keston Down, near Bromley	X
Thence by Osford, Kemsing, Wrotham, Offham, and West Malling, to <i>Vagniacæ</i> , Maidstone	XVIII
<i>Durobriva</i> , Rochester	IX
<i>Durolenum</i> , Lenham	XIII
<i>Durovernum</i> , Canterbury	XII
Total distance	LIII

The two other *itineræ* (Nos. 3 and 4) probably indicate the upper road. The distance from London to Canterbury, by Rochester, in these two routes, is LII m.p., and the stations are not named between London and Rochester. Higden speaks of a Roman road through the centre of the county, from east to west, which may be conjectured to have extended westward from Maidstone by Tonbridge, near the great Lingfield camp, on to Reigate, Dorking, Guildford, and along the ridge called the Hog's Back. Two rivers intercept the Canterbury road from Eltham, the Darent rising at Riverhead, near Seven Oaks, which receives the waters of the Crecan, or Cray, near Dartford, before flowing into the Thames. Crayford tells of the battle in A.D. 457, from which Huntingdon dates the kingdom of Hengist in Kent; while Swanscombe, not far off, retains, if report speaks truly, the name of Sweyn's Camp,—the Danish champion of Odinism in his endeavours to counteract the Christian influences of his father, Harold Blue Tooth. St. Mary's Cray and the other Crays on the Crecan, or Cray river, have many a story to tell of those stirring times; and their very ancient churches, as seen from the Chatham and Dover Railway, invite us to pay them a visit on another occasion, and perambulate the neighbouring downs and the earthworks by which some of them are defended.

The second river referred to is the Medway, flowing down from the hills of Sussex by Penshurst, Tonbridge, Allington, Maidstone, and Rochester, enclosing near its mouth, between its left bank and Gravesend, that interesting flat (the isle of grain) called the Hoo,—a name which recalls the language of ancient Scandinavia. Cliffe-at-Hoo, in this district, was visited by our Association in 1853. It is claimed by Kentish antiquaries as the place called Clot's Hoas, memorable for the synod assembled here in A.D. 803, and for other early assemblies of the Church. Some writers think these meetings must have been on the territory of Mercia, though without being able to define the place; yet when Kent had been conquered, and was ruled by Mercia, this

locality in Hoo is not an improbable one, Kent being essentially the headquarters of the Church. Kemble suggests Tewkesbury, with great weight in its favour.¹

I will not venture to pronounce upon so important a question, but must resume my relation of our visit to Eltham on 6th July, 1875, when, by favour of the present proprietor, Mr. Bloxam, we spent an agreeable afternoon in the pleasure-grounds, where the old Palace once stood, but of which little now remains but the banqueting hall with its fine timber roof, oak screen, and minstrel-gallery. The architectural features of the whole were pointed out to us by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock. Many remains of ancient masonry were seen in the gardens and moat; and an underground passage was surveyed through a considerable distance, said once to have extended as far as the river at Greenwich. It was at East Greenwich where died, on 19 August, 1601, William Lambarde the historian. His *Perambulation of Kent* was published in 1570.

The manor of Eltham seems to have been ancient in Anglo-Saxon times, if we may derive its name from Eald-ham the old habitation. *Domesday Survey* records that Alwold held it of the King, that is, Edward the Confessor. The same document says, Haimo the sheriff holds of the Bishop (of Bayeux), Altheam. It was rated at one suling² and a half for taxation. "The arable land is twelve carucates. In demesne there are two carucates and forty-four villeins, with twelve borderers, leaving eleven carucates. There are nine servants and twenty-two acres of meadow. There is wood for the pannage of fifty hogs. In the time of Edward the Confessor it was worth £16; when he received it, £12; and now, £20." When Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, fell out with his brother William, the manor was confiscated to the crown; and then belonged partly to the King and partly to the Mandevils, from whom it came to be called Eltham-Mandevil. Henry III, in his fifty-fifth year (1270), kept his Christmas at the Palace, accompanied by the Queen and the great men of the realm.³ King Edward I gave his part of Eltham, with certain lands in Northumberland and other places, of the yearly value of £248 : 4 : 8, in the ninth year of his reign (1280), to John, son of William de Vesci, who had the year before married Isabel de Beaumont, Queen Eleanor's kinswoman.

¹ *Saxons in England*, vol. ii, p. 191, note. Edited by W. de G. Birch. 1876.

² The *sulin* or *solinus* is a measure of land only found in Kent, and it is difficult to fix accurately the measure. Sir Edward Coke says that one *solinus* containeth two ploughlands and somewhat less than a half, and quotes a document where seven *solini* are made equal to seventeen carucates. Agard says the *solinus* is equal to about 216 acres. If this is so, the manor taxed at one suling and a half would be about 324 acres in extent. The taxable acreage seems not to have exceeded one tenth of the whole demesne.

³ Mat. Paris, p. 1006.

In the fourteenth year of that reign he gave one sixth of the manor of Luton, Beds., in exchange to Walter de Mandevil for his part of Eltham. He died without issue *anno* 17 Edward I, leaving his brother William his heir; and Isabel, his wife, survived him; which William had livery of all his brother's lands. John, his only legitimate son, died in his lifetime, without issue, and he enfeoffed that great prelate, Anthony de Bec or Beke, in several of his estates (among which was Eltham), to be held in trust for his widow, Isabel, with remainder to his illegitimate son, William de Vesci. He died the year after this act, at Milton, on which the Bishop had livery of these lands accordingly; and William de Vesci was slain at Bannockburn in 1314. This prelate was elected Bishop of Durham on 5 July, 1283. He was possessed of great power and wealth, and had the patriarchship of Jerusalem conferred upon him by the Pope, and the principality of Man by the King. He had so great a command that he had commonly in his suite one hundred and forty knights; and in the battle of Falkirk, fought by Edward I against the Scots, there were no less than twenty-six of his banners in the army. He was munificent in the reparation of his castles, in his buildings, and in the religious foundations which he endowed. He was buried in the Cathedral of Durham, behind the high altar, being the first Bishop who was buried in that church.¹

Camden and others say that Eltham was granted by the Bishop to Queen Eleanor. King Edward II kept his residence here; and in his ninth year (1315), on the Feast of the Assumption,² his Queen was here delivered of a son, called, from the place of his birth, John of Eltham. Edward III, in his fourth year, called a Parliament to meet at Eltham. The Statutes of Eltham, which contain precedents for the government of the King's household to this day, were made at this place;³ and in his thirty-eighth year, intending to give a princely reception to King John of France, who had been his prisoner in England, and then came over to visit him, entertained him at Eltham with great magnificence.

Edward III again held a Parliament here in his fiftieth year (1375), when the Lords and Commons attended him with a petition, among other matters, to make his grandson, Richard of Bordeaux, Prince of Wales. Lionel, third son of Edward III, and guardian of the realm (the King at that time carrying on his war in France), kept his Christmas here in the twentieth year of his reign (1347).⁴ Richard II

¹ Willis, *Cath.*, i, p. 239; Dugdale, *Monast.*, ii, p. 846.

² Walsingham.

³ Philipott, p. 35.

⁴ The interesting reigns of Edward III and Richard II may be studied afresh with advantage in the *Chronicon Angliæ*, 1328, ad annum 1388, Rolls Series; edited by Edward Maunde Thompson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Assistant-Keeper of the MSS., British Museum. London, 1874. In it may be read the vision of Thomas de la Hoo, a Member of Parliament of the period, which is a curi-

resided much at his manor of Eltham, taking great delight in the pleasantness of the place. In the tenth year of his reign (1386), the King, with his Queen and court, kept their Christmas here with much festivity, and received Leo, King of Armenia, who had been driven out of his dominions by the Turks, and entertained him sumptuously here.¹ King Henry IV resided much here, where he kept his last Christmas, and being sick, was carried to London, where he died, 1412. Kings Henry V and VI also resided here. King Edward IV repaired this house with much cost, and enclosed Horne Park, anciently the King's demesne. Bridget, this King's fourth daughter, was born in the twentieth year of this reign (1480), and next day was baptised in the chapel here by the Bishop of Chichester. She afterwards became a nun at Dartford. Two years afterwards, in 1482, that King kept a splendid Christmas here with great feasting, two thousand people being fed at his expense every day.² King Henry VII built a handsome front to this Palace, and was usually resident here. He most commonly dined in the great hall of this place, and all his officers kept their tables in it. King Henry VIII, neglecting this Palace, built much at Greenwich, though he sometimes resided here, particularly in his seventh year (1515), when, keeping his Whitsuntide at Eltham, he created Sir Edward Stanley, Knight, Lord Monteagle, for his good services performed against the Scots at Flodden.³

Eltham gave the title of Earl of Eltham to the Prince of Wales, grandson of George I; and he was succeeded by another Prince of Wales, afterwards George III, who bore the title.

We will now take leave of the Hundred of Blackheath, in the lathe of Sutton-at-Hone. Our second excursion was on 12th July, 1876, when we entered the Hundred of Codsheath and Somerden, to visit Seven Oaks and the mansion of Penshurst, by permission of Lord de Lisle. Proceeding first to Seven Oaks by railway, we passed many of the places referred to in this paper; but our stay was too short to explore the old church, and the Rector invited us to visit it on another occasion; and the venerable pile of Knowle House demands a more careful survey than we had time to give it, as well as its park, the undulating surface of which has features of a country such as would be occupied by Britons, Saxons, and Danes, ready to pour down upon the Roman stations, castles, and towns, which lined the valley around.

The name of Otford, better known as a place of residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, is associated with that fearful battle fought

osity, if the seven golden florins he saw in his night-dreams had such influence on his conduct by day as to cause him to impeach the powerful prime minister, Lord Latimer, in Parliament,—a daring innovation.

¹ Rapin, i, 462.

² Philipott.

³ Hasted's *Hist. and Topograph. Survey of Kent*. Canterbury, 1778.

there in A.D. 774, against the men of Kent, by Offa, King of Mercia; and with that second battle, three hundred years later, against the pagan Danes, by King Edmund, who pursued them as far as Aylesford on their flight to their ships. Some remains of departed heathen rites are still to be traced even in this corner of Roman civilisation. They lie eastward of Otford, towards Aylesford. About eight miles westward of the latter town are the extensive remains in Addington Park, which, with the other stone monuments in this district, have been well described, with a plan, by Mr. A. L. Lewis, Hon. Sec. to the Anthropological Society, in *Anthropologia*, p. 511.

Kit's Coty House lies to the north-east of Aylesford, and the Colderham Circle is between Addington Park and Snodland Station. Our Society visited Kit's Coty House and some other stone monuments in 1853, at the Rochester Congress, when the Rev. W. C. Lukis contributed a paper on the monoliths of the neighbourhood, which will be found in vol. ix of the *Journal*, p. 425. Aylesford itself claims to be the place where Hengist and Hors first made good their footing.

The manor of Knowle was esteemed an appendage to that of Otford when it formed part of the possessions of the see of Canterbury. *Domesday Survey* says the Archbishop himself holds Otefort in demesne. It was taxed at eight sulings. The arable land is forty-two carucates: in demesne there are six carucates. There are a hundred and one villeins, with eighteen borderers, having forty-five carucates. Offa, King of Mercia, is said to have given it to the church of Canterbury in 791. The name is written in Saxon, Ottanford; *Domesday*, Otefort; *Text. Roff.*, Otteford.

Archbishop Cranmer compounded with the King to give up some of the best and richest possessions of the Church by way of exchange; and by an indenture dated 30 Nov., 29 Henry VIII., were given up the manors of Otford, Wrotham, Bexley, Northfleete, Maidstone, and Knowle; and all those the lands, manors, rents, and tenements, called Otford-Stuyens, *alias* Serjeant's Otford, Sevenoke, Shoreham, Chevening, Pintors, and Brytain's, with their appurtenances. Also the advowsons and patronages of Shoreham and Sevenoke, with the Chapel of Otford annexed to the parsonage of Shoreham; the advowsons of the Hospital or Chapel of St. John, in the parish of Sevenoke, and other advowsons. I may also mention that that of Kemsing, which had been granted by license of Richard II., in 1397, to the Priory and Convent of Bermondsey for ever, was, together with the annexed Chapel of Seale, surrendered, with the other possessions of that monastic house, into the King's hands, 29th Henry VIII. Kemsing is written in the *Testa de Nevil*, Camesing; and *Text. Roff.*, Cimicinga. In the churchyard was set up the image of St. Edith, to whom the church was dedicated. It was much frequented for the especial benefits the

Saint daily dispensed in preserving corn and grain from blast and mildew.¹ Seale may be derived from the Saxon Sele, a palace or hall, from its vicinity to one.

But let us turn to the history of Knowle before the Archbishops came to reside here in the reign of Henry VI. We find a Geoffrey de Say occupying the manor in the time of Edward III, and it came into possession of James Fienes or Fenys, second son of Sir William Fenys, who married into the Say family, and became Lord Treasurer of England, 28th Henry VI, when he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Say and Seale. This nobleman, in those troublous times, fell a victim to an opposing faction. Jack Cade and followers assembled in force in the woods near Seven Oaks, which are still known as the Weald, and not far from the residence of our late excellent President, Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, M.P. The name "Soul Fields", perhaps, still preserves the record of a battle fought by these insurgents, who, though dispersed, yet had killed Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knight, William Stafford, and other gentlemen whom the King had sent against them. Lord Say and Seale, who, though he had been committed to the Tower in order to appease his rough adversaries or their abettors, yet they, not satisfied with this, released him from prison, arraigned him at Guildhall, and then hurrying him to the Standard in Cornhill, his head was cut off and carried on a pole, while his body was drawn and quartered in Southwark, after being dragged thither at a horse's tail. This nobleman's son and heir, through the troubles of the York and Lancaster factions, sold his manor of Knowle on 30 June, 34 Henry VI, to Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. Edward IV conceded various liberties and privileges to Thomas the Archbishop,—the hundred leet, or view of frankpledge, held twice in a year, and privilege of two fairs, one on the Feast of St. Nicholas the Bishop, and the other on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Sevenoke, and a market there weekly on Saturday. Archbishop Bouchier rebuilt the manor-house of Knowle, and enclosed a park round the same, and resided much at it, as did also Archbishop Moreton, Cardinal of Rome, who received visits from King Henry VII more than once. It was here the Cardinal died in October 1500. His successor, Henry Deane, preferred the situation of Otford, and laid out much money in the archiepiscopal house there, where he mostly resided. William Warham, residing much at Knowle, was frequently visited by Kings Henry VII and Henry VIII between the years 1504 and 1514, after which he lived chiefly at Otford.

After a drive of an hour and half through the most picturesque part of Kent, we arrived at the outer gate of Penshurst Park, contiguous to the village and its timber-built houses, and we passed the chapel

¹ Hasted.

within the demesne in crossing the park to the mansion. Some mention is made of the chapel in the *Registrum Roffense*. Under date 1149 is a deed having reference to the presentation to the chantry of this chapel, at the request of John Belemeyns, Canon of St. Paul's, London, and lord of the manor of Penshurst. Another document in the same collection refers to a similar object by Stephen de Penchester in the 2nd of Edward I, the consideration being the salvation of the souls of himself and of Roisia and Margerie his wives. Then there is a license to hear confessions in the chapel in consequence of the distance of the parish church at Leigh, granted at the request of the noble lady, Margaret, relict of Sir John Devereux, lately deceased. This is "given at our Palace at Bromlegh, 24th Sept. A.D. 1394".¹

Penshurst is seated at the extremity of the Lowy of Tonbridge, and appears by name in the *Domesday Survey*. The mansion bears witness to the building up and pulling down by a long line of its noble occupants. The restoration of the old banqueting hall and the chamber which overlooks it, has brought to light most interesting features of the fourteenth century work, among which I may point to the noble chimney of the period in the chamber referred to, as well as the squint overlooking the great hall; all which had been carefully concealed by panels, the removal of which has exposed to view some of the colouring of the original wall. The crypt also, under the hall, is well worthy of note. The great hall itself, with the huge iron dogs in the centre, capable of supporting a timber-tree if necessary for making up a Christmas fire on the hearth, the minstrels' gallery and fittings, remind us of the times when Eltham Hall was built for the same purpose. The conversation of the assembled guests, and the songs of the minstrels, when Edward III was king, must have turned, in both places, upon the stirring events in France, wherein the Sovereign himself and his gallant son, Edward Prince of Wales, were among the foremost actors. In the hall either of Penshurst or of Eltham, more probably, perhaps, than in any other hall, may have fallen the garter of that lady in whose honour was created, in 1347 or 1348, the order of the chosen twenty-five; particularly if the ownership of that garter is rightly adjudged by our associate, Mr. J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald, to the Fair Maid of Kent, Joan Plantagenet, who was Countess of Kent in her own right, of Salisbury in that of one of her husbands, and who married the famous Edward the Black Prince.²

The use of heraldry to an antiquarian was strikingly exemplified in connection with the order of the garter when Mr. Stephen I. Tucker, Rouge Croix, at Stanton Harcourt, identified an unknown figure in the church there, by the decoration of a garter round the left arm, as the

¹ Ex *Registr. Spirit. Ep. Roff.*

² See his account of the Earls of Kent in *Journal*, vol. ix.

effigy of Margaret Byron, wife of Sir Robert Harcourt, K.G., a lady living in the reign of Edward IV; and he confirmed the practice of so wearing it by a quotation from Elias Ashmole's work on the Order of the Garter (p. 218), where mention is made of the figure of a Countess of Tancarville so decorated in the reign of the same King.

Edward III's badge of the sun shining in meridian splendour typified the lustre shed on his country's history during a reign of fifty years; but his son, the Black Prince, was content to take for his device the sun rising out of the clouds, more fitly emblematic of the clouded state of the political atmosphere. One of the grievances of the times (the exemption by the clergy from their share of the taxation which pressed so heavily on the rest of the nation) was not less spoken of in Spain, where the Black Prince was leading his forces, than it was in Kent when the ecclesiastics in Thanet were ordered, as well as the others, to guard the coasts;¹ and the landowners were commanded to live on their estates, as when Sir Richard Att-Lees was enjoined to reside in the Isle of Sheppey.² When the French were running up the Medway, and attacking the coasts, it was indeed time to give the barons of Kent the privilege of embattling their mansions and strengthening their castles, where they had not done so before. Sir Stephen de Penchester had married Margaret, daughter of the famous Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent; and Edward I, in the ninth year of his reign (A.D. 1281), had granted him license to erect a castle, and to fortify and embattle it at Allington. In some records this place is called Allington Penchester. This famous man was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports³ and Constable of Dover Castle in the reign of Edward II, and died seized of Penshurst and Allington; but on his decease the inheritance was divided. Joan, the eldest daughter, was matched to Henry Lord Cobham, and she carried away Allington Castle. Alice, the other daughter, and coheir, was wedded to John Lord Colomers, and she had Penshurst and other lands for her proportion; and he had issue by her, Thomas de Columbers, who, by his deed dated at Penshurst in the eleventh year of Edward III, passes away his right to John de Poultney,⁴ who, in the twelfth year of the above-mentioned Prince, obtained a charter of free warren to his manor of Penshurst; and in the twentieth year of Edward III paid aid for it at the making the Black Prince a Knight, and held it at his decease, which was in the twenty-third of that Prince; and left it to his son William Poultney, from whom it passed to the Lovains, and then to Sir John Deve-

¹ Rymer, iv, p. 791.

² Rymer, vi, p. 746.

³ Lambard gives the five ports, out of Bracton, as Hastings, Hythe, Romney, Dover, and Sandwich; and he refers to the particular charges as given in a record by Stephen Penchester himself, written in 22 Edward I.

⁴ He had been Mayor of London. A letter of the King, in his seventh year, addresses him as "*dilecto et fideli suo Johanni de Pulteneye, Majori civitatis sue Londonie*", A.D. 1334. (Rymer, *Fœd.*, iv, p. 589.)

reux, Knight of the Garter, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, and Steward of the King's House, in the eleventh year of King Richard II, in the sixteenth of whose reign he had license by letters patent to fortify and embattle his mansion-house at Penshurst. It fell afterwards into the royal line through Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of King Henry IV. Henry VI granted it, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, grandfather to the unfortunate Edward Duke of Buckingham, who died upon the scaffold in the twelfth of Henry VIII.¹

Before leaving Penshurst, and under the arcade of a picturesque tower in the garden, from whence the flower-beds and expanse of the park could be seen to the best advantage, our party were entertained with refreshments by Lord de Lisle's order, in his absence; and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to his Lordship for his hospitality and kindness in throwing open the private apartments as well as those usually shown, and giving us the opportunity of a minute inspection of the paintings and other treasures of art with which the mansion is filled.

The connection of many of the lords of Penshurst, in early times, with the wardenship of the Cinque Ports and Dover Castle, gives to this domain an especially national as well as local interest. Dover has been called the lock and key of England. The county of Kent may well be known as the door; and we should, perhaps, be correct in comparing it with the hall of judgment at the gate where history is made to stand upon its trial. We have had but a peep through the keyhole of the door in these excursions. Let us hope for a more extended tour through Kent on another occasion.

At the conclusion of this paper Mr. Morgan handed in the following Report on the Cornwall Congress, which was taken as read owing to the lateness of the hour.

SUMMARY OF CONGRESS IN CORNWALL IN 1876.

BY THOS. MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

We have been in such an atmosphere of romance and traditions during our stay in Cornwall that any attempt at a prosaic abstract of the Congress must be made at a great disadvantage, particularly if I have to leave the traditions altogether to others to sift, and to separate the true metal from the dross. Let others, then, not neglect the traditions, but endeavour to trace them back to the periods when they were first current, that so by settling the chronology some data may be obtained for estimating their worth and authenticity. If they have

¹ Thos. Philipott, *Villare Cantianum*, 1659. He was Rouge Dragon, and afterwards Somerset Herald, visiting the county in 1619-21 as Marshal and deputy to William Camden.

been vulgarised by popular repetition, we may take the hint given us by our noble President in his address, by studying them in the refinements of such authors as he pointed out, among whom was one of our late Presidents, the lamented Lord Lytton. A specimen may be given of the popularised tradition, pure and simple, taken down by one well versed in these matters: "The hill of Trecobben and St. Michael's Mount were used by the giants when they were inclined for a game at 'bob-button'. The Mount was the 'bob' upon which the 'buttons', flat masses of granite, were placed; while Trecobben was the 'mit', the point from which the aim was taken."¹ Then at Dosmare Pool, between Bodmin and Launceston, the contents of the Pool seemed to be really emptied upon our heads one whole afternoon during the severe thunderstorm on the 17th August; and we might have almost believed that the giant Tregeagle was concerned in the matter, though not according to the tradition, by means of a limpet-shell with a hole in it.

At Tintagel we found the air filled with stories of the heroic knight, King Arthur, who, by a sort of *paulo-post-futurum* second sight, had come to have adopted the manners, sentiments, and language, of men living eight hundred years after his death. As to the Druids, their altars, temples, holy fires, and horrible orgies, tradition could describe them with the minute accuracy of an eye-witness.

Leaving, then, these enigmas to be solved on another occasion, I may say that we have seldom been assisted by so many sound, practical archæologists as in the county of Cornwall; and the objects visited were particularly characteristic of the varied story of past times. We may take the reign of Henry VII as the end of mediæval times, the return to peace after the long Wars of the Roses, and commencement of an era of science and geographical and maritime explorations. Could we have had a better introduction to this epoch than in the Tudor mansion of Cothele? Or a better instance of the stability of our country than the fact that the same property has remained in one family ever since that time? The historical and architectural description given us on the spot by the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe and Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, to say nothing of our entertainment in the old banqueting hall of Cothele, were rendered doubly interesting by the fact that our noble host was also President of our Association.

The sail up and down the picturesque river Tamar glows with reminiscences of the far off past. The iron-clads in Hamoaze now adorn the waters which have floated the shipping of Britons, Romans, Saxons, and Danes; and a lineal descendant of the Palæologi of Byzantium lies buried in a church near the right bank of the Tamar, to recall to us as we pass the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in A.D. 1453.

¹ J. O. Halliwell, *Rambles in Western Cornwall*, p. 77.

That same century witnessed the building of a great part of the churches we visited in Cornwall, the first specimen of which was the church of St. Andrew in Plymouth; and in similar style, though of later date, the church there dedicated to King Charles the Martyr.

I must refer to Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock's descriptions of the architectural details and dates of the many churches we visited during the Congress, assisted as was the interest of his narrative by the criticisms and elucidations of Mr. George Godwin and Mr. M. H. Bloxam. Among the churches visited I may mention by name that at Saltash; St. Petroc's at Bodmin, and remains of mortuary chapel adjoining; the interesting church of Lanteglos, and very ancient one at Tintagel; Lanivet Church, and St. Benet's Priory not far off, where, in the spot so well selected by the Benedictines, we were received at luncheon by Captain Serjeant, the present proprietor, who did more than emulate the hospitality of the friars of old in the charming grounds of the Priory; St. Bartholomew's at Lostwithiel; St. Neot's Church, celebrated for its well preserved, ancient coloured glass windows; Temple Chapel of the Knights Templars, held, as Mr. Brock told us, in the reign of Edward III, by the Prior and Brothers of St. John of Jerusalem, London; St. Mary Magdalen's at Launceston; St. Mary's at Truro; Sennan Church; St. Burian's; St. Just; Sancreed Church; chapel in St. Michael's Mount; Madron Church.

The ride from Saltash to Bodmin, through a beautiful and wooded country, gave us a peep at the old Castle of Trematon, the only one of the three royal castles which we did not explore, the other two being Restormel and Launceston. Trematon was the head of a barony at the time of the Conquest, and figures in the *Domesday Survey* as occupied by William Earl of Moreton and Cornwall. It fell into private hands through the Valletorts and Pomeroyes until it came to Edward the Black Prince.

Restormel, with its grand keep, situated on a rocky knoll, is a fine ruin, but a mere shell of what it must have been when it came into possession of Richard King of the Romans. Mr. H. Sewell Stokes, in his poem of *Restormel*, says,

"De Tracey fair Isolda married,
And with her heart the Castle carried.
Then for Devonian manors she
Exchanged her widow's bower in fee :
Keep, oven, park, and woods and commons,
With Cornwall's Earl, King of the Romans."

Though the poet has peopled the Castle, in the language of poetry, to a later period, Dr. Borlase informs us that no Earl of Cornwall has resided here since Edmund, the son of Richard, *temp.* Edward I; nor have this Castle and honour ever been alienated from the Earls and

Dukes of Cornwall. Mr. Couch gave us an elaborate paper on its history.

Launceston is the strongest of all the three castles. The keep is on a hill of great elevation, from whence its name of Dunheved is said to be derived, as Dunhêvd (the long hill) corresponds with Lang-ceaster-town, from which its modern name seems to be a corruption. The buildings, either in construction or adaptation, pointed to the reigns of the first three Edwards, and not many signs of Norman work were found about it. The description by the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson will be read with interest upon its earlier history. The Roman coins found here, and the character of the spot where the river is fordable, render it probable that the Romans had here a fort, which a road from Stratton seems to confirm.

The interesting series of charters, commencing from Richard II, displayed in the Town Hall for our inspection, should be mentioned, as well as the cordial reception given to the Association by the Mayor and Corporation of Launceston.

Tintagel Castle, of which little remains, stands on a rocky peninsula having an isthmus of no great breadth. It was occupied by Richard King of the Romans, and his son; but after Edward the Black Prince it seems, like the other castles of the Dukes of Cornwall, to have fallen to decay. The Rev. Prebendary Kinsman gave us a full account of the ruins, as well as of the very ancient church of Tintagel.

A drive of eighteen miles, between Bodmin and Tintagel, in which we bisected the country in a northerly direction, gave us fine views of the bold scenery, the heights of Brown Willy, and many other points, with the high ground of Dartmoor in the distance; whilst in parts of the road we had mines on all sides, and passed between walls built up of the shale and slate thrown out from the diggings. The distance was agreeably divided by a pause at the Rectory of Lanteglos, and the company gladly saw the smoke curling from the chimney of the hospitable Rector, the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, who had prepared for us most sumptuously in a large marquee in his garden. Large it was, for the company were very numerous, and a good proportion of ladies graced a table spread with every delicacy, and headed by our fair hostess, Mrs. Wilkinson. Having previously visited the interesting church of Lanteglos, and scrutinised the monolith, or stele, with a Saxon inscription, which was deciphered and explained by the Rev. William Jago, and some stone crosses, we felt justified in abandoning ourselves for a time to the festivities prepared for us, and in drinking the loyal and social toasts, among which the names of our Royal Patron the Duke of Cornwall and the Duchess were not forgotten. We did not fail also to return thanks to the Rev. J. J. and Mrs. Wilkinson for their most hospitable reception.

On the return from Tintagel they again met us at Camelford,—a name famous for two battles fought in the neighbourhood of the borough in Anglo-Saxon times, and for battles fought in modern times on the hustings, as it was one of the towns of Cornwall; a county which up to the year 1824 returned forty-four members to Parliament; and the twenty members which were then left were further reduced to thirteen by the Reform Bill of 1832, as we were told in an excellent paper on Cornish Corporations by Mr. R. N. Worth. We were shown the mace of the Mayor of the time of Charles II.

In describing the castles together I have broken into the order of the events, and we must go back to Monday the 14th of August, when Bodmin received us with ringing of bells and a general turn out of the inhabitants, as we dashed up and down the hills and round the sharp corners into the town, as the manner is in that country. After dinner at the hotel our noble President gave his opening address, before the Mayor and Corporation, in the Town Hall, where we were received with every expression of good will by the Mayor, and an address from the Town Council. The President's full programme of work to be accomplished at all points of the compass through the county, was amply borne out by the representations, on the walls of the Hall, of earthworks and castles, engraved stones, cromlechs, crosses, and churches, which were to be visited. On the tables were displayed coins and other antiquities, and among them an ivory reliquary which had once held the bones of the hermit St. Petroc, whose sagacity in choosing this spot for his residence, beside a limpid fountain of water, was confirmed by the flourishing population which sprang up on the site. The worthies of Cornwall through mediæval and modern times, formed a goodly array on the walls, in the historical collection of prints lent by Mr. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, recalling Mr. H. Sewell Stokes' lines in his poem on Lord Vivian:

“Worthies of Cornwall, long the roll
That bears your proud, historic names,
Blazoned with many a famous scroll,
And making good wild Cornwall's claims
To rank with England's fairest shire
For all that noble souls admire.”

Our energetic Local Committee, the Rev. W. Jago, Mr. H. Sewell Stokes, Mr. Couch, and others, in constant communication with Mr. Wright, took care that we should strictly carry out a programme which occupied us early and late. In the town of Bodmin are the remains of a Priory, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Petroc, of Black Canons settled here in 1110 to 1120, and who remained till the dissolution in 1539. Then there is the Friary “of Orders Grey”, occupied by the Gilbertines, Franciscans, or Friars Minorites. Leland says that John de London, a merchant, was the founder of this house.

With the Rev. Wm. Jago for our *cicerone* to the Roman and Saxon remains, and assisted by his knowledge of the localities where they were found, it was not difficult to see that the whole county must have been well occupied by Romans, Saxons, and Danes. The presence of Roman coins and camps throughout the county, and the Roman camp at Tregear, near Bodmin, are evidence of this. The large encampment at Pencarrow, on the property of Lady Molesworth, whether Roman, British, or Saxon, should be studied, with the whole of the interesting country between the river Alan on the north, which runs into the Camel, to the river Fowey on the south, in Sir John Maclean's *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*.

Our introduction to Truro on our way to Penzance, which was to be the headquarters for the second portion of the Congress, was made under good auspices, our Association being received and welcomed by the Royal Institution of Cornwall,—a learned society established as long ago as 1818, which enjoys a well-earned reputation not in Cornwall alone, but in the country at large. Mr. Rashleigh, M.P., Dr. Barham, Mr. Whitley, and others of its leading men, gave us a reception in their Museum, and laid before us some of the most remarkable specimens, such as the Egyptian bull, the *astragalus* of metal found near Falmouth, and many other Roman and Saxon antiquities; and their remarks upon the archæology of the county generally will be remembered with profit by the large party of our members who were present and took part in the discussion, among whom were the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, Mr. Bloxam, Mr. Brock, Mr. Brent, Mr. Wright, Dr. Phené, Mr. Cope, and others. The Phœnician origin of the bull was discussed; but as no date within five hundred years was fixed upon it, the theory of the visits to Cornwall by the early Phœnicians did not receive any accession of evidence from this relic, particularly as the introduction of such objects in the time of Severus and his successors must have been common.

After a steam voyage down the Fal river to Falmouth, Pendennis Castle, and back, we took up our quarters at Penzance, opposite the beautiful bay, to the right of which could be seen the houses of Newlyn and Mousehole, and to the left the far-famed St. Michael's Mount. We now entered upon a new phase of our archæology by an introduction to the rude stone monuments raised by the hand of man, and to those planted in Cornwall by the hand of nature alone. Mr. Whitley at Truro gave us a discourse on the discrimination of the two workshops in the matter of flint flakes, and carried away many reputed archæological specimens into the domain of geology,—a subject to which I would call the attention of the Association.

We now placed ourselves under the guidance of one to whom the

antiquities of his county are a speciality, having walked all over the ground, and assisted at the diggings. Mr. Wm. Copeland Borlase, F.S.A., kindly undertook to accompany us day by day; and though the details of the many antiquities visited should be studied in his published works, yet the selection made of objects of special interest may be recorded here, as we saw some of the best examples of their kind.

Between Penzance and the Land's End are no less than seven cliff-castles, one of which, that of Treryn, was visited, built on the edge of steep precipices, having access to the sea, but difficult of attack on the land side. We are led to connect these with a people making the sea their highway, and under cover of their fortifications defending a certain space in which to enclose their cattle, tin, and other valuables. Mr. Borlase introduced us into the very huts of the old inhabitants. He has excavated them, and shown us their position around a central chamber. He showed us how these huts in the more western parts of the county display a more advanced civilisation than those in the eastern, and he attributes this to their intercourse with the Romans by sea, which may be true as far as it went; but I should prefer to attribute it to their roving pursuits as merchants, settling here their factories from beyond sea for trading purposes, bringing their cargoes of cattle to be exchanged for tin and other commodities, and thus forming a kind of settlement, and placing their castles within call of each other. We saw some of the hut-dwellings near Rose-Moddress Circle; but better examples were seen on the day of our excursion to St. Just. The Boscawen-Un Circle as well as that of Boleit, the monoliths called "the Pipers and the Merry Maidens", are all sufficiently well known; and out of all the discussions which took place on the subject, the general opinion seemed to be that the large circles, of which there are few, were places of assembly, civil and religious, which had probably at some time been sanctified by a great battle fought in the neighbourhood; and we find them to be favourite spots for burial, from the mounds and cromlechs generally found near them. The smaller circles, which are very numerous, seem to be either the marking out of a spot for sepulture, or placed round the foot of a mound which has disappeared, to support the earth.

We visited the churches of Sennan and St. Burian, and many of the early stone crosses, all which should be studied in Mr. J. T. Blight's published works.

Those who delight in contrasts will have been struck with the quaint hospitality (if I may be allowed the expression) of the worthy Mayor of Penzance, Mr. W. H. Rudd, and his friends, who liberally prepared a breakfast with the luxuries of modern civilisation, at which to regale our party on the very Land's End, the soil of giants and of granite;

the sea dashing against the rocks at a great depth, below us the wide expanse of the ocean,—the whole scene was one of striking contrasts amid the grand works of nature and the abodes of primæval man. Relentless time hurried us back to St. John's Hall at Penzance for our evening meeting, where interesting papers were read by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, Mr. Henry Jenner, and Mr. Worth.

The Sunday (21st) gave us a rest most acceptable after the labours of the week; and after listening to a sermon by Bishop Jenner at Newlyn Church in the morning, many of our members accepted the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Borlase to spend the afternoon at their residence, Castle Horneck, where the Borlase Museum of Cornish antiquities was the best introduction we could have to the places about to be visited on the Monday and Tuesday. Among the valuable works in manuscript some had belonged to Dr. Borlase, the ancestor of our host. I noticed a manuscript work by Tonkins, being the first volume of a copy of the History of Hals; second volume, his own; Dr. Borlase's Heraldic MSS. of Cornwall; and a manuscript memoir of the Cornish language; also an ancient Miracle-Play in that language; Arms in Trick, being the note-book of one of the heralds,—Visitation, 1620; valuable books of original drawings by Blight; a curious historical deed by which Jane of Pendyne, daughter and heiress of Richard Pendyne, a Cornish rebel who fought at the battle of the field called the "Black Heath", grants her lands of Pendyne to J. Thomas, a serjeant-at-arms, to be afterwards handed back to the family. These are a few which struck me out of a large collection which were described and commented on by Mr. Borlase; and among the coins exhibited I noticed that out of a large find at Carhaes were some of Tetricus Senior, Tetricus Junior, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus; at Bodniar Crellas, Victorinus, Tetricus Junior, Probus, in connection with a hut-village; at Goldberry in Saltred, Postumus, and Tetricus Junior. Now that so many coins of these tyrants of Gaul of the third century, whose reigns were short and authority limited, should be so often found here, seems to show their intimate connection with the natives of this part of the country; and this is a point to be noted.

On Monday, 22nd, Mr. W. C. Borlase conducted us to the famed Chywoone Castle, covering a large area, and the fortifications enclosing a hut-circle, which is described in the *Journal* of the Institute, December Part, 1873. The outer ditch is 20 feet wide; and the walls are built of Cyclopean masonry without mortar, recalling the ancient walls of some of the cities of Latium and Etruria. It is now a heap of stones; but the foundations can be traced, and it stands in the midst of an open plain or moor.

Not far from it is the Chywoone Cromlech, which is a specimen of one in its perfect state, and large stones surround the base to keep up

the superincumbent earth. It is of comparatively small dimensions, being about 12 feet each way, and confirms, as far as it goes, Mr. Lukis' theory of the nature and origin of all cromlechs. Mr. W. C. Borlase, with the caution of a practical antiquary, preferred not to lay down a general theory on cromlechs, but to take each case upon its merits.

The uses of the Men-an-Tol, or holed stone, have been discussed at length by the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and may be read of in their *Proceedings*.

The amphitheatre of St. Just, half a mile from Cape Cornwall, was visited, and described by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szymra of Newlyn; and though the circle can only be traced by the inequality of the ground, we might easily fill it in imagination, after the graphic description we had heard, with spectators to witness the performance of the mystery-plays, if it had not been used in previous times by the Romans.

The church of St. Just was fully described to us, and commented on, by Mr. Brock and Mr. Bloxam; and an old Romano-British stone in the chancel-wall seemed to bear the following legend, SEL^{INT}VS I-C IACET, and a sign which some preferred to interpret as the staff of an early bishop instead of the more usual χ , with right-angled cross.

Near the top of Carn Brea Hill, about three miles from St. Just, the antiquities of which have been so well explored by the late Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, we came to the cave dwellings of Chapel Euny. We entered a long gallery, forty feet in length, formed of large imposts of granite laid upon upright blocks, and this led to a circular chamber. The whole had been uncovered by the labours of Mr. W. C. Borlase, who said that Samian ware, spear-heads, implements, and other Roman remains had been found, and all round were vestiges of similar buildings which had not yet been uncovered. The avenue had much the appearance of one of the Allées Couvertes of Brittany, and the whole resembles in construction the chambered tumulus. The name Chapel suggests whether it may have been used for christian services since heathenism was abolished, just as we find an ancient sepulchre so altered and converted at Confolens St. Germain-sur-Vienne, where the covering stone is the only remaining relic of the primitive structure.¹

Two interesting crosses were seen in the churchyard of Sancreed. On Tuesday, the last day of the Congress, driving to Marazion, or Market-Jew, we had the opportunity of walking on dry land to St. Michael's Mount, the tide being out, and were well received by the proprietor, Sir John St. Aubyn, who entertained us at luncheon in the hall of the Chevy Chase. Here we have a fortress, and which once co-existed with a Cistercian Monastery for men and women, incor-

¹ Rev. W. C. Lukis *On Cromlechs*. Ripon, 1875.

porated by charter of Henry II. This was a cell to St. Michael's in Normandy, and as such was dissolved together with St. Burian's and other alien monasteries in the reign of Edward III. Its fortunes, its captures, its stories of strange adventures, were dwelt upon in two interesting papers read to us on the spot by Sir John St. Aubyn and the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma. The moot-point as to whether the Ictis of the ancient Romans was St. Michael's Mount or the Isle of Wight was discussed, and the arguments seemed to preponderate in favour of St. Michael's. Under Mr. W. C. Borlase's guidance we next visited the hut-town Chysauster, on the southern slope of the hill in the parish of Gulval. That portion of the hut-town which still remains consisted, as far as can be made out, of eight or ten hut clusters, all displaying a similarity of arrangement, and one, to which we had our particular attention directed by Mr. Borlase, had been carefully excavated by him in 1873 to its foundation, and I would refer to his paper on these hut-circles in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute for Dec. 1873.

Mr. W. C. Lukis's paper upon megaliths in West Cornwall was here read, but it elicited no discussion.

The Lanyon Cromlech, Madron Church, and other objects, will be spoken of in their place. Among the many interesting papers read during the Congress to which I have not particularly adverted, as they will be read in the *Journal*, I may mention that the papers on the Earls and Dukes of Cornwall and the Heraldry of the county by Mr. J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald, and Mr. Stephen I. Tucker, Rouge-Croix, had a particular interest in Cornwall, the history of which is so interwoven with the Princes of Wales during the reigns of the Edwards and Henrys.

For the closing meeting of the Congress at St. John's Hall in Penzance, our noble President showed his interest in our proceedings by coming, at great personal inconvenience, from the other end of the county to attend it, and our party separated with mutual congratulations on the agreeable and instructive ten days we had spent together.

The proposed extra day at St. Germans, where we were invited by Captain Eliot to see the pictures and curiosities of Port Eliot, the seat of the Earl of St. Germans, had to be given up, and besides our missing Port Eliot we failed also to see the ancient church of St. Germans, once the see of the Bishop of Cornwall.

The mechanical difficulties of such a Congress in the conveyance of so many persons and *impedimenta* over great distances in a mountainous country, with two centres of operations, were very great, and were overcome without let or hindrance, and it is but justice to Mr. George R. Wright to give him the credit of the arrangements by which all difficulties were overcome. This I say without diminishing in any degree our obligation to the Local Committees for their great and unremitting labours.

WEDNESDAY, 6th OF DECEMBER, 1876.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Rev. D. Ace, D.D., Laughton Rectory, near Gainsborough.

Mrs. L. Clagett, 17, Lowndes Square.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library.

To Mr. J. O. Halliwell Phillipps, for "A Catalogue of the Warehouse Library of J. O. Halliwell Phillipps". London, 1876. Privately printed by J. A. Adlard.

" " for "A Brief Handlist of the selected parcels in the Shakespearian and Dramatic Collections of J. O. Halliwell Phillipps." London, 1876. Privately printed as above.

" " "A Catalogue of the Shakespeare Study Books in the immediate Library of J. O. Halliwell Phillipps." London, 1876. Privately printed as above.

To the Society, for "Essex Institute. Historical Collections", volume xiii, part ii. April, 1875. Salem, Mass., 1876. 8vo.

" " for "Bulletins of the Essex Institute", volume vii, Nos. 1-12. Salem, Mass., 1876. 8vo.

The Chairman exhibited a variety of relics from recent excavations in London: among them a ram's head, the spout of a large Early English jug, and described such an appendage wanting in the jug shown at the last meeting by Mr. Brock. He said that the history of Moorfields was more decidedly declared by its relics than any other district of London. From its deep peat-layers came the skulls of snipe and wild duck, with antlers and bones of deer. Then, evidence of lacustrine habitation, with weapons and instruments of bone, curiously made. Then the Roman occupation, and its cemetery, and cinerary urns. Reclamation of the Moorland, however, was going forward, though a large tract still presented an ice surface in winter time, skimmed by Londoners on bone skates; or the "Causeys" pushing their solid way through the morass, echoing the martial tread of the trained bands, going forth to base-practice at the butts. We find still the implements of skater and archer. Then as London spread its circuit, houses and gardens (ever loved) were built, leaving evidence in Mediæval watering pots, quoits and bowls, of flowers, trees, and sunny grass plots, where now the train thunders through the underground, and a dense population settles on the surface. He produced an evidence of the once pastoral character of this region, in two shepherd's crooks, exhumed

from a great depth, one of which appears to partake Saxon characteristics, the second being of later date. He exhibited also three jugs with distinctive peculiarities: No. 1, of vase form, rare, decorated with leaves of pine-cone or water-plants, of a dull green glaze, assigned to the twelfth century. No. 2, gourd-shaped, mottled, brilliant glaze, banded, and decorated with palm; assigned, with No. 3, to the thirteenth century.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., made some remarks regarding the peculiarities and points of especial interest indicated by the exhibition.

The Chairman also exhibited a remarkable dagger, lately exhumed in Lower Thames Street, near Billingsgate Market, and which Mr. H. Syer Cuming assigned to *circa* 1400. The hilt is wrought of a single piece of brass, the pomel and guard being both disc-shaped, a fashion which gained for the weapon the title of *dague à roëlle*. The flat surface of the pomel, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter, is engraved with four vesica-formed leaves, radiating from the centre and spreading over a square figure with concave sides, thus producing a stellar device, something like that occasionally seen on the pomels of the old Highland dirks. The octangular grip is contracted in the middle, and gradually expands as it approaches the pomel and guard, and is incised with perpendicular lines of ornament. The pointed blade is single-edged and channelled on either side near the back, which is of unusual thickness. The entire length of the weapon is $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, but a small portion of the blade is lost. The *dague à roëlle* seems to have continued in vogue for more than a century, for it is introduced in a quaint woodcut in *Albucasis Chirurgicorum*, Argent., 1532, p. 215.

Mrs. Bailly submitted for inspection a bar of iron $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick above, and 1 inch below; rounded at either end, and perforated for the reception of stout rings 2 inches in diameter; the whole weighing exactly a pound and a half. It was exhumed from the north bank of the Thames, near the Tower of London. Mr. H. Syer Cuming identified this object as the link-bar of a pair of ancient fetters, and pointed out the curious fact that the Assyrian fetters were united in a similar mode, the only difference being that the Eastern bar was developed into rings at the extremities, whilst the European example has loose rings passing through holes. Captives wearing ponderous linked fetters are shown on the sculptures discovered at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik.

Mrs. Bailly also exhibited a hand-*balista* constructed on the same principle as a specimen engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, Plate 92, fig. 8, where it is described as "a weapon for throwing poisoned needles in a crowd." The example under consideration was formerly in the Bousfield collection, and is somewhat less complicated in aspect than the one at Goodrich Court. It consists of a powerful spring, the bow

serving as a grip, the top edge of the front being received into a notch in the under side of a short bar moving on a hinge, and having a trigger or thumb-piece at back, which when pressed on raises the bar, and the front spring thus suddenly liberated lets fly the needle which was previously placed within a round perforation just half an inch below the top edge. The upper surface of the horizontal movable bar, and the sides of the upright quadrangular stem to which it is affixed, are slightly embellished with cross-lines and nicks. This *balista* and the one in the Meyrick Armoury, are both composed entirely of steel. The horizontal member of the latter example is made hollow as a receptacle for the needles, which were stuck in a cork at the bottom. These diabolical implements are of German fabric of the 16th century. They are of a size that can be easily concealed in the hand, and in respect of base villainy may be numbered with the copper ring with Medusa's head, for squirting poison, formerly in the Waterton Collection, and the signet ring of Cæsar Borgia, described in our *Journal* (xx, 327), within the hollow portion of which he carried the poison he was wont to drop into the wine-cup of his unsuspecting victims. The Hindu *wag-nuk*, and English tuck-stick have been condemned as cowardly inventions, but they are honourable weapons compared with these dastardly hand-balistæ. Mr. Cuming said he had been told that little machines, somewhat similar to these, have been used at races to discharge fine needles into the haunches of horses to accelerate their speed, but he could not substantiate the statement.

Mr. Isaac exhibited a fine antique drinking cup¹ or vase with fluted sides, large rim, and narrow foot, found in a ditch at Southfleet, near Gravesend, several years ago. It appeared to be of Upchurch clay, with indentations not unlike those so well shown by the Castor ware. Mr. Isaac read the following notes. "A writer in the *Book of Days* says that 'The drinking customs of various nations would form a curious chapter in ethnology. The Teutonic nations have, however, the most claim to be considered potent in potting. The Saxons were great drinkers, and took with them to their graves their ornamental ale buckets, pots, and drinking glasses and mugs, the latter made without foot or stand, so that they must be filled and emptied by the drinker before they could be set down again on the festive board. Mighty toppers they were, and history records some of their drinking bouts. Notwithstanding the assertion of Iago, that 'your Dane, your German, and your swag-bellied Hollander, are nothing to your English', in powers of drinking, it may be doubted if the Germans ever have been outdone. Certainly no persons have bestowed more thought on quaint inventions for holding their liquors, or enforcing large con-

¹ Both for form and indentations it may be compared with a Roman vessel engraved in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, Pl. x, fig. 25.

sumption than they have. The silversmiths of Augsburg and Nuremberg, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, devoted a large amount of invention to the production of drinking cups taking the form of men, animals, birds, etc., of most grotesque design.

Among the songs of Burns is one upon a whistle-cup used by a Dane of the retinue of Queen Anne of Denmark, which was laid upon the table at the commencement of the orgy, and won by whoever was last able to blow it. The Dane conquered all comers, until Sir Robert Lawrie, of Maxwellton, after three days' and three nights' hard contest, left the Scandinavian under the table. On the 16th October, 1789, a similar contest took place, which has been immortalised in Burns' verses.

Mr. Cuming, Mr. Mayhew, and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, *Hon. Secretary*, made some observations upon this vase; and Mr. Isaac then exhibited an imperfect tile from Tintern Abbey, bearing a lion passant *contourné* in yellow upon a red ground.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock exhibited several examples of Roman personal ornaments, all found in London, mostly during the formation of Queen Victoria Street. They consisted of bronze fibulæ, a silver needle, and a large collection of bone and bronze pins, stylæ, and glass beads. He exhibited several fragments of mediæval chain armour, and many examples of the curious bow spear heads, which are so frequently found in very deep diggings, and which are supposed to be of prehistoric date. He showed also some gold and silver medals and coins, in capital preservation, including a good specimen of the medal struck to commemorate the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, and bearing the profile of Pope Gregory XIII.

Mr. R. N. Philipps exhibited an eighteenth century earthen pitcher of the Norman shape, found on the site of the ancient tower of Doesborough in Gelderland, Holland, in the possession of Mr. Coobs. This vessel somewhat resembles those found at Canterbury and other places in England. Mr. Philipps also exhibited the handle of a distaff from the same place, adorned with a carving of Justice, with her usual emblems.

Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., read an exhaustive paper on "Ancient Canterbury", and illustrated his reading with a large collection of prehistoric stone weapons, British and Saxon remains, Roman fibulæ and other objects found in the relics of a toilet box, bronze objects mostly enamelled blue and yellow, bone objects, a late Roman gem brooch, enamelled brooches, armillæ of twisted wire, studs, hasps and parts of locks, châtelaines, etc., and a coloured drawing of a Roman tessellated pavement, the subject of which is a double-handled vase within a broad circle of wavy lines. This interesting paper and accompanying exhibition proved exceedingly gratifying to the numerous members and visitors who were present.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. J. W. Grover drew attention to the similarity of the plans of ancient Pompeii and of Verulamium or St. Alban's to that of ancient Canterbury; and with regard to the supposed lake near the river Stour at Canterbury, instanced examples of Roman bridges spanning ancient rivers whose beds now form arable lands far from water.

Mr. Brock, Mr. Cuming, and Mr. Kenn, also took part in the discussion, and the meeting dissolved with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Brent. The paper will be printed hereafter.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Age of Bronze in Great Britain.—Our Vice-President, Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., has lately brought out his *Petit Album de l'Age du Bronze de la Grande Bretagne*. This work must be taken as a forerunner of a larger work on the same subject, and is issued with a French text because of the Congress of Prehistoric Archæology and Anthropology at Buda-Pesth during the current year, in which the Bronze Age forms a special feature of discussion in that language. There are nearly a hundred and fifty bronze objects of prehistoric date, from all parts of our island, beautifully drawn on wood, and mostly to half-size, from the rich collections of the author, the British Museum, Canon Greenwell, and local museums, with descriptive letterpress, the whole forming an exhaustively illustrated catalogue and guide-book to the study of bronze implements, which cannot fail to be estimated at its true worth by all archæologists who in this branch of science take their principal delight.

Researches at Chollerford.—The following account of the interesting and extensive discoveries made by Mr. John Clayton at Chollerford, the site of the ancient *Procolitia*, is derived from accounts which appeared in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 23 Oct. and 7 Dec., 1876.

A great discovery has recently taken place near Carraburgh or Carrowburgh, a small farm house a little less than four miles west of Chollerford. For some time past the excavators employed by Mr. John Clayton, the lord of the manor, have been engaged in the neigh-

bourhood, and their search after Roman antiquities has been rewarded by the unearthing of a treasure chamber containing many Roman altars and thousands of Roman coins.

On the north side of the road, soon after leaving Chollerford, may be seen a long piece of the lower wall courses in almost perfect preservation, their solid stonework showing firm and solid as when they left the hands of the old-world masons by whom they were laid. Nearing Curraburgh, and about three miles further on, are uplifted the serrated peaks of King's and Queen's Crag, long ranges of distant hills to the north closing in the field of view. Passing the solitary farm-house at Curraburgh, and between it and Carrow, once a rural retreat of the priors of Hexham, a few green mounds on the left of the road show the position of Procolitia, the seventh station or fortified stationary camp on the Roman Wall. Here was the home of the first Batavian Cohort which with two others from the same country and two Tungarian Cohorts—Dutch and Belgic auxiliaries of the Romans—garrisoned the camp in that stormy period when from Bowness on the Solway to Wallsend on the Tyne stretched seventy-five miles of armed men. Here, too, Mr. Clayton has made the great discovery of buried treasure.

According to Dr. Bruce, the Roman Wall formed the northern boundary of the station, and its eastern and western gateways are, as usual, opposite each other, but strike the side walls between the upper end and the middle. The southern corners are rounded off, but the side walls of the station, in joining the Murus on the north, preserve their rectilinear course. These of course are all obliterated now, have disappeared in fact centuries ago, but the ruins of the suburbs outside the western wall of the camp can still be faintly traced. These would still be within the protection of the Murus or Great Wall, so far as any irruption of northern Picts were concerned, and stood upon the sloping sides of the then well watered valley which bounded Procolitia on the west. When Procolitia was destroyed, and its buildings overthrown, it is probable that this stream, fed by a spring to the north, was obstructed in its course. The water would consequently overflow its boundaries, and make the adjacent ground into a bog, hiding the work of destruction which had been accomplished, and with it the relics of antiquity now recovered eighteen centuries after being deposited there. Some few fragments of the buildings have, however, been occasionally seen, and in the last century Horsley, who was the great authority at that period upon the Roman Wall, actually stumbled across the very chamber from which Mr. Clayton has taken the whole of his recently found treasure-trove. In his *Britannia Romana*, published in 1732, Horsley writes: 'The building on the fort is chiefly on the west side, where about a year ago they discovered a well. It is

a good spring, and the receptacle for the water is about seven feet square within, and built on all sides with hewn stone; the depth could not be known when I saw it, for it was almost filled up with rubbish. There had also been a wall about it or a house built over it, and some of the flat stones belonging to it were yet lying there. The people called it a 'Cold Bath', and rightly judged it to be Roman'. The rubbish which the eighteenth century antiquary passed heedlessly by, the nineteenth found so closely packed with coins that it was at first difficult to distinguish them and the encrusted earth in which they were laid. This well, which Horsley speaks of, seems to have gradually become covered with peat and swampy turf and to have dropped out of sight, and even remembrance, until a few weeks ago when a party of lead miners happened to strike upon it. Mr. Clayton thereupon proceeded to examine its contents, with the rich results already named.

The workmen had scarcely begun this operation when they met with a very large number of copper Roman coins of the Lower Empire. Having been exposed for an indefinite period to the action of the water, they were greatly corroded, and could only be deciphered with difficulty. These, so far as is yet ascertained, belong to the reigns of Diocletian, Maximinian, and Constantine the Great, extending from the year 284 A.D. to 310 A.D. On proceeding further down the well, in addition to many hundreds more coins of the same character, the workmen came upon a stone slab, on which were sculptured the figures of three water nymphs of excellent workmanship. Yet further down, eighteen or nineteen small altars were discovered. At least half of these were uninscribed, and the lettering on the others is so indistinct that they have not as yet been correctly read.

A large number of these altars, from inscriptions carefully recorded by Mr. Clayton, are dedicated to an unknown goddess or nymph, *Coventina*, perhaps a local deity, to whose name, as in the case of the Brigantian deity *Cocidius*, a Roman termination had been given. It has been suggested that the name may refer to the *Convenæ*, a people of *Gallia Narbonensis*, but no troops of that country are of recorded service in Britain, although their neighbours the *Aquitani* were at Procolitia in Hadrian's time. Beneath these altars a number of coins of the Higher Empire were found, extending from the reigns of Vespasian to Antoninus Pius, the greater part being of the latter reign. Very many of these were injured, as the upper stratum of coins had been by the action of water, but happily about forty of them had been preserved in a bed of clay, and came out fresh and bright as newly minted sovereigns, the Corinthian brass of which they are made having all the brilliancy of gold when new. Very few Denarii, or silver coins of the empire, were found, but two gold coins have been discovered in an excellent state of preservation, and it is likely that

a third was discovered, but carried away by some vagrant. Gold coins are of extremely rare occurrence in stations on the Roman wall, Mr. Clayton, in the whole course of his excavations, which have extended over more than a quarter of a century, not having previously found one.

Hitherto, adopting Horsley's plan, the chamber in which the coins have been found has been called a well, but there can be little doubt that it was used as a bath. The top course of stones on the southern side of the bath is within three inches of the top of the turf, covering it so that its long concealment is probably due to the fact that the greater part of the land in the neighbourhood is used for grazing purposes, and lies undisturbed from year's end to year's end, and almost from generation to generation. In size the bath gives an inside measurement of 8ft. 6in. by 7ft. 9in., and excepting that the northern wall has bulged in a little, the stonework is as perfect as when first built.

Among the numberless objects found may be mentioned, besides altars and coins, human bones, Samian ware, glass, animal remains, vases of earthenware, enamelled brooches, rings, dice, gilded beads, and a votive tablet to the goddess, dedicated by Titus Domitius Cosconianus, Prefect of the first cohort of Batavian Auxiliaries, *circ.* A.D. 140; this tablet has a figure of the goddess floating on a leaf of the water-lily, and waving in her right hand a branch of palm.

Ancient Charters in the British Museum.—The second Part of this work has just been issued by the authorities. It consists of forty large autotype plates of important documents of the Anglo-Saxon period, with printed texts, thereby facilitating the reading of the original handwriting. The work forms a magnificent *corpus* of Saxon evidences, and is not only valuable for its historical correctness, but as a palæographical reading-book stands unrivalled for its variety and usefulness. A third Part is in course of preparation.

The Utrecht Psalter.—Our Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. de G. Birch, has just finished his work entitled *The History, Art, and Palæography of the MS. styled The Utrecht Psalter*. The principal contents are: Introduction.—Limited specimens of early manuscript art, literature of palæography, photographic aids towards the study of MSS., silver process, autotype, Dujardin's process, M. Delisle's testimony, Palæographical Society.—Ch. I: Principles of palæography, papyrus, wax-tablets, cursive character, uncial writing, typical MSS., capital writing, rustic writing, principal styles of Latin MSS. to the tenth century, works on palæography.—Ch. II: Description of the Psalter apart from its contents, vellum, arrangement of lines and letters, spaces, drawings,

Reculver Monastery, Sir Robert Cotton's treatment of MSS. exemplified, theory for the connection of the Utrecht Psalter with Canterbury, ancient reproduction of charters, confraternity of religious houses, Reculver and Canterbury, Berewald (Abbot of Reculver) becomes Archbishop of Canterbury, the Eadwine Psalter prepared at Canterbury. Later history.—Ch. III: Literature arising from the Psalter, the Harley Psalter, the British Museum MSS. 26,104, 22,291, and 29,273, Egerton MS. 2,263, Ussher, Waterland, Haenel, Westwood, Hardy, Stanley, etc.—Ch. IV: Handwriting, numeration of the Psalms tabulated and compared with Vulgate and Authorised English Versions, rustic capitals, uncial headings, capital letters, abbreviations, monograms, orthography, division of words, erasures, insertions, paragraphs, punctuation, Gallican version.—Ch. V: Contents of the Psalter, pictures prefixed to the Psalms, facsimiles from the Utrecht, Harley, and Eadwine Psalters; realistic treatment of poetical imagery, edifices, dress, musical instruments, ships, animals, trees, organ in the 70th Psalm, personifications of sun, moon, etc.; "horns", vesical frame enclosing divine figures, medallions containing second pictures, scenes in the life of Jesus Christ, statues, gigantic figures, Hebrew letters in Psalm 118.—Ch. VI: Latin text of Athanasian Creed from the Psalter, Latin and Saxon text from the Cott. MS. Vesp. A. I, opinions concerning the date, origin, and use, general conclusions.

Chronicle of Adam de Usk.—Our associate, Mr. E. M. Thompson, Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, has just completed his edition and translation of a newly discovered chronicle entitled *Chronicon Adæ de Usk*, under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature. The period embraced by this original work, existing only in a MS. in the British Museum, is from A.D. 1377 to 1404. The principal events in connection with the disturbed reign of Richard II, the commencing years of Henry IV, the Welsh rebellion under Owen Glendower, the quarrels of the peers, civil and parliamentary occurrences, and a variety of new historical facts, are interwoven with various biographical notices of the author, who occupied an important position in the kingdom, and was an eyewitness of many of the events which he has recorded. The visit of the author to Rome affords us some useful glimpses of the papal courts in the early years of the fifteenth century. This work forms an important contribution to English history.

Original Document relating to Winchcombe Abbey.—The following is a correct transcript from the Add. MS. 28721, fol. 33, in the British Museum, referred to at p. 450:

"Nouerint vniuersi per presentes nos Richardum Abbatem domus et monasterii beate Marie et sancti Kenelmi regis et martiris de Win-

chelcumba in comitatu Glowcestrie et eiusdem loci conuentum vnanimi nostris assensu consensu pariterque et voluntate tocius capituli nostri teneri et firmiter obligari Willelmo Mownslowe marcelo londonie in ducentis marcis sterlingorum soluendis eidem Willelmo aut suo certo attornato aut executoribus suis ad festum Omnium sanctorum proxime futurum. Ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciendam ego predictus Richardus Abbas et Conuentus obligo me et successores meos per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus. Dat. in domo nostra capitulari decimo septimo die mensis Octobris anno regni Regis Henrici octavi vicesimo nono.

“Ita est ego Richardus Ancelmus Abbas, propria manu
 Ita est ego Johannes Augustinus Prior, propria manu
 Ita est ego Willelmus Omersley
 per me Johannem Gabrielem
 per me Richardum Anochin
 per me Willelmum Maurum
 per me Willelmum Ouerbury
 per me Hugonem Egwinum
 per me Ricardum Barnardum
 per me Ricardum Martinum
 per me Johannem Anthonium
 per me Georgium Leonardum
 per me Gulielmum Hieronimum
 per me Christoferum Benedictum
 per me Walterum Adelmum
 per me Richardum Michahelem
 per me Willelmum Kenelmum
 per me Ricardum Ambrosium.”¹

“The condycyon off thys oblygacyon ys suche y^t yff ye abowe bownden Abbott and conuent and hys successours doo suffre and cause to be done enny suche thyng and thynges act and actes as shall be deuysyd or aduysyd from tyme to tyme by the cownsell lernyd yn the lawe off the abowe namyd Wylliam Mownslowe hys eyrys and assygnys for a suer and perfytt assurans yn the lawe to be hadde and made to the same Wylliam Mownslowe his eyrys and assygnys att the costes and charges yn the lawe off the abowe bownden Abbott and hys successors off and for one messuage or tenement with hys appurtenaunces wharfys or kayys gardens and off all other howsys landys rentes and tenements whattsooeuer off whyche the abowe bowndene Abbott att the makyng off these presentes ys seasyd yn the ryghtt off hys howse and monastery abowe namyd yn the citie off London and withyn the

¹ All these names are in the autograph handwriting of the respective persons.

parryshe off saynt brydys yn the subbarbys off the same citie. And also yff the abowe bownden Abbott and conuent and hys successours doo suffre the same Wyllyam Mownslowe hys eyrys and assygnys quyetly lawfully and peaseble to enjoy the same messuage or tenement with all other the premysses as ys aforesayd withowtt lett dyssesin dysturbans and ynterrupeyon off the sayd Abbott and off hys successors or any other by hys or their procurment assent commaundment or aggrement and further dyschargyd off all formes bargaynes salys lesys promysys grawntes charges and yncumberaunces whatsoever y^t then thys present oblygacyon to be woyde or els to stande yn hys full force and wertue.

“(On dors.) 7 Octobr. 29 H. 8. Bond from the Abbat & convent of Wynchcomb. St. Brides in y^e Suburbs.”

John Milton's Autograph Common-place Book.—The publication of this facsimile by the Royal Society of Literature, edited by Mr. A. J. Horwood, is just completed. The book forms an invaluable guide in researches into the authenticity of writings ascribed to Milton's hand, and is interesting as a faithful picture of a literary relic of the great poet, who has therein written down his deductions from, and observations upon, numerous important passages in the course of his extensive reading.

Church of St. Michael, Queenhithe.—In the autumn the old church of St. Michael, Queenhithe, was cleared away, the materials of the building having been sold. St. Michael's is one of the oldest of the City churches, having been built just two hundred years ago, in 1676, on the site of the former edifice, which was one of the churches destroyed by the great fire of London. Several portions of the building and fittings are to be preserved as relics, including the memorial stone of the structure about to be removed, which records that “This church was burned in ye dreadfvl fire in ye yeare 1666, and was began to bee rebuilt in ye yeare 1676”. The white marble font is also one of the excepted articles amongst the fittings which have been sold. It stood in the former church destroyed by the great fire, and after the conflagration was found amongst the ruins uninjured, with the exception of some cracks from the heat of the flames. Having been repaired it was replaced in the church as restored, where it has since remained until its removal within the last few weeks to St. Paul's Cathedral. The old oak pulpit has been removed to the church of St. James's, Garlick Hythe, and the stained glass windows are to be placed in a new church in course of erection in St. Pancras. A number of the monuments have also been removed to St. Paul's. The remains of those buried in the church have been reinterred in a new vault in the churchyard.

Lambeth Palace Library.—The appeal (approved by his Grace the Archbishop) towards a collection of works on Kentish literature, antiquities, and topography for this Library, has met with much success. The Librarian, Mr. Kershaw, still asks all who take an interest in the subject to contribute what they can, and so complete this department of literature, hitherto wanting. As an adjunct to the ancient records of the see and diocese of Canterbury, preserved here, the Kentish collection will be of great assistance in the researches of those to whom the Library is so freely open on three days of each week.

As the conditions under which access to this important Library can be obtained are not generally known to our readers, we subjoin the text of the latest regulations, made by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and approved by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of England, in pursuance of an Order in Council, 7th August, 1869, for rendering the books and muniments in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth accessible to the public.

1. With the exception of the periods named in Regulation No. 2, the Library is open to the public on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays throughout the whole year from 10 o'clock A.M. to 3 P.M.
2. The Library is closed during the week commencing with Easter Day, and during seven days computed from Christmas Day, and for a period of six weeks computed from about the first day of September in every year.
3. Extracts from MSS. or printed books are allowed to be made freely, but in case of a transcript being desired of a whole MS. or printed book, the consent of the Archbishop must be previously applied for.
4. Permission to draw or trace from miniatures and illuminated MSS. will be given on submission of the applicant's name to the Archbishop.
5. MSS. are only lent out by an order signed by the Archbishop, and with a bond of £50 or £100 for their return within six months, or on demand.

Archæology of Somersetshire.—The indexes to the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society are now almost ready. They have been compiled with the greatest care. The general index will be found highly useful in furnishing a ready means of reference to the stores of knowledge which are now somewhat hidden by being scattered in disjointed fragments throughout the twenty volumes of the Society's journal. The name of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Hunt, is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of this difficult task. We venture to believe that this index, which completes and therefore vastly enhances the value of perfect sets, is also of the highest use in cases in which sets are not perfect. The indexes of the Wells Records are edited by F. H. Dickinson of Kingweston, who is deservedly

looked upon as an authority in matters of ecclesiastical history. They form part of the same volume as the general index. Orders are now being received by C. T. Jefferies and Sons, of Bristol, for the volume, the price of which will be 6s. 6d.

Cornish MSS. Society.—Attention was directed in the *Journal* for September to the proposal to found a society, having for its primary object the preservation of what yet remains of the ancient Cornish language. Notwithstanding the labours of the late Mr. E. Norris, Mr. W. Stokes, and others in the same field, there still exists a considerable store of unedited matter, which, while it is decidedly worthy of publication, would be too costly a matter for any individual to undertake the risk of printing.

The society's work would be to edit previously unpublished Cornish MSS., and to re-edit such as have been insufficiently edited before, a task for the accomplishment of which Mr. Jenner, of the MS. department in the British Museum, has volunteered his services. Appropriate philological and explanatory notes and translations would in every case accompany the text, and a vocabulary would be formed of such words as are not included in Mr. Williams's *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*. No effort, in short, would be spared on the part of the editors to make their work as complete as possible.

As a beginning in this direction, it has been proposed to print:—
1. Selections from the Gwavas MSS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 28554), consisting of several songs, proverbs, passages of scripture, etc., in Cornish, as well as a number of interesting philological notes on the language in its last stage, made before its actual extinction. 2. Selections from the MSS. of Dr. W. Borlase, the historian, preserved in the library of Mr. W. C. Borlase, consisting of matter similar to that in the Gwavas MSS., with the addition of a large number of sentences of colloquial Cornish of the writer's own time. Amongst the selections under this head, are passages derived from a lost romance, said to have been the work of Mr. J. Boson, of Newlyn, entitled the "Duchess of Cornwall's Progress to the Land's End", and a tract in Cornish and English, on the decay of the Cornish language, by the same hand—curious as showing the state of that language when actually (as the Manx is at present) it was *in articulo mortis*.

The aim of the society would extend, however, to editing such topographical and historical MSS. connected with the county as may yet remain unpublished. Among these may be mentioned:—1. A charulary of the Priory of Tywardreth, now in the possession of J. Rashleigh, Esq., of Menabilly. 2. Extracts from the MSS. of Dr. Borlase, containing some of the lost portions of Hals' History; pedigrees of Cornish families; drawings of ancient buildings, etc.; materials for a

parochial history of Cornwall, supplied by clergymen and others; etc. 3. Autograph letters relating to the civil war. 4. Deeds, charters, and other contents of muniment rooms, with fac-similes of seals. 5. Extracts relating to manors, manorial customs, tenures, etc. 6. Civil war tracts, broadsides, squibs, etc. 7. Notes of MSS., etc.

In conclusion, it may be stated that in the sphere it proposes for itself this society will be careful not to trespass on the ground occupied by any existing society. Should a sufficient number of subscribers be obtained to set it afloat, an annual volume will be issued, with illustrations. Such a volume would be issued gratis to subscribers only, and the annual subscription would not exceed one guinea. Persons willing to join should signify their names to W. C. Borlase, Laregan, near Penzance; or to H. Jenner, British Museum.

Mr. Roach Smith contemplates proceeding with the seventh volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua*. Subscribers' names to be forwarded to him at Temple Place, Strood, Kent.



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